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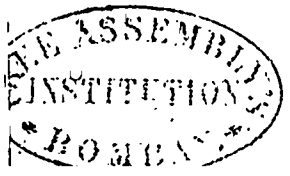

CALDERWOOD'S HISTORY

OF

THE KIRK OF SCOTLAND.

VOLUME FOURTH.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

KIRK OF SCOTLAND.

BY

MR DAVID CALDERWOOD,

SOME TIME MINISTER OF CRAILING.

111575

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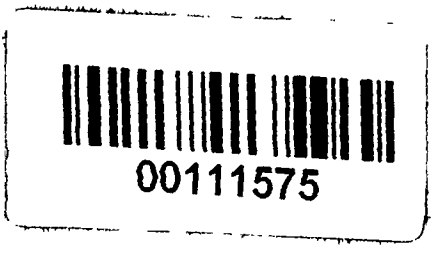

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CALDERWOOD'S HISTORIE

OF

THE KIRK OF SCOTLAND.

M.D.LXXXIV.

THE BROWNISTS COME TO DWELL IN THE HEID OF THE CANNOGATE.

Upon Thursday, the 9th of Januar, an Englishman, called Robert Brown, came to Edinburgh out of Flanders. He landed at Dundie, and having gottin support there, he came to St Andrewes, where he purchassed a letter of commendatioun from Mr Andrew Melvill to Mr James Lowsone. There came in companie with him foure or five Englishmen, with their wives and famileis. They held opinioun of separatioun from all kirks where excommunication was not rigorouslie used against open offenders not repenting. They would not admitt witnesses in baptisme; and sindrie other opiniouns they had. This Brown was their preacher. Upon Tuisday the 14th, he made shew, after an arrogant maner, before the sessioun of the kirk of Edinburgh, that he would mainteane, that witnesses at baptisme was not a thing indifferent, but simplie evill. But he failed in the probation. He affirmed, as the manuscript beareth, that the soules died. He and his companie remained at the heid of the Cannogate.

SETON'S AMBASSADGE TO FRANCE.

Upon Thursday the 16th, the Lord Setoun tooke ship at Leith toward France. He had in companie with him Holt and Brereton, Englishmen. It was thought that some English shipp lay in wait for them, but they came safe to France.

Upon Tuisday the 21st, Robert Browne, the ringleader of the Brownists, in conference with some of the presbyterie, alledged that the whole discipline of Scotland was amisse: that he and his companie were not subject to it, and, therefore, he would appeale from the kirk to the magistrat. It was thought good that Mr James Lowsone and Mr Johne Davidsone sould gather out of his booke and their practise suche opiniouns as they suspected or perceaved them to erre in, and gett them ready against Moonday nixt, to pose him and his followers therupon, that therafter the king might be informed.

Upon Wednisday the 22d, Mr Robert Pont and Johne Brand were sent from the presbyterie, Johne Adamsone and Alexander Udward from the kirk of Edinburgh, Mr Michaell Chisholm and Robert Henrysone, barbar, from the counsell of the toun, to the king, to sute licence to Johne Durie to returne to his charge till the nixt Generall Assemblie, that farther order might be taikin with him. The king uttered manie sharpe words, and said, he tooke them all for his enemeis that spake for him: that he was unwofthie to be in the ministrie; that his doctrine was false and erroneous; that he could not abide his lawes; that their requeist tended to seditioun, and therefore he would see to it. Mr Robert Pont answered, he had oft heard his doctrine, but heard nothing which he was not able to defend. They could obteane no other answere. The king rebooked afterward the Proveist of Edinburgh sharpelie for sending anie frome the counsell of the toun to sute for Johne Durie.

Upon Friday the 24th, Mr David Chalmers [was] examined by Mr Johne Craig, Mr Robert Pont, Mr David Lindsay, and Mr

Johne Davidsone, and found ignorant in the controversie of justificatioun, and of the sacrifice of the masse. He was remitted to his booke, to come better prepared the nixt Moonday.

Upon Tuisday the 28th, Robert Browne, with the rest of his complices, were called before the presbyterie of Edinburgh, and continued till the morne. He acknowledged and avowed his bookes, and other things writtin by him. Mr James Lowsone and Mr Johne Davidsone were appointed to gather the erroneous articles, to be presented to the king. But they were interteaned and fostered to molest the kirk.

In the beginning of Februar, Mr Andrew Melvill was summoned to compeere before the Lords of Secreit Counsell, upon Moonday, the elleventh of this instant, to answere for some speeches uttered by him at the last fast, in his sermoun upon the 4th of Daniel. William Stuart was sent to Sanct Andrewes, as a spy, to entrap Mr Andrew. He alledged to the king, that Mr Andrew had compared his mother to Nebuchadnezar that was chassed from the kingdome. He was summouned, upon Saturday the 8th, to compeir upon Moonday. He obteaneth a testimoniall from the universitie before he tak journey, the tenor wherof followeth :—

"Seing that the wonderfull Providence of God has, from all eternitie, ordeaned, and the Scriptures plainlie forewarned, that of necessitie slaunders sould arise, to the effect that his owne elect sould be tried; and our Maister, Christ, of this point in speciall has made his faithfull servants foresceene that they sould be drawin before the tribunall seates of princes, and calumniouslie delated; and also, the experience of all ages from time to time, till our dayes, has sealed this as an undoubted truthe, we thought it nothing strange to heare our brother, Mr Andrew Melvill, Proveist of the New Colledge, calumniouslie traduced to your Majestie and Honourable Counsell, as a seditious subject, tending, by his doctrine, to call your crown in questioun, and to steale the hearts of your Majestie's subjects from your obedience; and to that effect charged this day, as we are crediblie informed. Yit, notwithstanding, being bound and oblished of that Christian ductie whereby we ought

to glorifie God, in giving faithfull testimonie to his truthe, and of that debtfull obedience whereby everie one of us is bound to your Hienesse in particular, We, Rector, Deanes of Faculteis, Professors, Regents, and Masters, within the Universitie of Sanct Andrewes, conveened together in the feare of God, after incalling upon his name, have thought it meete to send furth this our testimonie by our commissioners appointed for that effect, Mr Robert Bruce, Mr Robert Wilkie, to your Majestie and Honourable Counsell, whereby we will most humblie crave that your Majestie and Honorable Counsell be fullie perswaded, and out of doubt, that whatsomever is layed to our brother's charge, so long as he occupied the chaire of veritie, and place in schooles within this citie, as it is false and fained of the self, so it is onlie forged of the devill and of his instruments, to bring the faithfull servants of God in contempt and hatred of their supreme magistrat; which God forbid. For we, as we were continuall and diligent auditors of his doctrine, so we beare him faithfull record in God and in conscience that we heard nothing out of his mouth, nather in doctrine nor applicatioun, which tendit not directlie to the glorie of God, to the establishment of your Majestie's crowne, and to everie one of our particular comforts and edificatioun. And whensoever the occasioun offered the self in speciall to speeke of your Majestie, in God and conscience, as we have said, we heard him never but in great zeale and earnest prayer recommend your Majestie's estate unto his protectioun, exhorting alwise all maner of subjects to acknowledge their obedience even to the meanest magistrates, your Hienesse' subjects, as bearing a portioun of that image for which they are called Gods in earth. Therefore, we most humblie, in all reverence, would crave of your Majestie and your Honourable Counsell not to be slaundered nor offended in this incident; for as it is one of the proper effects of the Word of God, so it is the ordinarie way whereby God commounlie brings about his owne worke to the glorie of his owne name, to the comfort of the godlie, and to the closing of the blasphemous mouths of the suppests of Sathan, who are not ashamed, in so manifest a light, so horriblie to

lee upon the servant of God. And for verificatioun heerof, we have subscrived thir presents with our hand, and have ordeaned our seale to be affixed thereto. At Sanct Andrewes, the 8th day of Februar 1584.

"Mr James Wilkie, Rector, Mr James Martine, Deane of Facultie, Mr Johne Robertsone, Professor of Theologie, Mr James Melvill, Professor of Theologie, Mr Williame Wallat, Professor of the Mathematicks, Mr Robert Bruce, Mr Thomas Buchanan, Mr Robert Inscho, Mr David Monypennie, Mr Robert Wilkie, Mr William Marche, Mr William Cranstoun, Mr James Robertsoun, Mr Johne Caldcleuch, Mr Johne Malcolme, Mr Andrew Duncan, Mr David Martin, Mr Johne Rutherfoord, Mr Archibald Muncreif, Mr Walter Abercrummie, Mr David Blyth, Mr Marke Ker, Mr Gawin Borthwick, Mr Johne Likprevick, Mr Andrew Inglis, Mr David Inglis, Mr William Murrey, Mr James Aiton, Mr Hector Monro, Mr James Bennet."

Notwithstanding of the shortness of time, he compeered upon Moonday, and declared by word of mouth what he had said. But the secund time, he gave in his declaratioun, together with a declinatour. Certane commissioners were present, sent from the presbytereis to protest in name of the kirk. The commissioners of the universitie likewise were present, for the interest of their priviledge, to repledge him to the judgement of the universitie, but none of them were admitted. His cheefe care and prayer to God was, that the kirk sould not be prejudged in his person. The tenor of the protestation, declinatour, and declaration followeth:—

"*Imprimis*, I, Mr Andrew Melvill, protests before God and his elect angels, as I did the first day of my compeerance in presence of the king's Majestie, and his Grace's Honourable Counsell, that I spake nothing in that sermon, nor anie other sermon made by me, tending to the slaunder or dishonour of the king's Majestie, my soverane, in anie wise; but in the contrare, exhorted alwise all his Hienesse' subjects to obedience and reverence of his Majestie, whome God in his mercie hath placed lawfull king and supreme magistrat in the civill governement of this countrie; and most

earnestlie has prayed at all times, and especiallie in the forsaid sermon, for the preservation and prosperous estate of his Majestie.

"*Item*, Seing the plaine Word of God, acts of parliament, and the late conference betuixt certane lords of the king's Majestie's most Honourable Counsell, and some ministers depute by the king's Majestie and the kirk, and practise insuing heerupon, craves, that when a minister is delated for anie thing spokin by him in preaching of the Word, or publict prayers, the same to be first tried by his ordinar, to witt, particular assemblie, provinciall or generall; and it is of truthe, that the accusatioun givin in against me is of certane words alledged spokin by me in preaching of God's Word, and praying for the king's Majestie; therefore, I protest most humblie, that in respect of God's ordinance, acts of parliament, conference and practise forsaid, the triell of the forsaid accusatioun may be remitted to the ordinar judge, which is the Assemblie of the Kirk, as said is.

"*Item*, Seing that the old counsells and doctors, according to God's Word, have found it most expedient, for the more easie triell of all slaunders, namelie, in the persons of ministers, that the samine sould be tried in that place where they are raised, and it is of truthe that this preaching wherupon the slaunder arises, wherewith I am burthened, was made in Sanct Andrewes, therefore I protest, and earnestlie willis, that the mater may be tried and judged there.

"*Item*, That seing the king's Majestie's most noble progenitors has granted to all masters, and actuall students of the universiteis of Sanct Andrewes, a speciall priviledge, latelie confirmed by his Majestie's self, and the three estats in parliament, that whenever a master or student is accused of anie offence, and speciallie within the universiteis, that the rector and his assessors sall be judge *in prima instantia*. But sua it is, that I am an actuall master, at this present, in Sanct Andrewes, and my sermon, as said is, was preached there, and, therefore, I protest, and most humblie require, that, at the least, I may injoy the forsaid priviledge.

"*Item*, Adhering to my forsaids protestations, and nowise pass-

ing therefra, I protest before God, that I spake nothing wherof I had not the sure ground and sufficient warrant in the directing Word of God; and as I offered before, so now I offer, to verifie by the Old and New Testament, *testes omni exceptione majores.*

"*Item*, For the more evident declaratioun of the same, as of before, so yitt I offer the testimonies of the most learned, most wise, and godlie of the congregation of Sanct Andrewes; to witt, the testimonie of the universitie, directing, subscrived, and sealed; the testimonie of the sessioun of the kirk of Sanct Andrewes, writtin and subscrived by the elders and deacons therof; and the testimonie of the proveist, bailiffes, and counsell, subscrived by their clerk, in their name, and at their command, according to their custome, and sealed with their seale; and the testimonie of the presbyterie, subscrived with the clerk thereof.

"*Item*, Seing I am a lawfull and obedient subject, and a teacher of God's Word, I crave humblie, that I may have the benefite of a subject, to witt, to know who is my accuser, or your Majestie's informer, according to the receaved laws of the countrie, and in respect of the circumstances that are knitt up in my persoun, that God has made me a teacher of his Word. I most humblie crave this libertie and priviledge, that God grants me in the same Word, to witt, that no maner of accusatioun ought to be had and receaved against the teacher of God's Word, without there be two or three witnesses to stand by the accusation, before the mater enter in practise, or anie witnesse be receaved to prove the samine.

"*Item*, Seing the report has beene made to the king's Majestie to alienat, if it were possible, his Grace's heart from his obedient subjects, if the report be found false, as it is indeed false and calumnious, that the misreporter may incurre the punishment prescrived in the acts of parliament.

"*Item*, That in respect that the ground of the accusatioun depends upon the informer, I crave most humblie that his qualiteis be considered, and that I may have my owne place to object against him, according to the lawes. And if it sall be found that William Stuart be the informer, I say, his informatioun ought

no maner of wise to be receaved, or prejudge me in anie sort, in respect that it proceeds of a lurking hatred and malice conceaved by him against me, which he made manifest in open words, sindrie and diverse times, wherby he testifeis his inward rancour; shoring to offer me bodilie harme wherever he met me, which I tak me to prove sufficientlie. And as this reasoun ought to be sufficient to make his informatioun suspect, so it is altogether relevant to sett him, in case he compeere, to be receaved as witnesse against me. And howbeit I adhere to my former protestatiouns, as most reasonable and agreeable to the Scripture of God, and lawes of the countrie, neverthelesse, for the farther clearing of my innocencie, and removing of all sinistrous suspicioun, I sall sett doun the truthe, as God sall assist me with his Spirit, and as my memorie will serve.

"First, I having just occasioun offered by my text, the example of Daniel applying the historie of Nebuchadnezar to his sonne Balthasar, and that before Daniel had read his text, which was the wrytting on the wall, I layed the ground of generall doctrine, which I confirmed by this, and other places of Scripture; to witt, that the ministers of God's Word sould apply the exemples of God's mercie and judgements in all ages, to kings, princes, and people of their time; and how that, the neerer the persons be unto us, the more the exemple belongs unto us. 'But if now a dayes,' said I, 'a minister would rehearse in the court the exemple that fell out in King James the Thrid's dayes, who was abused by the flatterie of his courteours, he sould be said to vaig frome his text, and perchance accused of treasoun.' This is als neere the words as I can remember.

"Secundlie, As concerning the words, that our Nebuchadnezar was twise sevin yeeres banished, and would be restored againe, and that I meant therby the king's Majestie's mother, as his meaning was, it was never my minde. So I remember never to have spokin thir words.

"Thridlie, I protest before God, that nather in that sermoun, nor anie other, I spake thir words, 'The king is unlawfullie pro-

moted to the crowne,' or anie words or meaning sounding thereto; for I putt never in questioun his Majestie's lawfull authoritie. But as it was the speciall thing, that the kirk to this houre has constantlie mainteaned, so at all times have I travelled, according to my calling, in reasoning, in preaching, in prayer privat and publict, so farre as lay in me, to advance, confirme, and establishe the same, as all these among whom I have conversed from the beginning can testifie.

"Therefore, simplie, I confesse, falling in speeking in my doctrine, of the advancement of Nebuchadnezar to his kingdom by God, and of his unthankfulnesse and punishment; 'Therefore,' said I, 'seing Nebuchadnezar, who heritablie succeeded in the kingdome to his father being dead, of sufficient age, indued with wisdome, learning, liberalitie, and other civill vertues, and having vanquished by himself as a valiaunt captan and lieutenant in his father's time, and after his father's decease being made king by all his forces and nobilitie, he continued conqueising sindrie natiouns; yitt Daniel, making no mentioun of vertues, sayes, that God gave him a kingdome; wherof I gather, as also of other places of Scripture, that whether it be by electioun, successioun, or other ordinar middess that kings are advanced, it is God that makes kings; which all is easilie forgett by them. For suche is the infirmitie of man, being in preeminence, as the experience of all kings beares record, that not onlie theeves and idolaters, but also godlie kings, extraordinarilie placed in authoritie by God above his owne people, have forgett the Advancer.' And to this effect, I alledged the exemple of David, extraordinarilie called frome the sheepe; Salomon, extraordinarilie preferred to his elder brethrein; Joas, extraordinarilie in his tender age made king; and all forgett God who advanced them, and therefore were punished. And in place of applicatioun of this doctrine, I made a prayer, according to my accustomed maner, whensoever I speeke of the king's Majestie, that seing this has been, and is the infirmitie even of the godlie kings, it would please the Lord, of his mercie, never to suffer our king to forgett the goodnesse of that God who, so extraordinarilie, by his

speciall grace, made him king over this countrie, he being a bairne in the craddell, his mother yitt alive, and a great part of his nobilitie his enemeis for the time; and who hath preserved him heereto, since the heavie burthen of the governement was layed upon his shoulders. This is the verie forme and words, so farre as I can remember."

MR A. MELVILL FLEETH TO ENGLAND.

After he had declined the king and Captan James, being accused upon no civill crime or transgressioun, but upon his doctrine uttered frome pulpit, the which when the king and Captan James, then made Great Chanceller, with roarings of lyons and messages of death, had taikin so hote, that all the counsell and courts of the palace were filled with feare, cryes, and bruites, Mr Andrew, never jarring nor dashed a white, with magnanime, courage, mightie force of spirit, and fouthe of evidence, of reasoun, and language, plainlie told the king and counsell, that they presumed over boldlie in a constitut estate of a Christian kirk, the kingdome of Jesus Christ passing by, and disdaining the prophets, pastors, and docters of the kirk, to tak upon them to judge the doctrine, and controll the ambassaders and messingers of a king and counsell greater nor they, and farre above them. "And that," sayes he, "ye may see your weakenesse, oversight, and rashnesse, in taking upon you that which nather yee ought nor can doe, (loosing a little Hebrew Bible from his belt, and clacking it doun on the boord, before the king and chanceller;) there is," sayeth he, "my instructions and warrant. Lett see which of you can judge theron, or controll me therin, that I have past by my injunctiouns." The chanceller opening the booke, findes it Hebrew, and putts it in the king's hand, saying, "Sir, he skornes your Majestie and counsell." "Na, my lord," sayes Mr Andrew, "I skorne not; but with all earnestnesse, zeale, and gravitie, I stand for the caus of Jesus Christ and his kirk." Manie times putt they him out, and called him in againe, whiles dealing with minacings, and whiles with faire words,

to breake him. But he grew more and more in wisdome, strenth, and curage, howbeit none was suffered to come in with him, and when he came out, had skarslie leave to draw his end, muche lesse to tak anie advice with his freinds and brethrein.

In end, they proceed, admitts an accuser, who bruiked that name for manie yeeres after, William Stuart, the Accusar, a pensioner of the Pryor of Sanct Andrewes; receaves the articles of accusatioun, admitts, and taks the depositioun of a number of witnesses summouned out of Sanct Andrewes, namelie, his greatest mislykers; Mr Andrew ever adhering to his declinatour, and at all times, as occasioun served, telling them his minde mightilie, anent the truthe, and weight of the caus of Christ and his kirk, and wrong done therto, which he would be avenged of some day. And when they had done all, little or nothing for their purpose gott they provin, but decerned, that Mr Andrew, for his unreverent behaviour before his Majestie and counsell, sould be putt in waird in the Castell of Edinburgh during the king's will. In the meane time, Mr Andrew's brethrein and freinds are informed, by suche as knew the platts layed, that there was no good meaned to Mr Andrew; and if he were once fast, he would not be loosed againe, unlesse it were for the scaffold. This made him to keepe him quiett a night and a day, during the which time Mr James Melvill travelled among the counsellers. Manie gave him faire words, and said there was no danger; but his best freinds read a *dictum* writtin on the wall, sounding, "loose and living." They understood farther, that the decreet of the counsell was altered, and the waird appointed to be Blacknesse, a foule hole, keeped by Captan James his men. So, whill they were all in great and heavie anxietie, and most doolefull doubtsomnesse what to counsell; upon the one part, thinking it a hard and sore mater to bereave the schooles and Kirk of Scotland of such a light and leader, and thinking that moyen and time might mitigate the king, and procure his libertie; upon the other part, knowing the course and platts layed by the enemeis, and seing the violent forme of Captan James his governement, they thought it harder to jeopard the life of

suche a man, as might be reserved for a better time: being in this doubtfull debate among themselves, and everie one with his owne heart, not knowing weill where to inclyne, Mr Andrew himself comes out in publict, resolute and cheerefull, and desired them all to be of good courage, for God had resolved him of the best, and he was assured would be with him. So they goe to dinner, in Mr James Lowson's hous, who, with all his ghuests, were exceeding heavie hearted, and often times could not conteane, but mixed their teares with their drinke; onlie Mr Andrew eate, dranke, and cracked, als mirrilie and free-minded as at anie time, and more; and, according to his continuall forme at meete, and in all companie, took occasioun of good conference, and discourse pertinent for the time, and state of maters, to his owne wonderfull incuragement, and their great confort, interlacing alwayes some mirrie interludes, and drinking to his captan and waird-fellowes, bidding them all make them readie to follow, &c. So, after dinner, he gave it out, and none knew other but a verie few, that he would obey the charge, and enter in waird, if the king commanded, and God so directed him: wherupon the macer getteth accesse, giveth him the charge, with his warrant, to enter in the Castell of Blacknesse within twentie-foure houres, the which he receaved reverentlie. But within an houre or two, his brother Roger and he slippes out at the port hand for hand, and loodge that night where God had prepared, and within twentie-foure houres entered in Berwick, in place of the Blacknesse. A certan of Captan James his horsmen had, immediatelie before, riddin out at the same port, to attend upon him, and convoy him to Blacknesse, there once to mak him sure. There was nothing behind but bitter teares and heavie lamentatioun, partlie for the present losse, but muche more for the estate that was to insue upon the kirk, which everie one apprehended in greater and greater measure of horrour and fearefullnesse: but above all, that notable and most faithfull minister of God, Mr James Lowsone, who, seing so terrible a tempest rysing and comming on the ship of the kirk, and the wisest, stoutest, and ablest skippars and mariners removed, apprehended the danger so highl y,

and dranke in the greefe and melancholie so deepelie, which being augmented, and no wise mitigat by that which followed, namelie, the undquetifulnesse of his flocke, waisted his vitall spirits by peece meale, and within few moneths therafter cutted the threed of his most stedable and confortable life to the Kirk of Scotland. Mr James Lowsone, and Mr Walter Balcanquall, his onlie colleague that remained, made, according to their dispositioun, the pulpit of Edinburgh to sound mightilie in the praise of Mr Andrew, and to the detestatioun of the fact of the counsell that had so proceeded against him: also they prayed for him in particular, at all their ordinar sermons, which moved the people verie muche, and galled the court. Becaus his bookes were in hazard, in regarde he was putt to the horne, Mr James packed them up, and sett them aside. It was a pitie to see that new worke begunne in the colledge to be cutted off from all hope of harvest.

CHARGE GIVIN TO MR ANDREW MELVILL TO ENTER IN BLACKNESSE, 17TH FEB. 1583.

"James, by the grace of God, King of Scots, to our lovits, &c., messingers and shireffs in that part, conjunctlie and severallie, speciallie constitute, greeting. Forsameekle as Mr Andrew Melvill, Proveist of the New Colledge of Sanct Andrewes, being called before us and the Lords of our Secreit Counsell; and he compeering personallie, was inquired of certane things layed to his charge, spokin by him in his sermoun in the kirk of Sanct Andrewes, the 5th of June last bypast, offensive and slaunderous to us: after sindrie allegatiouns made by the said Mr Andrew for declyning of the judgements, and protestations tending to the same effect, at the last, being inquired, If a minister speeking in pulpit that which sall be alledged to be treasoun, ought to be tried before us, in the first instance, or not? he answered, That although the specche was alledged to be treasoun, yitt the triell, of the first instance, ought not to be before us, but before the kirk; wherupon we and our Secreit Counsell finds, that we, and not the kirk, are judges, at the

first instance, in causses of treasoun whatsomever. And in respect of the said Mr Andrewe's proceedings and behaviour, so oft declyning our judgement, and so, refusing to acknowledge our authoritie and royall estate, and as also, to object against the witnesse summouned for triell of the said mater, clamed to the privilege of certan acts of Parliament and Secreet Counsell, concerning the jurisdictioun of the kirk; which being produced, read, and considered, we find to conteane no suche priviledge or libertie granted to the kirk, to cognosce in maters of treasoun, in the first instance, as was alledged by him. He answered also most proudlie, unreverentlie, and contemptuouslie, that the lawes of God, with the lawes and practick observed within the countrie, were perverted, and not observed in this case; and last, that he had spokin all that he had to say concerning this mater, adhering to his former protestatioun. We, with advice of our saids Lords of Privie Counsell, in thir respects declares the said Mr Andrew to be worthie to be committed in waird, in our Castell of Blacknesse, and farther punished in his person and goods, at our will.

"Our will is heerefore, and we charge you straitlie, that, incontinent thir our letters seene, ye pas, and in our name and authoritie command and charge the said Mr Andrew Melvill to passe, and enter his persoun in waird, within our said Castell of Blacknesse, there to remaine upon his owne expenses during our will, and ay and whill he be freed by us, within ten houres nixt after this his charge, under the paine of rebellioun, and putting of him to our horne: And if he faile therin, the said tenne houres being past, that ye incontinent therafter denounce him our rebell, and putt him to our horne, and esheate and inbring all his moveable goods, for his contempt, to our use; and that ye deliver our others letters for his recept in waird, within our said castell, as ye will answere to us therupon. The which to doe, &c. Givin under our signet, at Halyrudhous, the 17th of Februar, and of our raigne the 18th yeere, 1583.

"*Per actum Secreti Consilii.*"

Upon the last of Februar was givin at Halyrudhous this charge following:—

"James, by the grace of God, King of Scots, to our lovits, Richard Bynning, messinger, messingers, our shireffs in that part, conjunctlie and severallie, speciallie constitute, greeting. Forsameeckle as we, having discovered the bussie travells of sindrie unquyett spirits, our subjects, who being the authors or devisers of the treasonable surprise and restraint of our persoun the last yeere, and mislyking of our present libertie, as disappointed of the place and rule which they tooke upon them under the colour of our name, althogh, to our great greefe and offense, ceasse not now, by whispering of seditioun, and spreading of untruthes and misreports, by themselves, their servants, and factors, to move and perswade, so farre as in them lyes, our peaceable and good subjects to thinke otherwise of the lawfull and most necessar proceedings of us, our nobilitie and counsell resident with us, (tending alwayes to the honour, weale, and suretie of our person and estate,) than the truthe is indeid, and finding an incessant labour to further all things that may breed and foster unquietnesse: We have thought it most convenient to mak manifest the course and scope of the dangerous and indirect dealing pretended, and to forewarne all our faithfull, loving, and good subjects of the perrell; for some that were thought meete to be removed furth of this our realme for a seasoun, for the better suretie of us, and quietnesse of the countrie, have alreadie receaved our gratious pardon, with good proofe that we have not sought their lands, lives, or goods, but our owne suretie, and a testimonie of their obedience; after our licences graunted unto them to depart furth of our realme, notwithstanding, lingers and abides ather within the same, or in the neerest parts of the countreis nixt adjacent, although to their owne unease, and to our offense; interteaning their freinds and favourers, in the meane time, with hope of their suddane returning, and, as weill appears, awaiting occasiouns to attempt some new trouble and disorder, to our contempt and danger; their servants, familiars, and messingers, frequenting commounlie, in the meane time, to our court and com-

panie, arrayed, and wearing hacquebutts and pistelets, notwithstanding the inhibitioun made to the contrare; whereunto is annexed a further practise, in that it is maliciouslie and most untruelie dispersed, that Mr Andrew Melvill sould be banished and exiled for caus of religioun, no suche thing being indeid, seing our zeale and good affectioun to the true and Christian religioun professed by us, and established by our authoritie, is so weill knowin, that none of our faithfull and loving subjects can be in anie doubt therof: nather was that man charged upon anie point or article of religioun; but being inquired upon some uncomelie and seditious purposes uttered by him, gave suchè contemptuous and disdainfull answeres in our owne presence, by declyning the judgements of us and our Privie Counsell, and other misbehaviour, there instantlie heard and seene by us and our whole counsell present for the time, that his persoun was thought weill worthie to be committed to waird, whill the acknowledging of his offense, and he only charged to enter, to have givin proofe of his obedience; where, otherwise, his persoun might have beene apprehended, if anie rigorous persute therof had ever beene intended. But he disobeying, and voluntarilie fleing, no maner of further processe or judgement has beene led or intended against him, or anie persons, ministers, howsoever the contrarie hath beene untruelie divulgat.

"Therefore, and to the effect that none, in default of the knowledge of the truthe, suffer themselves to be abused or perswaded otherwise, and that all our good subjects, being forewarned, may eshew the perrell of our displeasure and indignatioun: Our will is, and we charge you straitlie, and commaunds, that incontinent thir our letters seene, ye passe to the Mercat Croce of our burgh of Edinburgh, and others places needfull, and there, by open proclamatioun in our name and authoritie, mak publicatioun heerof, that none pretend ignorance of the same; and that ye command all and sindrie our lieges, devisers, interprisers, and executers of the forsaid attemptat against our persoun at Ruthven, that have obteaned our licence to depart out of this our realme, a speciall number of dayes and time being appointed to them to that effect, for our

greater suretie, and quietnesse of the countries as said is, that they depart furth of the countreis of Scotland, England, and Ireland, within the same dayes and time, and effectuallie use the benefite graunted unto them by the same licences, and on no wise returne in this our realme without our speciall favour and licence obteaned to that effect. And if they faile, the saids dayes and time being outrunne, we declare the saids licences alluterlie to expire; and ordeans the persons to whom the samine were graunted to be persued and punished in their persons and goods, as if no suche licences had ever beene graunted. As also, incace of their contempt and inobedience, delaying to depart, and use the saids licences within the saids dayes and time appointed, that ye charge all our peaceable and good subjects that none of them tak upon hand, fromc thencefurth, to intercommoun with them, or anie wise to recept, supplee, or mainteane them, or to intertaine or keepe intelligence, by sending or receaving of messages or letters to or frome them, or anie others that have obteaned licenses, and alreadie departed furth of this our realme, and yitt lingers and remains in the neerest parts of the countreis nixt adjacent, or anie others persons departed furth of our realme upon licence, and remaining in the parts beyond sea, for the causes before specifeid, without our knowledge and licence obteaned to that effect, under the paine of our displeasure and indignatioun, and to be repute, holdin, called, and persued, as favourers and partakers of the saids practises and contempt, and to be severelie punished therefor, as accords.

"And siclike, that ye command and charge the servants, assisters, and partakers, with these who were the principall interprisers and executers of the said attempt committed at Ruthven, that they repaire not, nor haunt not the places of our residence, where ever the same be for the time, by the space of tenne miles, without our speciall licence asked and obteaned to that effect, under the paine forsaid. And als, that ye command and charge all and sindrie our lieges, that none of them presume, or tak upon hand to beare, weare, or shoot hacquebutts or pistelets in anie part within two miles of our persoun, where we sall happin to be for the time, ex-

cept suche as sall be expreslie sent for by us, for awaiting upon our persoun in armes, or have our speciall licence, under the paines conteaned in our acts of parliament, besides the incurring of our indignatioun; with certificatioun to them that sall be apprehended doing in the contrare, the paines conteaned in our saids acts sall be execute upon them with all rigour, in the exemple of others: and that ye command and charge all shireffs, stewarts, bailiffes, lords of regaliteis, proveists, eldermen, and bailiffes of our burrowes, and all others our officiars and ministers of our lawes, to searche, seeke, tak, and apprehend the persouns, contraveeners of this present proclamatioun in anie point therof, where ever they may be found; and to bring and present them before us and our Secreet Counsell for triell, and order taking anent their contempt and disobedience, as apperteanes; as ye will answere to us therupon. The which to doe, we committ to you, &c. Givin under our signet, at Halyrudhous, the last day of Februar, and of our raigne the 18th yeere, 1583.

"*Per actum Secreti Consilii.*"

Mr Robert Bruce, secund sonne to the Laird of Airth, brought up in letters, past his course of Philosophie in the Universitie of Sanct Andrewes, and therafter, by his father furnished, was sent to France, where he studied, and in the Universitie of Lovan, in the Low Countreis. He studeid, namelie, to Humanitie and the Jurisprudence, which his father and freinds had sett to be the end of his studeis. Therafter, comming home, he is directed to attend on court and sessioun, for his father's effaires and his freinds', till the Lord beganne to call upon him, and worke strangelie in his conscience, so that he had no rest nor comfort but in the Word of God, and companie of good men. Yitt the manifold effaires of his father and freinds continuallie importuning him, made him to strive against the working of his heart, but in vaine; for he was faine, at last, plainlie to show his father that there was no rest nor life for him unlesse he had leave to goe to the studie of Theologie, and be

in companie of Mr Andrew Melvill, in St Andrewes. So his father permitted at last; and he came to the New Colledge at the beginning of that same winter at the end wherof Mr Andrew was putt at, whome most lovinglie and faithfullie he assisted till his departure out of the countrie; and then returned again to the colledge, and sett himself more earnestlie than ever before to his studeis, and that not onlie to be a hearer, but to assay what gift God would give him of utterance of that which he studeid; and to this moved, yea, drawin as it were per force, with a mightie inward working, which suffered him never to gett rest but when he was about that purpose. He said to Mr James Melvill, upon a day, in releeving of his muche and sore occupied minde, in privat conference promeneing in the feilds, that ere he cast himself again in that torment of conscience which was layed on him for resisting the calling of God to the studie of Theologie and ministrie, he had rather goe through a fire of brimstone half a mile long. So, before he would open his mouth at the table, where ordinarilie, their meale about, the students opened up a chapter, and gathered their notes therupon, he desired to have some exercise in privat with Mr James Melvill and Mr Robert Durie. And so, once in the weeke first, therafter, thrise, their time about, in a large wide hous of the colledge, they handled a chapter, till that way they past throughe the Epistle to the Romans and Hebrewes; but ere they came anie way fordward in the Hebrews, Mr Robert took the whole exercise to himself, and had them his auditors, to their great joy and comfort. Therafter, they drew him to the schoole, where the students had the privat exercises before the masters; frome that to the table; and then to the morning doctrine, on the Sabbath, to which a multitude of the best people of the toun resorted. So, it pleased God at that time, to their singular uphold and encouragement in his service, to beginne to traine up and frame that most notable preacher, for the time of restitution of his decayed and captivat Jerusalem.

Upon Moonday, the secund of Marche, the charge above writtin

was published by open proclamatioun at the Mercat Croce of Edinburgh.

Upon the 10th of Marche, Mr Walter Balcanquall preaching upon the Booke of Ecclesiastes, and applying Salomon's saying to our times, that it was a great vanitie to see great men dejected frome their places, and simple men placed in their rowmes, said, our great men were displaced, and godlesse start-ups were placed in their rowmes; and, therefore, exhorted them to tak heed; for when the cuppe of their iniquitie is full, the Lord will caus them fall shamefullie from their high rowmes, without speedie repentance.

THE COURT AFFRAYED.

About this time the king and court were so affrayed that they sent for the whole gentlemen of the borders to hunt with them, as they pretended. But they meant another thing. When they had stayed 14 dayes, the gentlemen of Fife and Angus were sent for to supplee their places. The town of Edinburgh watched quarterlie, everie night.

Upon the 29th of Marche, the court having gottin some secreet advertisement of a conspiracie, were so affrayed, that after noone, in time of sermon, there was a proclamatioun made, that all freinds of suche as were allyed to the Erle of Angus, Marr, and Master of Glames, sould passe out of the toun within six houres, under the paine of treasoun, and not to approache neere the king, by the space of ten myles. After this proclamatioun, the toun of Edinburgh and Leith were charged to await upon the king in feare of warre, night and day, during the king's will, becaus the lords were then conveening. Upon the Moonday therafter, another proclamatioun, discharging all shippes and boates to receave anie of these who had beene discharged to passe away out of the countrie; but if they came, they sould not onlie advertise the king, but also the shireff of the shire. In this proclamatioun, all assembleis, as weill

civill as ecclesiasticall, were discharged; and so, covertlie, Generall and Synodall Assembleis.

The Erle of Gowrie, notwithstanding of the remissioun he had gottin, was charged to passe out of Scotland, England, and Ireland. As he was hated by the one partie, so was he skarse piteid by the other. He repents his repentances, condemnes his condemning of the fact of Ruthven. Now, he desires his old freinds would accept of his freindship, to whom he had made himself justlie suspected. It is travelled, that he be trusted: a societie bound up betuixt Angus, Marr, and the Master of Glames, to which he would unfainedlie joyne himself. Angus was then confined in the north; Marr and the Master of Glames banished, and remaining in Ireland. Gowrie his freindship was stedable to them. Atholl was his sonne-in-law, so was Ogilvie; Inchaffrey his kinsman, and with him Drummonds; himself Shireff of Perth, and Proveist of the toun. The Erle of Angus, by no intercessioun made by his brother-in-law, the Master of Rothesse, could obteane anie libertie or ease. But after he had stayed some few dayes with the Master of Rothesse, he is charged to waird beyond Spey. When he was at Elgine, he was informed of the hard disposition of the Erle of Huntlie towards him; but the gentlemen of the countrie offered to him, voluntarilie, their assistance. His waird being now inlarged to the north water, and he retired to Brechin castell, which belonged to the Erle of Marr, he admitteth dealing with Gowrie. Messingers are sent to Perth to heare him. They find him greeved, perplexed, looking, among other things, to his new-built galrie, weill adorned. He sayeth to the man that was sent to him, "Impius hæc tam culta novalia miles habebit? Barbarus hos segetes?" He perswadeth the messinger of his sinceritie. The Erle of Angus is partlie perswaded by the messinger, partlie inforced through necessitie, no partie being in these parts without his part. There rested one difficultie. Banding against courteours would seeme banding against the king, as the king was then disposed.[1] But what sall be done to safe their estate, their

[1] "Upon the 6th of Aprile, a proclamatioun [was made] at the Croce of Edin-

housses, themselves, the countrie, and honest men, frome the violence of these men; religioun, the king's owne self? What honest man did not stand in doubt both of his lands and of his life? When the court liked to pyke querrells, they wanted not some colour to sease upon men's persons or their meanes. Summoun a man *super inquirendis.* If he compeere, committ him to free or closse waird; examine, re-examine witnesses, torture servants, throw out confessiouns; vexe him at least, and withhold him from his bussinesse. If he compeere not for feere, that is rebellioun: denounce, forfault him; at least, lett him buy libertie to live at home with some portion of land or money. The feare of noblemen being removed by death, banishement, imprisonment, confyning, then may the courteours fill the king's heart with jealousie toward his best subjects, and rule at their pleasure. Necessitie craveth their removall in anie conditioun. If it be mistakin, yitt time will declare and make manifest their good intentioun proceeding out of love.

It is therefore concluded, that they, together with the Erle of Marr and Master of Glames, with their freinds and forces, sall conveene at Stirline, and frome thence send their supplicatioun to the king, and their proclamatiouns to the countrie, to intimat their distresse; the dangers hanging over kirk, king, and countrie. To that end, Johne Areskine, Erle of Marr, Thomas Lyan, Master and Tutor of Glames, sall returne frome Irland, and find the meanes to tak the Castell of Stirline. Then the Erle of Gowrie who lay neerest, with his freindship, Atholl, Ogilvie, the Murreyes and Drummonds; the Erle of Angus sould come from his waird in Brechin upon advertisement; his dependers, servants, and freinds, frome Cliddisdaill and other parts. The Erle Bothwell, Lord Lindsay, and sindrie other lords, promised to joyne with them. They consider what would insue. The nobles behoved to conveene: conveened, they would

burgh, making mentioun of convocatiouns holdin secreitlie, without the king's advice, wherin bands and promises were made and subscribed; and charging the subscribers to dissolve the said band, and discharging all subjects, ecclesiastical or temporall, to conveene in anie conventioun, for avowing of sucke bands, under the paine of treasoun."

heare and cognosce upon the caus, and lett the king understand the truthe; and so sould the mater end without blood. If there was no other remeed, then better to dee so than one by one on the scaffold at the pleasure of their enemeis. But they accomplishe not their designe. The Erle of Gowrie was charged, the secund day of Marche, to depart out of the countrie within fyfteene dayes. He maketh his excuse to Colonell Stewart, Pryour of [Pittinweeme,] and Captan James, Erle of Arran. They alledged it was not the king's will, which sould be a rule to all the subjects. Sir James Hume of Coldingknowes, charged to waird, delayed and made excuisses. The courteours are affrayed, or seeme to be affrayed, to mak the king affrayed, and to suspect some interprise. But it is likelie, indeid, that they were affrayed in earnest, upon some privat intelligence of some interprise; for there wanted not fained freinds on the other side. For Spott, having asked counsell of the Justice-Clerk what he sould doe anent convoying of the Erle of Angus to his confyning, the Justice-Clerk sent the letter to the Erle of Montrose, together with another of his owne: Montrose sent both by post to the king. The Justice-Clerk swore solemnelie in Falkland, before six counsellers, that he sould never conceale anie thing which he could learne was against the king's present course. When Gowrie wrote to his freinds, Balvaird sent his letter to the king. He had reveeled a little before the secreet meeting betuixt Gowrie and Rothesse. Applegirth, howbeit he sent Matthew Moffet to convoy the Erle of Angus to his confynning, yitt sent he his letter to the court, and after insinuat himself into the court, offering to disclose and prove that the erle had another purpose than to ryde to his confyning; and young Applegirth abideth presentlie at court. So, it appeareth that the king and court have felt some smell of the interprise. Marr and the Master of Glames were to be charged to depart from Craigfergus in Ireland. Angus O'Neill was charged to putt this charge in executioun. He answered, he could not weill doe it; but was content to accompanie one of the king's officiars, for whose safe returne to report his executioun, he could not answere. A letter

was writtin to the Queen of England, to desire that they sould not be interteaned there, nor no where ellis within her dominions. Nather did the queene greatlie regaird them; for Smallat had informed her hardlie of the Master of Glames, to witt, that he had beene in speciall favour with the Duke of Lennox; that he had confessed, in a letter to the Duke of Guise, his ingratitude, and the wrong done to him; wherupon the queene, upon the sinistrous informatioun of this deceatfull and leeing informer, willed the king to beware of the Master of Glames, as of a perellous man. Gowrie continueth still, pretending obedience and departure; [and] goeth to Dundie, where he pretendeth to tak shipp; all making readie in suche sort, that the court was no more feared that he sould stay, than his associats that he sould make saile; speciallie the Erle of Angus, who could never be freed frome suspecting his forme of doing.

At last, they having trifled till the 13th of Aprile, cometh Colonell Stewart to Dundie, accompanied with some horsemen; and upon Wednisday, the 15th day of Aprile, persueth him at his loodging. It beeing closed, the colonell bringeth ordinance out of the ships, and with assistance of the toun of Dundie, besieges the loodging. It is randered, and himself made prisoner. In the meane time, a servant of the Erle of Anguses comming from Dalkeith toward his master, and beholding what was done, commeth in haste to Brechin, about the 12th houre of the night, and advertiseth the Erle of Angus. The erle riseth, uttereth his minde to the gentlemen, how he could conceave nothing but collusioun; for how could the colonell have interprised to take him with so few, but with his owne consent? If he mistrusted the toun of Dundie, why did he thrust himself among them? Why did he not stay at Perth, where he had freindship; and the rather, becaus the colonell convoyed him by his freinds' houses, as by the West Wemes, whose sonne was cousin-german to him, and offered to have convoyed himself away, and gone with him, but he would not consent? The Erle of Gowrie was brought about in a ship by sea to the palace of Halyrudhous, upon Saturday, the 18th of Aprile, and

was wairded in the colonell's chamber. If the colonell had gottin direction, or had takin it to minde, he might have apprehended the Erle of Angus also; for the Erle of Crawfurd's forces lay neere hand to him. The Erle of Angus keeped a faire countenance. He hunted in the day, keeped watche in the nighte, waiting what sould become of the Erle of Marr and Master of Glames, who, he knew, were returned to Scotland, and waiting opportunitie to take Stirline Castell. He receaveth, on the thrid night after, or thereby, advertisement from them, that they had so done, and willed him to haste toward them. They had takin it upon the 17th of Aprile. There was no choise; they were his freinds: there was no retreat now from that course. His freinds, who perswaded him to passe to his confynement, they durst not now counsell him to keepe it even before this, but upon perell, and undoubted losing of his craig. For his freinds, James and Archibald Douglas, base sonnes to the Erle of Morton, James and George Douglas, sonnes to George Douglas of Parkheid, Johne Carmichael, younger, of that Ilk, were charged to depart furth of the realmes of Scotland, England, and Ireland, upon the 24th of Januar, within the space of a moneth, as also James Scrimgeour, Constable of Dundie, for the love and courtesie that he kythed to the Erle of Angus, when he went to Elgine. George Hume of Wedderburne [was] charged to the Castell of Down in Menteith. Becaus his freinds were removed from him, it was conjectured some harder mater would be layed to his charge. All these motives concurring, constrained him to goe fordward in the course. He goeth from Brechin with his houshold. The Lord Ogilvie, Powrie, Ogilvie, and others of that name, refuse to goe with him. He lodgeth by the way with the Lord of Inchaffrey: but he refused to meddle. He passeth on to Stirline; frome thence he sent to Duglas, for his dependers and servants,

THE BAND SUBSCRIVED BY THE LORDS OF THE INTERPRISE OF TAKING OF STIRLINE.

"We, undersubscrivers, considering the miserable estate of the kirk of God, the extraordinar danger of the king's Majestie's persoun in bodie and soule, and the horrible confusioun of the whole parts of this commounwealth; speciallie since, at the last alteratioun at Sanct Andrewes, by certane seditious privat men seeking their owne advancement, with wracke of all others, his Majestie's noble persoun was shamefullie abused, and in a maner imprisoned, all good men debarred and exiled, the lives of the ministers of God's Word persued, the utter ruine of the true religioun intended, Papists, renegats, and sworne enemeis to God brought in court and credite, the action which by the estats was compted good service, condemned by proclamation, and holdin for treasoun; the ancient nobilitie, ever knowne zealous in God's caus and his Majestie's obedience, by the tyrannie and violence of particular men, part spoiled, others banished, and others, with hazard of their lives, commanded in waird. No lawes respected, no man sure of his life, lands, or goods; the whole estate and liberteis of the kirk, countrie, and burrowes, oppressed and abolished, unlesse some speedie remedie be found. Therefore, in God's feare, and his Majestie's obedience, we have avowed and sworne, and by the tenor heerof lawfullie bind and oblishe us, that we sall concurre and assist one another, in resisting the forsaid enormiteis and wicked dealings, and in seeking redresse and reformatiôn of the samine, according to the Word of God, and lovable lawes and customes of this realme; and sall take effald and plaine part with others, esteeming and reputing all suddainteis and occasiouns that sall fall furth against anie one of us in particular, at anie interprise attempted, in prosecutioun of this godlie, honest, and lawfull caus, to be commoun to us all. And to the effect forsaid, we sall combine the day of and with commoun advice make our supplicatioun to the king's Majestie, without shrinking therefra, for anie thing that may be oppouned

in the contrare, or anie bypast offense among ourselves, as we sall answere to the Eternall, our God, our due obedience to our soverane Lord, and upon our honours, faith, and truthe. In witnesse wherof, we have subscrived this present, the moneth of 1583."

The lords being conveened at Stirline, declared their intentioun and purpose, by opin proclamation at Stirline, the 22d of Aprile, as followes :—

"Forsameekle as it is manifest and notorious, to the regrait of all good men who tender the weilfare of the king's Majestie, maintenance of religioun, commoun wealthe of the countrie, and amitie betuixt the same and the realme of England, how some of low and meane estate and ranke, borne to no heritage nor ranke, but trained up in warefare, bloodshed, and licentious living, have creeped in credite with his Hienesse, and by abusing his Majestie's gentle eare and good inclinatioun, for their owne advancement and particular upmaking, have sought the defacing of the glorie of God, the wracke of religioun of both the realmes, and ruine of the greatest number of the ancient nobilitie of this realme, by imprisonning, wairding, and banishement, without offence, against all order of law and justice; by procuring the exile and proscription of others, and seeking the lives and rents of the rest, whose authoritie and vertue, they feare, should stoppe their designes and comploits; and surprising treasonablie some, who were assured under his Hienesse' protectioun, and meant nothing but his Majestie's obedience; and under the name of tranquillitie and rest, moved his Majestie, that some of his best affectionat subjects sould be desired, for a certane space, to draw themselves furth of the realme, with licence of his Majestie, to injoy their owne with quietnesse and rest, who, in the end, but anie offence committed by them, were plainlie commanded, that none sould have accesse to them; under the paine of incurring the king's Majestie's indignatioun, nor they to be advertised of the estate of the countrie: Wherethrough, whatsomever letter or inventions were made to his Majestie, they might be cre-

dited, without contradictioun of the partie; suffering none to have accesse but suche as likes and applauds to their tyrannicall and outrageous proceedings, and debarring all honest and good men frome his Majestie's presence; making commoun merchandice of his Hienesse' eare, and selling and buying justice and the lawes, for geir and bribes, without which no man can have their turnes done: and for the better furthsett of their divellish devices, have drawin about his Hienesse young and insolent companie, manifest avowed Papists, Athiests, and excommunicat persouns, enemeis to the religioun and present estate, plaine favourers of the bloodie Councell of Trent, the furtherance wherof they procure to their utter power, as plainlie appears by the banishing of some of the best learned of the ministrie, wairding of others, and commanding the rest to preache according to their injunctions, phantaseis, and pleasures: discharging the Generall Assembleis of the kirk, and mainteaning the conjured enemeis of the truthe, that if their malicious intentiouns be not prevented, there is nothing like to fall out but the massacre and murthering of all that fears God, loves the king's Majestie and commoun wealth of the countrie; the cheefe authors of all thir purposes being a few number of wicked persons, with that godlesse Atheist, bloodie Haman, and seditious Catiline, James Stuart, called Erle of Arran, the onlie disturber and unquietter of the whole countrie, the patron and fosterer of all kind of vice and iniquitie, and enemie to all virtue and equitie, who, by his false inventiouns, forged lees, and craftie cavillatiouns, troubles his Majestie's estate, as the sequele of his daylie proceedings testifie, by reasoun his Highnesse, by advice of the wisest, gravest, and most moderate of the nobilitie, ministrie, barons, and estats of the countrie, at Sanct Andrewes latelie, having propouned a calme and peaceable course to have beene followed furth, for sattling the estate, and uniting his whole subjects, for his Majestie's better suretie, weelefare, and contentment of all men, acts, and diverse proclamatiouns sett out, and published through the whole realme, to notifie the same, and lett everie man see their owne suretie: How soone as that tyranne and bloodie Atheist and his associats

had accesse to court, bringing with him that wicked woman, his purchassed wife, a meete matche for suche a spous, depending upon the respønse of witches, and enemie to all humane societie, they plainlie invented a violent, tyrannicall, and unsufferable forme of doing, by infringing of all promises, proclamations, acts, and oathes, made of before: they sought and suted the wracke and destructioun of all suche as are godlie and honest men, by their wracke purposed, to make themselves great; intrusing themselves in an absolute power, thereby to pervert the whole lawes and statuts made by his Majestie and his progenitors, with the advice of the estats and bodie of this realme; which being abused and inverted at their pleasure, they might the more easilie sease themselves in the lands, goods, and geere, and tak the lives, and, as it were, suppe the blood of suche as ather gainstood, or whom they supponed sould withstand their intolerable tyrannie, wherin they have this while bypast, so arrogantlie and licentiouslie continued, that the effaires and state of the realme is by them misgoverned and abused; the proofe wherof plainlie appeares by that libertie and commandement which that pestilent persoun, and his divelish wife, have usurped in Secreit Counsell and Sessioun, wherin, by their minacings and boastings, they preceeselie commanded suche as are of the lower and meaner ranke, and by their vitious and outrageous language overhailed suche of the nobilitie, and others of greater authoritie, that would not consent to their affections, whereby there is no estate nor ranke of this realme which hath not suffered a taste of their wrongous and intolerable doing. For, not onlie is the nobilitie and ministrie evill handled, as said is, but the liberteis and priviledges of burrowes, granted by princes of good memorie, abrogat and inverted in suche sort that, with louse bridle, they doe all kinde of injurie they please, but feare of God, or reverence to his Majestie's authoritie or lawes. The truth wherof lett the abominable dinging of the most peaceable and honest inhabitants of Edinburgh declare, beside that privie blanke commissioun purchassed, to putt in and insert the names of suche as they pleased, to putt in prisoun, lay hands on, or putt to tortour; and, which is

worst of all, and most to be abhorred, and most necessarilie needs reformatioun, they colour their enormiteis, oppressiouns, tyranneis, iniquiteis, and injustice, with his Majestie's name and authoritie, thereby to lay the burthein of their abuses upon his Hienesse, and to mak his Majestie slanderous and odious to his whole people; albeit, of his owne good inclinatioun and naturall dispositioun, he has, so farre as possible was, resisted their malicious counsells and inventiouns. Therefore, as it is perrellous and dangerous to suffer suche lewde and evill companie about his Majestie, so is it shamefull and opprobrious to be reported in forrane natiouns that suche a few number of base degree, replenished with all kinde of vice, sould impyre, as it were, above the whole countrie and subjects, and keepe his Majestie thrall and bound to their designes and purposes; so that it is greatlie to be feared, that by remaining of suche pernicious persouns with his Hienesse, by reasoun of the tendernesse of his young yeeres, his Majestie might be intised to consent to manie things, by their perswasiouns, careing with them a remeedilesse danger of his owne estate and weillfare, and utter ruine of religioun and countrie, beside the perrellous wracke of his best affectionat subjects.

"We, therefore, of the nobilitie, in the feare of God, and under his Hienesse' obedience assembled heere, and in other parts of this realme, being borne counsellers to his Majestie, and bound, of duetie, to be carefull of his Majestie's weill, the religioun, and countrie, having our lands and heritages for that effect, in consideratioun of the great abuses and enormiteis used by the saids persouns, have conveened ourselves for redresse and reformatioun of the same, seing that the suffering of suche manifest iniquiteis tend so farre against his Majestie's weelfare, and commoun weale of this countrie, and tuiches us so farre in consciences and honour, that suche pernicious counsellers, the authors of all troubles and seditiouns, may be removed from his Hienesse, and that his Majestie, being at his owne libertie, and no longer in thraldome with them, may freelie, wiselie, and in tranquillitie, govern his subjects and realme, by advice of the most discreet, most grave, moderat,

and weill advised counsellers that favour his Hienesse' suretie and preservatioun; that the true Word of God may have free passage, and the commoun weale of this countrie may be advanced, vice may be punished, and vertue mainteaned; and that the lawes, acts, and statuts established by his Hienesse his predecessors and estats, may have the owne vigour and strenth, the authoritie wherof has beene darkened this while bypast by their insolencie; that everie man that feares God, obeyes his Majestie and lawes, may live in suretie and quietnesse, and the authors of all their troubles may be condignelie punished. Requiring all and sindrie, both in burgh and land, to fortifie and assist this so godlie and necessar an interprise, and to concurre with us to that effect, as they will give testimonie of their affectioun to his Hienesse' service, weilfare, and suretie, the advancement of God's true religioun, and the publict quietnesse of the realme: Certifeing all and sindrie that otherwise doe, and will not tak an effald and plaine part with us, we will accompt them as partakers and mainteaners of all vice and iniquitie, assisters of the pernicious persons, and enemeis to the king's Majestie's authoritie, religioun, and countrie, and will use and handle them in life, lands, and geir, accordinglie. GOD SAVE THE KING."

THE CASTELL OF STIRLINE TAIKIN.

The king being advertised, that the Lords had takin and victualled the toun and Castell of Stirline, caused sett furth proclamatiouns upon the 20th, 21st, 22d, 23d, and 24th of Aprile, commanding all men to follow him to Stirline with threttie dayes victuall. Sindrie who were suspected to favour Angus and Marr were confined or wairded. The Lord Lindsay was wairded in Tamtallan, which castell was in the hands of the Laird of Wauchton: the Laird of Coldingknowes in the Castell of Blacknesse. The Erle of Bothwell being commanded to depart frome the court by the king himself, went home to his owne hous, to Kelso.[1] There conveened

[1] "Bothwell came with 500 men, contrare to the proclamatioun, [and] was charged to returne to the borders with the Laird of Phairnihirst, to see peace keeped."

to the king, out of all quarters, a great number. Upon Fryday the 24th, all were commaunded to be in readinesse to ryde with the king the day following; and, in speciall, the toun of Edinburgh to send 500 men. Upon the same day, at night, Colonell Stewart went to Stirline with 500 men, to see if he could apprehend the rebels before the king came. The subjects conveening to the king in armes, the king went fordward upon Saturday the 25th of Aprile, accompaneid with 12,000; some report, 20,000 men.[1] But before he tooke journey, he was advertised that the lords had fled out of Stirline, and left some of their servants and dependers to keepe the castell. Despaire of possibilitie to effectuat anie thing had so filled the hearts of all men, by taking of the Erle of Gowrie, that the best-affected withheld themselves, cheefelie after it was seene that Atholl and Gowrie's whole freinds had withdrawin themselves, deeming that it would incense his enemeis, in whose hands he was. Evin George Hume of Wedderburne, a man as muche affected in that their caus as anie man, keeped his waird in the Castell of Down, in Menteith, though he might easilie have escaped. The lords gained no concurrence or assistance, as was looked for by their proclamatioun. Yitt it served as an apologie for the interprise. The toun of Edinburgh being charged to furnishe 500 hacquebutters, Colonell Stewart being come to Fawkirk with 500 men, and the king being to come himself with the armie, and not above 300 with the lords, it was reasouned among the lords, whether it were fittest to assault the colonell, who had takin upon him the charge to invade the nobilitie. Nather was it difficill to doe, he being accompaneid with euche as cared not of his safetie, but would be glade of the first occasioun to flee. It was reasouned again, on the other side, night battells were full of hazard, subject to errors and mistakings: muche blood might be shed, and yitt he himself might escape, and innocents wounded and slaine. It would involve them in a crime of law, wherof they were yitt free; best,

[1] "Ten thowsand hors, a thowsand footmen, and five hundred harquebusiers out of Edinburgh, six carted peeces of ordinance. When they joined to the rest, they amounted to twentie thowsand men, foot and hors."

since they had done no harme, to retire themselves in the most sober and peaceable maner they could.

This advice was followed. So it was concluded that they sould march in the night seasoun toward Fawkirk; but when they were past a little from the toun, to tak another way toward Lanerk, which they did. As they were taking their refreshment by the way, a troupe of horsemen approaching, some were sent to discover them, and among others, Archibald Dowglas, called the Constable, becaus he had beene sometimes Constable of the Castell of Edinburgh. The troupe of horsemen were Johne Johnstoun of that Ilk his companie. He returning frome Edinburgh, being dismissed, upon report that the lords had retired from Stirline, and comming this way, Archibald Dowglas went to him, fearing no evill; for Johnstoun was brother-uterine to the Erle of Angus. But Johnstoun fearing it might come to the court's eares, and [be] layed to his charge, if he suffered him escape, or ellis to gett thanks of the courteours, apprehends him, returneth to Edinburgh, delivered him prisoner, not looking for suche severitie as followed, and informed the court of the departure of the lords. The court, partlie of crueltie, partlie for pleasure to the toun of Edinburgh, who hated him for slaughter committed upon some of them, partlie to seale the justice of their caus with blood, partlie to mak the Laird of Johnstoun the more unacceptable and irreconcilable to the Erle of Angus, and to draw him to their factioun, they give him thanks for his service, but they hang the man. The lords resolve to retire into England. They take their way from Lanerk, through Tweddaill to Branxholme, and then by East Teviotdaill. As they came by Kelso in the night, the Erle of Bothwell came furth, and conferred secreetlie with them. Therafter, as though he had come to persue them, a counterfoote flight was made by the space of a myle, and a persute on the other side, till they were within the borders of England. In the morning they entered in Berwick, where they remained a certane space. Whiles they had thus retired, the king cometh with his hoast. He lyeth at Linlithquo upon the Lord's day, the 26th of Aprile, and sent the armie

before him that night, to ly at Stirline.[1] Upon Moonday, the 27th of Aprile, before the king came, the keepers of the castell disagreed among themselves. Some would have keeped still the castell, or ellis safetie of their lives promised; others would have it raundered, and come in the king's will. So the castell was randered at the first summouning, about Moonday after noone. Of the 28 that keeped the castell, foure were hanged; the captan, and three others.[2]

The king being come to Stirline, and triumphing both in his multitude and successe, causeth bring the Erle of Gowrie out of Kinneill, whether he had beene brought when the armie came out of Edinburgh. He was brought from Kinneill to Stirline upon the 28th of Aprile. He is putt to the triell of an assise. His freinds, who forbore to joyne with the lords at Stirline, which, if they had done, might have stayed the furie of their enemeis, can now procure him no favour. The points of his dittay were, the fact of Ruthven, and this late interprise at Stirline. For the first, he answered, he had a remissioun; for the other, that they had no meaning against the king, but to remove these wicked men who abused his Majestie and the countrie, and wished his blood might quenche their thrist of blood. So the Erle of Gowrie was convict of treasoun by an assise, and brought furth to the scaffold, and beheaded at Stirline, the 2d of May 1584. The same day Archibald Dowglas and William Forbes, servant to the Erle of Marr, were hanged at Stirline. The Erle of Gowrie's lands are forefaulted. His ladie, howbeit of the name of Stewart, being one of the hous of Methven, is left helplesse, and can gett no favour.

[1] "Upon the 26th of Aprile, a proclamatioun [was made,] making mentioun that the most part of the tratours had fled, and, therefore, commanding all wardens on the borders to take heed they had no passage through the same to England, and commanding the subjects everie where to apprehend them where they might be apprehended."—*Marginal note in the original.*

[2] "The names of the defenders of the castell. M. Johne Rosse, William Lyon, Thomas Gray, William Halyburton, David Dowglas, Johne Browne, David Browne, William Bailzie, Johne Ogilvie, Johne Miller, Johne Fife, James Cuningham, Walter Andersone, James Mackalexander, Adam Binning, James Richie, Robert Cuninghame, Johne Turtur. Some of them were gentlemen, some poore souldiours."

About the end of Aprile, Mr William Leslie, servitour to the Erle of Marr, was takin by the Laird of Johnstoun, and brought to Stirline, and George Afleck, who was taikin out of his owne hous of Balmanno, and were both imprissouned in the castell of Stirline. When he was accused of witchecraft, he denied it featlie; and, in the meane time, came there a man of Atholl to him, affirming he heard a witche say that the Ladie Arran had used witchecraft against him, and if he provided not for contrare venome, it would come to his destruction. He said, he would depend upon God, and defy all devilrie.

THE DECLARATION MADE BY THE ERLE OF GOWRIE UPON THE SCAFFOLD, THE 2D OF MAY, ANNO 1584, AT EIGHT HOURES AT NIGHT, OR THEREBY, BEFORE HE SUFFERED.

In the first, he gave his confessioun that he was an offender against his God sindrie wayes, for which his offenses God did bring him to be corrected and punished after this maner, the which, he doubted not, sould be in His mercie, and not in His justice; but protested that he had beene a faithfull servant to his prince, and had never offended against his Majestie, so that he deserved not to suffer death at his hands. That he was innocent of anie evill meaning toward the king's persoun, his estate and commoun weale, affirming that ever he preferred his Majestie's weilfare and standing to all things of the world, yea, to the care and weilfare of his wife and childrein; and that if he had beene as carefull to advance God's glorie as he was towards the king's estate, he had not suffered that day; and, therefore, desired the whole people to learne, by his exemple, the instabilitie of this unhappie world; not to depend or putt their confidence in kings or princes, or anie worldlie kingdome, power, or promotioun, but onlie to depend and putt their care upon God. He regrated that he, being under the king's Majestie's protection, was surprised craftilie, and used beside all kinde of good order and equitie, the which he imputed rather to the malice and invy of suche as were about the king's Majestie

than to his Grace; which persons, he declared, he forgave them from his heart, committing alway the revenge of his innocencie unto God; and farder declared, seing it hath pleased God to graunt unto him the benefite of life in this world, the which, for sa meekle as it was the king's Majestie's will to take frome him, that he was as willing and readie then to render the same unto God again as ever he was joyfull to bruike it; and that he feared not for the fleshe, wishing at God as weill that his innocent blood were not layed to his Majestie's charge, as that the thrist and crueltie of the procurers therof might be satiat and slockened therewith, so that they attempted no farther; and heerefore prayed to God to send to the king's Majestie suche a counsell as sould be more carefull of God's glorie and of his Majestie's standing than of their owne promotioun by seeking noblemen's blood, wherof the practise they might see in his persoun. He requested all freinds that were there to mak intercessioun to his Majestie to be good and favourable to his wife and childrein; and through remembrance heerof, taking himself somwhat altered in his stout countenance, and, therefore, desisting to speeke heerof farder, prayed his freinds, in few words, to recommend him unto them; desiring all the people, finallie, to pray unto God to be mercifull unto him. Moreover, in the end, he called to minde this point following, pretermitted almost, as he said, by him; namelie, that concerning the accusatiouns layed to his charge, wherof the processe will beare witnesse in the examinatioun of him theranent, and confessioun givin by him therupoun, he had delated nor slaundered no persoun, erle, lord, baron, burgesse, or minister, to be guiltie and participant of anie point wherof his accusers had accused him; and, therefore, protested that this declaratioun sould stoppe the mouthes of anie therafter that would otherwise alledge in his name. And so, recommending himself to their prayers againe, he humbled himself upon his knee, and made his prayer unto God, which he read upon a booke, intituled "The Enemie to Atheisme." And after that he had spokin with sindrie upon the scaffold with him, and had takin his leave frome them, declaring constantlie and stoutlie that he was

no wise feared for the flesh, or was affrayed for the present death, he then presented himself to the heading stocke, his eyes being covered with a napkin or cloth by the Justice-Clerk, his sarke necke removed by him, and doublet necke layed doun over from his shoulders, by the handling onlie of the Justice-Clerk. Finallie, with prayer unto God, he randered up his life to Him at halfe [an] houre to 9, or thereby.

AN ASSEMBLIE.

In the meane time, some ministers conveened at Sanct Andrewes upon the 24th of Aprile, to hold a Generall Assemblie, as had beene indicted at the last Assemblie. But in respect of the present troubles the number was rare. The king sent unto them a boasting fierie commissioner, Lord Little-Justice, Mr Johne Grahame of Hallyards, to crave a retractatioun of the approbatioun of the Roade of Ruthven, and a condemnatioun and excommunicatioun of the noblemen conveened at Stirline. But the greatest number departed, and so manie as remained refused to hold an Assemblie without the rest, and so the Assemblie deserted. The brethrein who went first out of the toun thought it unseemelie to rescinde their act, to the making wherof they were induced by manie motives, as hath beene shewed before, and that for the change of [an] unstable court; for if there was a new change, they would be urged to rescinde anie act now made. The rest who remained answered to the commissioner, they could determine nothing, becaus their number was not full, and the barons and gentlemen were discharged to conveene with them. The commissioner desired them to remaine till he advertised the king, which was graunted. The king commanded him to retire, and take suche answere as they would give. At the same time, the lords who were at Stirline sent a letter to the Assemblie, declaring their intent, which was not read publictlie, but onlie by some few of the gravest and wisest. After they had considered it, the brethrein departed, awaiting a better opportunitie.

THE FLIGHT OF SOME MINISTERS.

At the same time that the Erle of Gowrie was execute, Mr James Carmichaell, Mr Johne Davidsone, and Mr Patrik Galloway, fled to England; not that they were guiltie of this interprise of taking of Stirline, but onlie becaus the furie of the enemie bracke out then, which long before boyled in their breasts. They were the men that were at that time most hated by the court. It was time to them to flee, when their furie brake furth against that nobleman, whome they trained to the shambles: for Arran craftilie induced him to confesse diverse things, under promise of pardoun. They had lyin long in wait before for his life, partlie by poysoun, which brake furth in fleckes, partlie by violence shreudlie threatned against him when the king was at Sanct Johnstoun, by Aubigney and his fellowes, howsoever, after, craftilie they coloured the mater. The rough handling of Mr Andrew Melvill, against all order, was also a shreud precedent before their eyes. But I will sett doun the answere which the ministers who fled to England made to Alane's booke, penned by Mr Davidsone.

"As tuiching the inductioun which our anti-libeller useth for to prove the greater evil to be in the ministers and masters of our sects, (so it pleaseth him to terme them,) in that, both in Flanders, Scotland, and other places, they doe not onlie perswade subjects to tak armes against their owne lawfull princes and sacred kings, but also, doe practise, and in person oppose themselves against them; yea, in Scotland, against a prince of their owne religioun; this inductioun, I say, doeth nothing at all acquite the Pope of the lesser evill, according to the saying, *incommodum non solvit argumentum.* For as the thing objected unto the ministers by him is a greater offense, if it were true, (as heerafter, God willing, it sall appeare to be most false,) so can no man excuse the Pope of a fearefull sinne, in using the civill sword, ather in peace or warre. For as it doeth oppugne the commandement of Christ, so is there no exemple in the apostles, for imitatioun of the same: and as he

cannot prove that they inflicted anie corporall punishment by the civill sword upon anie, but by the Word onlie; in like maner, notwithstanding his running head and rolling tongue, sall he never prove that the Pope was ever able, by his word, to kill a mowse, muche lesse a man. Yitt, if so be that all were true, which most impudentlie he affirmeth of the ministers, what hath he gayned heereby to the Pope, his master? Butt lett us come home to the inductioun itself, and we sall shortlie see him approve himself a cunning schooleman. For, whereas it became him to have proved that part of the same which concerneth Flanders and other places, he steeleth from it, like a stout man, when he hath convoyed it to the feild among the enemeis, and getteth him straight to Scotland, without more adoe, to see what shift he can make there, for the support of his credite: where, he finding nothing at all that indeed might satisfie him, he returneth so fraughted with falshood, that almost als manie lynes he writeth therof, so manie lowde lees uttereth he, in suche sort, that, seing at lenth no other remedie, he getteth him to this shift, specifeid in the profane sentence, '*Qui semel verecundiæ fines transierit, eum bene et graviter opportet esse impudentem;*' that is, he which once passeth the bounds of shamfastnesse, must needs cunninglie, and by all craftie meanes, become impudent and shamelesse. And to the end he may sett the better face on the mater, he frameth all his mater in forme of interrogations, as though they were so cocke-sure, and so infallible and surelie grounded, that they could not be denied; whereas, for the most part, they are so contrarie to all truthe, and the rest so perverted and falsified, that Satan himself might be ashamed to whisper them in secreet, muche more to publishe them to the world by penne or paper. They doe cleere the caus mainteaned by the ministrie of that countrie in suche maner, as no apologie in their owne behalfe were so forcible to confound the slanderous tongues of the adversareis, and to cleere their innocencie in this case, as they doe themselves. After suche a mervellous maner, and so mightilie worketh God for the maintenance of innocencie, in the defense of his messingers and chosin childrein, to the overthrow of that Man of Sinne, and his lying spi-

rited prophets and penmen, that ere the same be not done, He will turne their owne pennes and lees to their most utter shame and confusioun.

"Now, albeit I might simplie denie the most part of his arguments, all of them, as they are sett doun, and so sett this great doctor to seeke his prooffes and warrant for his confident, bold, and shamelesse assertions, yitt, that rather his grosse ignorance and wilfull malice may be discovered the better, I will refuse no paines to confute them in severall. And becaus he aggravateth the mater, by affirming that the king is of their owne religioun, ere we enter to the severall arguments, somwhat will I tuiche shortlie in the same. And first, as my purpose is nather to commend nor discommend his religioun at this time, so, if anie good opinioun hath entered into anie good men's hearts heeretofore tuiching the same, this assertioun out of your owne mouth in speciall, maketh it altogether to be suspected, seing therewith all you write suche commendatioun of him and his lawes, (calling him most noble, excellent, a rare and lawfull prince,) in sindrie other corners of this treatise; that his querrell is so just against his rebells, (so it pleases you to call the soundest subjects ever he had under him,) that the Pope cannot refuse to defend him in the same; which is verie probable you would not doe, if he were of their religioun, and, consequentlie, an hereticke in yours and the Pop's judgement. For, hitherto it hath beene hardlie seene or heard, that ever anie Papist was of so indifferent a judgement, that ever he could distinguish betuixt a good law and heresie in one persoun; but, in whomsoever there was anie shew of heresie, all other gifts and qualiteis were so defaced that he was not thought worthie of life, muche lesse to have the Pope to defend him or his lawes whatsoever, except it were *per accidens*, as we say, that is, the Pop's owne profite and commoditie: as, for exemple, he will seeme to be assistant to the king, in overthrowing his good subjects, that therafter, the more easilie he may overthrow himself, and place his mother, that religious knowne Papist, and undoubted daughter of that holie father, in his rowme. But we will goe to the purpose.

"His first false accusatioun is, that the ministers of Scotland were the principall fannes and firebrands of the last conspiracie and opin rebellioun against his Majestie's persoun and estate of that countrie: so this shamelesse * * anti-libeller describeth that most worthie interprise, and most wholesome counsell, of the most and best part of the nobilitie of that realme, (as afterward sall plainlie appeare, in a place more convenient to be spokin of;) for the deliverie of the church of God, the commoun weale, and the king's life in soule and bodie, frome these godlesse men, and soullesse souldiours, new start-ups and pestilent Papists; who, as they possesse his eares, and have him in their hands at this present time, so is there nothing to be looked for but banishing of religioun, confusioun of the commoun wealthe, and utter destructioun to the king himself in soule and bodie, without, by the wise, stout, and duetifull concurrence of the nobilitie and others good men of that countrie, he be rid of that unhappie companie. This his most false and forged calumnie he goeth about to prove, by an argument takin from the confessioun and detectioun of the Erle of Gowrie, before his late beheading for that conspiracie; which is als false as all the rest; wherin, as he sayeth, if ye will give him credite, was detected all their pernicious machinatiouns of betraying their countrie and their prince's blood. Which argument, as it cannot confirme their former calumnie, seing there was no suche confessioun in Gowrie at his death, so it most evidentlie convinceth this lowde leer to his beard, of most malicious falsehood, and calumnious upbraiding of innocent men, in that, that not onlie at his death (which was most constant in God, and true obedience to his prince and countrie) did he not charge the ministrie, nor anie of them, with any suche thing; but plane contrare, to the great praise of God, assured cleering of His owne servants, and confusioun of all leing adversareis, he purged them all, and everie one of them, of that mater, or anie suche mater. And this he did with most cleere and loud voice upon the scaffold, in the hearing of the whole assemblie gathered of all sorts, for the looking and beholding of that spectacle, as the verie enemeis themselves, the

proudest of them, darre not denie. Which we see now to have proceeded of God's mervellous providence, and care of his owne servants, whome the devill and his slaves are so readie most falselie to accuse. So much hath that leing limmer gained by this argument, wherin he is so notablie taikin with so manifest a lee, that it hath spoiled himself of all credite in the rest: for, '*Leonem ex unguibus*,' as we say.

"Secundlie, No lesse falselie doeth he affirme that the ministers were in person at Stirline, and ellis where, both in field and counsell, with the Erles of Angus, Marr, and other rebells, against his royall person; and this he proveth, by the fleing of some cheefe ministers, so he speeketh, (whome partlie he nameth, and partlie he nameth not,) into England, for this traterous fact, and there receaved, cherished, and protected. If it be a great fault in reasonning to prove one darke thing by another thing as darke as the self, which is called *obscurum per æque obscurum*; how muche more greater a fault it is, to goe about to confirme one lee by another, yea, by manie lees; which thing is so impudentlie done in this place, by this shamelesse anti-libeller, that a man can hardlie tell which lee to beginne at: so are they linked together, like unto an unorderlie thread runne all together in knotts and knars, that skarse can one tell how to beginne to unloose and riffe up the same, without breaking of all together. For, first, where he so boldlie affirmes that the ministers were in persoun at Stirline, and ellis where, both in feild and counsell, there is nothing more false, whether he meaneth of all the ministers, or of these heere named by him, and suche others. For, of these heere named, most certane it is that none of them were neere Stirline by eighteene or twentie myles; yea, the neerest of them; others farther; yea, some of them were at that time in England. And for other ministers, if they had beene there, I thinke this man would not have stooke to have named them, that stickes not to make so manie lees of them whome he nameth: yea, whereas sindrie ministers use to resort to that toun, being a great toun, so it fell out by God's providence, that skarse were the ministers there then that dwell in the toun,

which are two or three; of whome some of greatest skill were not there at all, and one other, who knowing nothing of the mater more nor lesse, till he was there, came when the lords were departing off the toun; of whome, if the anti-libeller suspect of anie great skill or meddling in that mater, he may have a testimoniall of their purgatioun in that cace, obteaned frome the verie adversareis themselves, for small cost, I warrand him.

"These things being most certane, as the father of lees himself may not denie, then it followes, that most false is that assertioun that affirmeth the ministers named by the libellers, and others cheefe ministers, as he calleth them, to have fled into England for this traterous fact; which, first, was no traterous fact to them of the nobilitie, who were there whosoever. Nixt, it could not be a traterous fact to whom it was no fact at all; as, thridlie, they cannot be said to have fled into England for this fact, that ather were in England nyne weekes before the fact, and there remained to this day, as some of the forenamed by him were, or yitt came never into England since to this day, as some of them likewise named by him. It is most true, as is not unknowne to the enemeis there, who faine would speeke and write, as weill as this scribler, if they wist how or what. But if this man's lees speede weill, I doubt not they sall take some heart-boldnesse to them, to hold in a baise of plaine song unto his discant, ere it be long. And as for them that come into England, and are receaved and welcome there, it were lewde logick to say, Some ministers came frome Scotland, and fled into England, *ergo*, all the ministers; or, at the least, they were guiltie of that fact of Stirline, and, therefore, fled into England.

"Then, if the anti-libeller will aske, What other caus was there of their fleeing? it is to be answered, the bloodie and mercilesse tyrannie of bloodie persecuters, who at that time had begunne most cruellie and deceatfullie to persecute all these that were good instruments of advancing the Gospell; and good caus within that land; for which time they had long looked before. For that nobleman whom most deceatfullie they trained to the shambles at that time, hardlie escaped their falsehood and intended furie against

him before; once by poysoun, another time by violence of Aubigney and his factioun, in the king's palace; beside manie other privie practises to the same end. As also, sindrie of the ministers' lives were cruellie sought long before this time by diverse attempts; (as in the owne time and place, by God's grace, sall be made manifest to the world;) of whose number were the most part of them, yea, I may say, all that came into England; but especiallie one, among the rest, was so injuriouslie, and against all order and justice, so manifestlie abused, that nather could he, nor anie of his brethrein, looke for ought but bloodie butcherie at their hands; seing, after his compeerance most obedientlie and reverentlie before the king and counsell, not onlie were his lawfull exceptions against their proceedings repelled, and disdainfullie rejected, but the witnessing of his innocencie in things layed unto his charge, by the testimoniall of the universitie where he boore office, by the testimoniall of the citie and counsell therof whore he teached, by the testimoniall (all in writt) of the church and sessioun of the citie, &c., by the testimoniall of moe than twentie witnesses seperatlie examined in that cace, without anie jarre or disagreeing among them, cleering him most sufficientlie;—notwithstanding, I say, of all this cleering of his innocencie in the mater layed to his charge, becaus they would needs have him convicted of some thing, leaving the mater he was accused and summouned for, they fished a fault in his behaviour, which they alledged to be irreverent, (becaus he clamed to his lawfull defensses, and to have the benefite of the law and custome of the realme,) for which it was agreed upon that he sould enter into waird in the Castell of Edinburgh; which sindrie of suche noblemen as were present for the time consented unto, rather for pleasure of the king, and the tyrannous troupe about him, than for anie just caus they did see in the man, as they themselves after confessed; and there withall joyned, that their minde was, onlie he sould enter for the king's pleasure, but not remaine anie long time in that waird. This being so done and concluded in opin counsell, in the respects spokin of, the same night, immediatlie after, a few flatterers, forsooth, alter the decreet of the

counsell, and change his waird from Edinburgh (whcre he minded to have entered, according to the decree of the counsell) to the filthie dungeoun and vile prison-hous in the sea, called the Blacknesse; wherunto they made the king putt his hand; and presenting it to some of the nobilitie, they would no wise putt their hands therunto, as a thing most unjust, repenting that they had agreed in anie wise even to the former, which was a great deale more gentle. One they gott, by cunning, to subscrive, who, after understanding the mater, was highlie offended therewith. Alwise, having his hand writt, and one of their owne, they charge him to enter within tenne houres into that filthie dungeoun, which was distant frome thence little lesse than a dossoun of miles. This manifest treacherie and falshood being seen by all good men to tend to blood, oppressioun, and tyrannie, it was thought expedient the partie sould absent himself for a time; wherupoun he came to England long before this fact. The others that came, also looking for no better forme of judgement, and being surelie advertised, that in respect the other had escaped, they would be apprehended without anie citatioun; as men of the guarde, and others, were sent for the same purpose, to apprehend some of them, who verie narrowlie escaped their hands: seing them now returning frome blood to the effusioun of more blood, as one of the cheefest of them avowed in Stirline, they withdrew themselves to England, where the innocencie of their caus being knowne, they are, and will be welcome, in despite of the Pope, and maugrie the malice of all his merchants.

"So, having just caus to withdraw themselves, howsoever this locust would have had them to have smarted there, becaus Christ had givin them good leave, being persecute in one place, to flee to another, they have thought good to use the libertie granted by Christ, lett this chider barke at that as he list."

The like answere Mr Johne Davidsone maketh to Sutliffe his calumneis, in defense of Mr Patrik Galloway, in these words following: "And, first, as tuiching the speeche of Mr Galloway alledged by him, it is false, as he setteth doun. For he pronounced curse nather against man, horse, nor speare, that assisted the king, but

against all that defending an evill caus, to the subversion of religioun and commoun weale, abused the king and his authoritie, by themselves, their horses, and speares. That his Majestie was abused in that actioun his Majestie hath acknowledged since, by word and deid; and his cheefe abusers have made their offers of repentance to the church for the same, as we are able sufficientlie to prove, if need be."

THE MASTER OF OLIPHANT AND YOUNG LOCHLEVIN NEVER SEENE AGAIN.

About this time Robert Dowglas, apparant heire of Lochlevin, and Laurence, Master of Oliphant, were charged to depart out of the countrie. The Erle of Angus, when he went frome Brechin to Stirline, sent to Robert Dowglas for his dependers and servants. But * * Leslie, his mother, wrote the answere, in effect, that it was not sufficient for them to take so furious a purpose in hand, to ruine themselves, but would draw her sonne and hous to the same ruine. She denounced her maledictioun on him, if he tooke part in it, and on them, if they caused him to disobey her. The erle, when he heard the answere, returned these words: He could weill beleeve it was through her default her sonne was stayed frome so honorable a purpose; for he understood well eneugh his owne inclinatioun to be alwise honorable and duetifull to his freinds and countrie. But her hous, for which she was so carefull, with little care of the caus of God, smarted soon after. For her sonne, Robert, and her sonne-in-law, Lawrence, Master of Oliphant, being charged to depart out of the countrie, obeyed, and perished by the way, and were never seene again, they, nor shippe, nor anie belonging therunto. The maner is uncertane: but the most commoun report was, that being invaded by Hollanders or Flusingers, and fighting veliauntlie, slue one of the principall of their number, in revenge wherof they were all sunke; or, as others report, after they had randered, they were hanged upon the mast of the shippe. They were two youthes of great expectatioun.

Thus, ye see what was the estate of the commoun weale at this time; what tyrannie and violence was exerced by Captane James and Colonell Stewart, speciallie Captan James, a profane mocker of all religioun, more fitt to be the executioner of some Nero, nor counseller to a Christiane prince, lett be sole guider and commander of the commoun wealth, under the shadow of his authoritie: both upstart souldiours, trained up in slaughter, not fitt to be counsellers to intertaine peace in a commoun weale.

The exiled lords, remaining at Beruick, wrote to the Queene of England the letter following, the 14th of May 1584:—

"RIGHT EXCELLENT,—Being brought, at the pleasure of God, under your Majestie's most gracious protectioun, we thought it our duetie, without longer delay, to visite, and most humblie to salute your Majestie by thir presents, summarilie exponing the causes of our retiring thither. It is not unknowne to your Majestie what confusioun did enter in the bowells of our commoun wealth frome the time that D'Aubigney was Legate from the confederats of the Councell of Trent, to pervert the godlie educatioun of the king's Majestie, and to dissolve the amitie betuixt the two crownes, untill the repairing of certane of the nobilitie at Ruthven, to crave, with all humble obedience, reformatioun. Which good intentioun being graciouslie accepted, and by so manie assurances ratifeid, that no farther warrant almost could be wished; wheron, whill we, as most peaceable subjects, repose our selves, Colonell Stewart, ambitiouslie aspiring to high honours and promotioun, in a maner led captive his Majestie's most noble persoun to the Castell of Sanct Andrewes, without advice of his nobilitie; professing in word the maintenance of that late reformatioun, but in verie deid the subtile and craftie retreating of all things, and altering the whole forme of governement solemnelie established, as experience has truelie provin. For he so farre prevailed above his tender age and simplicitie, that he induced his Majestie to call againe the Erle of Arran, to renue all the wounted and former courses, and intervert the familiaritie and intelligence latelie renued betuixt

the two natiouns, and increasse the whole former abusses; by which duumvirat, so erected, the most zealous preachers, the most constant professors and patrons of true religioun, the cheefe mainteaners of his estate since his Hienesse' coronatioun, and best affected to the continuance of the said amitie in all degrees, were suddanlie disgraced, and felt some taste of their wrathe and violence: but practising Papists, the most malicious invaders of his crowne frome the beginning, by writt, witt, and force, and most wilfull selected invyers of the kindlie peace, were advaunced and possessed in their offices, rents, and lands, according to the discretioun and appetite of the queene-mother, associat in conjunct authoritie with his Majestie. In compting the particulars wherof, we like rather to burthein the bearer, than to wearie your Majestie by writt. We, therefore, hearing the pitifull lamentatioun of all estats, in this generall confusioun and oppressioun of all good men, and cleerelie beholding the wracke intended of religioun, the hazarde of his Majestie's persoun, honour, and estate, the extreme perrell of the commoun weale, together with the manifest threatning to violate the commoun peace, were constrained, of verie conscience, honour, and duetie, to associat ourselves in the feare of God, and obedience of our soverane, to have presented our most humble supplicatioun, conteaning, in effect, our effald and upright counsell, for preventing these and innumerable moe inconveniences; and cheefelie that these violent counsellers might be brought to triell before the estats: offering our selves, upon our lives, lands, and honour, to prove them guiltie therof; to the end that they being removed, as unworthie of the familiar fruition of his Majestie's eare or presence, or punished according to their demerits, the manifold breaches in the kirk of God, the king's Majestie's estate, and princelie reputatioun, the afflicted commoun weale, and Christiane peace among ourselves and our nighbours, which foure have beene alwise unseparablie united, may be repaired, and floorish in their owne integritie. Which caus, as it is commoun, and worthie to be favoured and assisted by all princes who unfainedlie have embraced the professioun of the Gospell, yitt, tuiching so

neerelie, in so manie points, this whole Ile, craftlie assaulted with commoun consent of the confederats of the cruell Councell of Trent, so have we our onlie recourse to your Majestie; humblie craving your Majestie's favourable and just countenance, by suche meanes as your Majestie sall thinke expedient, for preventing the evills intended against us both: which worke, takin in time, with commoun concurrence, as it may easilie revive and be perfyted, so, neglected, and rejected on the weaker shoulders, will kindle a flamme in the bowells of both the natiouns, which, with greater difficultie, is able afterward to be quenched. So, having no pithier perswasiouns than your Majestie's accustomed zeale, and heroicall curage to beate doun the hornes of the Romish beast; and more than motherlie care, and tender affectioun towards our king's Majestie's estate and countrie, liberallie testifeid by innumerable offices heeretofore; and the perell of the present peace can minister to your Majestie: kissing your Majestie's hands, we take our leave, beseeking the King of Glorie to blesse your Majestie with long health and prosperous governement, to the confort of the kirk of God, distressed in all natiouns."

Mr Patrik Adamsone, called Bishop of Sanct Andrewes, returneth from England soone after the executioun of the Erle of Gowrie, and the king's returne to Edinburgh; or, as others write, about the 27th of Aprile. He was directed in ambassadge to England, in the conventioun holdin in October last. When he was at Londoun, he gave himself furth for Archbishop of Sanct Andrewes, and ambassader from the king. He was weill accepted by the bishops, his fellow-bret hrein, rejoicing of that new brotherhood from Scotland. He preached sometimes, to cover his negociating with the Frenche and Spanishe ambassaders, but speciallie with the Spanish, Bernadino de Mendoza, who withdrew himself secreitlie out of England, after the apprehending of Throgmorton. He haunted also Mr Archibald Dowglas his companie, and sindrie other suspect places. He traduced our nobilitie and ministers, as treasonfull and seditious. He scattered farre and neere manie perverted positiouns,

which he ascrived to the Kirk of Scotland; speciallie to the Frenche Kirk, Geneve, Zurich, etc., to catche a vantage, if he could have gottin it by their censure, and to mak us and our discipline odious to the Queene and Kirk of England. The articles or propositiouns doe follow:—

"ARTICLES WHICH THE BISHOP OF SANCT ANDREWES GAVE OUT IN ENGLAND TO THE FRENCHE KIRK AT LONDOUN; SENT TO GENEVE, TIGURINE, ETC., 1583.

"*The order appointed by the Ministers of Scotland, obtruded to the King by them.*

"1. As there is a difference betuixt the civill policie and govemement of the kirk, so is there diverse governements appointed for the one and for the other.

"2. The civill magistrat ruleth in his politick effaires onlie, and the spirituall governours in the effaires of the kirk.

"3. As spirituall rulers doe exceed their bounds, if they interprise upon civill and politick maters, so does the prince or civill magistrat if he pretend in maters ecclesiasticall.

"4. The exemple of Uzziah, King of Judah, declares that kings sould be affrayed to medle with maters pertaining to the kirk.

"5. It is an heresie to a prince to usurp the title to be called Head of the Kirk.

"*These above written concerne the Prince's duetie. These that follow concerne the governement and policie of the Ministrie.*

"1. The order whereby the kirk sould be governed, as weill in preaching of the Word, ministration of Sacraments, as discipline ecclesiasticall, is sufficientlie and fullie sett furth in the Scriptures, and has need of no farther. And the ministers of the Word of God sould have no injunctiouns givin to them in preaching of the Gospell, but sould speeke as the Word of God puttes in their mouth.

"2. The governement of the kirk consists in three sorts; in pastor, doctor, senior, who ought to have the whole discipline of the kirk in their power; and pastors to be suche as have a particular flocke, who likewise sould be called bishops.

"3. The office and estate of bishops, as they are of provinces and dioceis, cannot stand with the Word of God.

"4. Everie pastor, within his owne congregatioun, sould have a number of seniors or elders, of laick men, to assist them in counsell, for governement of the kirk. And in everie compasse or reasonable precinct of bounds, there sould be erected a presbyterie, consisting in the pastors and doctors, and suche other laick persons, as by electioun may be associat within the same: and these presbytereis sould have care of the doctrine and maners within their bounds, and of the electioun of pastors, when anie of them sall happin to enlaike; and power of excommunicatioun, and dispositioun of benefices.

"5. The Synodall Assemblie does consist in manie presbytereis, lyke as the presbytereis in manie particular kirks. And in the presbytereis and Generall Assembleis, a moderator is to be chosin by the consent of the rest, at everie meeting; and his power to continue to the nixt Assemblie therafter.

"6. There is appellatioun from the particular Kirk to the Presbyterie; from the Presbyterie to the Synodall, and from the Synodall to the Generall, if anie man be hurt or greeved. And the Generall Assemblie does consist of the commissioners, which are directed frome the Synodall Assembleis to the Generall. And in like maner, the Assemblie Generall sould have a moderator chosin at everie meeting.

"7. The Assemblie Generall has power to make lawes, canons, and constitutions, for the effaires of the whole kirk, and to determine in all maters ecclesiasticall; in electioun of pastors, depositioun, suspensioun, excommunicatioun, heresie, and whatsomever effaires perteaning to the kirk.

"8. The Assemblie Generall may appoint times of their conven-

tioun, from Assemblie to Assemblie, and conveene themselves, without anie licence impetrat of the prince for that effect.

"9. The Assemblie Generall has also power to direct commissioners to the King's Parliament, which commissioners sould have the power and authoritie of the kirk; and not suche as are bishops, except they be from time to time authorized with their commissioun.

"10. The Assemblie Generall has also power to direct of their owne number certan to visite the kirks, as occasioun sall fall. And there is no ordinar power to visite, except they have commissioun of the kirk, and be directed by the Generall Assemblie for that effect.

"11. Benefices are the inventioun of the devill, and no man ought to possesse rent or living: but deacons sould lift up the kirk rents, and distribute the same according to the ancient canons.

"12. Patrons and patronages are not to be tolerated in the Reformed Kirk, as occasiouns of intolerable corruptiouns, but the patrons sould resigne in favours of the deacons; and if patrons sould be permitted, they sould not have the choice of the electioun of the persoun. But after the persoun is elected by the parochin or presbyterie, then the patrons ought to confer the living onlie to the person intrant, and the distributioun of the said living immediatlie to be givin to the deacons.

"13. There belongs to the patrimonie of the kirk all suche temporall and spirituall lands, teinds, rents, as has beene at anie time founded or doted theruntc. And it is a sacriledge to the prince, or anie inferiour persoun, to medle therewith, except the deacons onlie to the use forsaid.

"14. If the prince would contraveene the Acts of the Generall Assemblie, he may as weill be excommunicat as anie inferiour in the realme."

FOLLOWES THE JUDGEMENT OF THE BISHOP OF SANCT ANDREWES, WHICH HE PREASSED TO HAVE CONFIRMED BY THE LEARNED DOCTORS AND MINISTERS OF GOD'S WORD IN ENGLAND, GENEVE, OR ELLIS WHERE, FOR SUPPLANTING OF THE KIRK OF SCOTLAND.

I. *For the Prince.*

" 1. It is one of the greatest parts of the princelie office, to appoint a godlie order to the kirk, and to tak heed that the same sould be mainteaned and keeped.

" 2. It proceedeth from the tyrannie of the Pope, to arrogate to the clergie the whole governement of the kirk, and to exclude therefrome Christiane princes and godlie magistrats, who sould be nourishers of the kirk, and keepers of both the tables.

" 3. Princes, in their owne countreis, are cheefe heeds, under Christ, as weill in ecclesiasticall policie as temporall, and their judgement in both is soverane.

" 4. If the rulers of the kirk have done wrong, appellatioun is lawfull to the princelie power, by whose authoritie the samine sould be redressed.

II. *For the Ministrie.*

" 1. It is most necessar that a good order and forme be prescrived in the kirk, as weill in the service of God as in publict doctrine; that all things may be done orderlie, and no man transgresse the limits and bounds appointed in the Scripture, under pretext of the libertie of the Spirit of God.

" 2. The governement of the kirk does consist in the authoritie and power of the bishops, to whom are committed the dioceis and provinces in governement.

" 3. The office of bishop is of the apostolick institutioun, and most agreeable to the primitive puritie of the kirk of God.

"4. The ordinatioun and ordinarie judgement of pastors belongeth to the bishop, without whose authoritie, whosoever does presume to the pastorall cure, enters not at the doore, but[6] over the dyke.

"5. Doctors have no power to preache, but by the appointment of bishops; nather have they anie further power in governing the kirk.

"6. Seniors, or elders of the laick sort, are not agreeable with the Scriptures, nor ancient puritie of the primitive kirk.

"7. Presbytereis to be appointed of gentlemen, lords of the ground, and others associat with the ministers, is no other thing but to induce a great confusion in the kirk, and an occasioun of continuall seditioun.

"8. The order of appointing moderators in presbytereis or Assembleis to be altered at their meeting, is nather canonicall after the Scriptures, nor agreeable to the order of the primitive kirk, in the which, it has beene locall in the bishop's seate, and not elective and variable, as was the wardans of the friers.

"9. The Synodall Assemblie sould be moderat and governed by the bishop, in everie province and diocie; and by him sould order be takin that the kirks be weill served.

"10. The Generall Assemblie of a realme has not power to conveene themself, but upon a great and weightie occasioun, intimat to the prince, and licence graunted thereto.

"11. There is no Assemblie that has power to establishe lawes and constitutions within the realme, but suche as are allowed of the prince and his estate.

"12. The resort of the prelats of the kirk to the king's parliament and great counsell, for the weightie effaires of the realme, is most necessar; and that ministers sall presume to direct of their number to the counsell and parliament it is an intolerable arrogancie.

"13. Visitation is an office necessar in the kirk, and proper to the functioun of a bishop, and suche as are appointed by him for that effect.

" 14. Benefices and patronages have beene zealouslie and godlie appointed by our antecessors, and Christian pastors may, with safe conscience, injoy the samine; and the deacons to be appointed over the kirk rents is a preposterous imitation of the primitive kirk, without anie kinde of reasoun.

" 15. The patrimonie of the kirk is that which, by the lawes and estats of countreis, belongs to the kirk, and interteanement therof; and not that abundance wherwith the Romane kirk did overflow."

Thir last articles, plaine contradictorie to the established discipline of the Kirk of Scotland, the said Bishop of Sanct Andrewes presented to the Bishops of Canterburie and Londoun; also to the ministers of the Frenche kirk at Londoun, and to sindrie other learned men, alledging them to be founded upon the Scriptures and most sincere antiquitie; willing them, by vertue of a commissioun givin to him by the king's Majestie of Scotland, to intreate of thir maters, to conforme the same by their subscriptioun and approbatioun. And, moreover, he wrote to Geneve and Tigurie sinistrous informatioun of all proceedings in Scotland, and as best might serve to purchase, if it had beene never so little, a hinkling of their penne, to have borne out his course, and made vaunt of his credit at court. Mr Andrew Melvill sent home thir positiouns to Mr James Melvill, who acquainted the brethrein at home with them; and his other proceedings; and wrote also to the kirk at Zurich and Geneve, to informe them. We will have occasioun to sett doun his letter afterward. I will now sett doun some propositiouns subscrived by the said Mr Patrick, when the Booke of Policie was concluded, that the reader may perceave the inconstancie, or rather the craftie temporizing of the man.

PROPOSITIONS SUBSCRIVED SOMETIMES BY MR PATRIK ADAMSONE, WHEN THE BOOKE OF POLICIE WAS DISCUSSED AND EXAMINED.

" 1. Unto the presbyterie or eldership apperteanes all ordinar power of judgement in removing slaunders, as weill in doctrine as maners.

"2. In electing worthie persons and deposing unworthie.

"3. In exponing all constitutions of the kirk, which are tane out of God's Word; and concerning these constitutions which, in respect of the varietie of circumstances, may be changed, it hath power ather to appoint or abrogat. Unto this ecclesiasticall senat or presbyterie apperteans, therefore, the extirpatioun or rooting out of hereseis, &c., the interpretatioun of the Word, &c. In the secund heed is conteaned the electioun of ministers, their deposing, correctioun, or reproving, their indyting or suspensioun. Under the name of presbyterie or eldership, we understand pastors, doctors, and these who properly are called elders, &c. The power, authoritie, and jurisdictioun of all ministers is equall, or alike great, &c. The difference is onlie in doctrine and vertues. The name of a bishop is relative to the flocke, and not to the eldership or presbyterie. So then he is ἡγούμενος, that is, leader of the flocke, and not of other pastors; for that one is preferred to the rest, it is the inventioun of man, and no ordinance of the holie writt.

(*Sic subscribitur*) "P. ADAMSONE. "A. MELVILL.
"A. HAY. "THO. SMETON."

"1. Unto the presbyterie apperteans all ordinar power of judgement in maters ecclesiasticall, to witt, first, in removing of slaunders, as weill in doctrine as maners.

"2. In electing worthie persouns, and deposing unworthie.

"3. In exponing the constitutions of the kirk, which are tane out of God's Word; and concerning these constitutions which, in respect of the varietie of circumstances, may be changed, it has power in appointing or abrogating of them.

"Unto the presbyterie properlie apperteans the extirpatioun or rooting out of hereseis, the interpretatioun of the Word, the censure of maners; monitiouns, exhortatiouns, yea, the judgement of excommunication apperteans onlie to the presbyterie; siclike, the electioun, depositioun, correctioun, discharging, and suspending or interdyting of ministers. Last, The explicatioun, constitutioun of

all ecclesiasticall ordinances or constitutions, substantiall or accidentall, permanent or changeable, mutable or immutable, apperteans to the presbyterie.

" Under this name PRESBYTERIE we understand the pastors, doctors, and these who are properlie called elders, ἡγουμενοι, προεστωμενοι, guiders, leaders, whose office is to rule the Kirk of God.

" The power and authoritie of all pastors is equall, and alike great among themselves.

" The name BISHOP is relative to the flocke, and not to the eldership; for he is bishop of his flocke, and not of other pastors or fellow-elders. For the pre-eminencie that one beares over the rest, it is the inventioun of man, and not the institutioun of the holie writt.

" After this forme is it subscrived:—

" P. ADAMSONE.
" A. MELVINUS.

" This word BISHOP, as also this word ELDER, in the Word of God, is some times so largelie tane, that it comprehends also the apostles. In the Epistles of Paul to Titus and Timothie, the office of a pastor is descrived to be a certane functioun, to which a certane administratioun of a certane peculiar flocke is injoyned.

" There is a bishoprick, to witt, in Jesus Christ, of the which everie pastor, for his firme and stable portion therof, faithfullie discharges his office, in preaching of the Word, and ministratioun of the Sacraments.

" A bishop is not the bishop of a bishop, nather yitt the pastor of a pastor; but everie one bishop and pastor of their owne flocke, for which they sall give reckoning into the Most Hie Judge.

" These who bestow not their travells and labours upon a flocke, but travell to procure moe kirks and congregatiouns, they nather give care to the doctrine of Paul, nather to the decrees of the most godlie and ancient councels, as of the Councell of Nice, nather yitt

are they moved with the dignitie of the office of a pastor, as becomes them.

"The ordaining and appointing of pastors, which also is called 'the laying on of hands,' apperteans not to onlie one bishop, so being lawfull electioun passe before, but to these who are of that same province or presbyterie: and with the like jurisdictioun and authoritie, ministers at their kirks.

"In the Councell of Nice, for eshewing of privie ordeaning of ministers, it was statute that no pastor sould be appointed without the consent of him who dwelt or remained in the cheefe and principall citie of the province, which they called the Metropolitane citie. After, in the later counsells, it was statute (that things might proceed more solemnelie and with greater authoritie) that the laying on of hands upon the pastors, after lawfull electioun, sould be in the metropolitan or cheefe and principall toun, the rest of the whole bishops of the province voting thereto. In which thing there was no other prerogative but onlie that of the toun, which, for that caus, was thought most meete, both for the conveening of the counsell, and ordeaning of pastors, with commoun consent and authoritie.

"The estate of the kirk being corrupt, the name BISHOP, which before was commoun to the rest of the pastors of the province, beganne then, by[1] the authoritie of God's Word and ancient custome of the kirk, to be attributed to one.

"The power of appointing and ordeaning ministers, and ruling of kirks, with the whole procuratioun of ecclesiasticall discipline, was now devolved to one metropolitan onlie, the other pastors no wise challenging their right and priviledge therin, of verie sleuthfulnesse on the one part, and the divell on the other part, going about craftilie, to lay the ground of the Papisticall supremacie.

"In a weill-ordered Christiane policie, the office of Visitators, as it is this day used, has no place, seing it not onlie represents the verie livelie image of supremacie, but also, becaus we never find it anie wise used in the primitive kirk.

[1] Beyond.

" According as things falles out, or anie new occasioun ariseth, anie man may be burthened therewith, (as writeth Joanes Andreas upon the Canon Law.) Order being tane with these things, incontinent ceasseth that office.

" To appoint visiters at everie ecclesiasticall conventioun, and so, as it were, to mak and bring in an ordinar office therof in the Kirk of God, who sees not how this will degenerate in suche sort, that the last errour will be worse nor the first?

" Under thir conditions, we abhorre not the authoritie of a synod or councell. First, we tak us to one kirk, to bestow our labours to our power therat. Secundlie, in the appointing of pastors, we promise to do nothing of our privat authoritie, but, in the synod or councell, to communicat our judgement with the brethrein; and to make no visitatioun but by the command of the presbyterie, and as occasioun ariseth. And this muche concerning ecclesiasticall effaires.

" The ecclesiasticall revenues or patrimonie of the kirk partlie consists in teinds, partlie in lands, and the lawfull use of both apperteans to the pastor. And yitt ought no pastor to call him lord of these lands, seing the lordship and dominioun therof apperteans not to us, but onlie the uptaking of the fruicts and revenues therof; which we ought to leave whole and undisponed to the kirk, and our successors after us.

" Unto thir ecclesiasticall, although not everie where, yitt, in some parts and places, there is granted some kinglie priviledges; which right is not so muche personall, apperteaning to the pastor, as it is graunted to the ground and ecclesiasticall land; and upon thir respects appears to have beene graunted, least these who are indebted to pay the stipends to the kirk, calumniouslie trouble and overwhelme the suters of the samine before the secular judgement. This jurisdictioun our predecessors, by heritable right, graunted unto noblemen, which, by the lawes of the realme, we may not reteate. But whether thir rights and priviledges ought to be subject to the will and commaund of the kirk, or whether we sould renounce and give over the same in favours of our prince, we leave it

to the judgement of wise men in the Kirk of God, that they may wiselie appoint that which is best for the Kirk of God; and yitt under this conditioun, that the patrimonie of the kirk be not escheated in the court's hands, and the kirk utterlie spoiled of these princelie priviledges which now it injoyes.

" As to voting in parliament, and publict assembleis of the estats of this realme, if the ecclesiasticall effaires were weill ordered, and the civill policie rightlie guided, and perfyte in all points, I am of that opinioun that pastours sould have no vote therin. But as things are now, and time is, it is needfull to forsee that the kirk be not hurt, and that the lawes which are made be conforme to God's Word.

" As concerning the choosing and electing of some who, at appointed times and places, and needfull times, sall await upon the king's counsell, whether suche sall be appointed by the king, or rather by the assemblie of pastors, I leave it to the king's Majestie's wisdome, the estats of the countrie, and to the judgement of godlie and wise men who serve in the kirk, to consider what is most expedient for the commoun weale of the countrie, the weale of the kirk, and the tranquillitie and quietnesse of the realme.

" And, as we judge it is a profane and ungodlie thing, that in parliament and publict conventioun of the estats, that anie sould in name of the kirk, sitt and vote in name of the kirk, having no commaund of the kirk, nor no cure or charge in the same, nor can have sa, with safe conscience, we thinke, we may lesumlie keepe that solemne oathe whereby we have bound ourselves to the king's Majestie. In doing of which, we refuse not, though brethrein interpone their authoritie and counsell; nather sall we refuse to submitt us to the censure and discipline of the kirk, if all our counsells and votes tend to the commoditie of the kingdome, and weale of the kirk. If the king's Majestie and estats of the realme sall decree anie thing better for the commoun weale and the kirk, as right is, we sall embrace the same.

(*Sic subscribitur*) " P. ADAMSONUS."

His behaviour in his journey to, at, and frome Londoun, is sett doun in a certan poem made by Robert Sempell, a Scotish Poet, intituled, "The Legend of the Lymmar's Life." The summe is, he pretended he was to goe to the well of Spaw; but his intent was no farther than England. As he went by Yorke, he caused Johne Harper, a Scotish tailyeour, tak off frome the merchants a doublet and breaches of Turkie taffatie; promised payment when he returned backe, alledging that the Scotish merchants at Londoun would give him as muche money as he desired. But he returned another way, and so the tailyeour was disappointed of his seven pund sterline. After he gott presence, he stayed two months, but gott never presence again. He frequented the Frenche ambassader's hous, where he gott his fill of good white wine. He would have borrowed frome the Frenche ambassader an hundreth pund; but the ambassader was advertised by one of his servants, that he had borrowed frome his mother in Parise fyfteene crownes, and frome other neighbours lesse or more, but never payed a groat again. Yitt the ambassader gave him ten punds sterline knitt in a napkin nuike, saying, he might spaire no more for the present. He borrowed likewise from Scotish merchants at Londoun, and cousened them, speciallie Gilbert Donaldsone and Patrik White. He alledged that he had sent some letters of great importance with Patrik White. The said Patrik tooke oathe he saw no suche thing; yitt he was forced to leave the land, and so was he payed for his 300 merk. Another merchant gave him ten pund sterline, to purchase him licence to transport fortie last of English beare. He went to Secretar Walsinghame, and purchased a licence, alledging it was to serve his owne hous at home; but he gave the licence to another man, frome whome he tooke twentie pund sterline. He borrowed frome the Bishop of Londoun a gowne to teache in. The bishop lent him a gowne of grograne silk, weill lynned with costlie furrings; but [Adamsone] restored it not againe. He begged hackneyes, bookes, &c., from bishops, and payed them after the same maner. When he was to gett presence of the queene, this famous

ambassader pissed at the palace wall. The porter was so offended at his incivilitie, that he beate him with a battoun.

After the returne of the Bishop of Sanct Andrewes, a parliament was concluded in counsell, to be holdin the 18th of May at Edinburgh. This was by order, that a parliament sould be convocat without intimatioun made by proclamatioun. Upon Tuisday, the 19th of May, the king came to Edinburgh, to the Tolbuith, in pompe. The Erle of Crawfurd boore the sword, Huntlie the scepter, the Duke of Lennox' sonne, the young boy, the crowne. Upon Fryday, the 22d of May, the king came again to the Tolbuith in pompe, the honours borne before him as the first day, and ratifeid the acts of parliament. It was almost ended before it was weill heard of. Suche as were privie to it were of Captane James his factioun, or others who durst not oppone to the intended courses. They had but five sessiouns in three dayes, notwithstanding the great alteratioun in kirk and policie made by them at that time. The Lords of the Articles were sworne secreet at everie sessioun.[1] No man could suspect that anie thing sould have beene concluded against the discipline of the kirk, becaus ever since the reformation, nothing concerning the effaires of the kirk was treated or concluded till first the Generall Assemblie was made privie thereto, and their commissioners heard to reasoun and agree to the same. The Lords of the Articles keeped their proceedings so secreet that none of the ministrie could learne what was in deliberatioun untill one of the lords moved in conscience, and piteing the fearefull desolatioun that was to come upon so weill a reformed kirk, sent advertisement to one of the ministers of Edinburgh, upon Thursday, the penult day of the parliament, in these termes:—"What purpose is presentlie in hands, I darre not particularlie

[1] The names of the Lords of the Articles: Patrik Bishop of Sanct Andrewes, Alexander Bishop of Brechin, Alexander Bishop of Dunkelden, James Bishop of the Iles, Adam Bishop of Orkney; Abbots Lindores, Pittenweeme, *alias* Colonell Stewart, and Blantyre. For the temporalitie, Huntley, Crawfurd, Montrose, Eglintoun, Rothesse; Lords Livingston, Downe; Commissioners of Burrowes, the Proveist of Edinburgh, Perth, Dundie, and Glasgow.—*Marginal note in the original.*

show unto you, becaus I am sworne to the contrare. But this farre I will assure you, in generall, that the whole force of this parliament is bent against the kirk and discipline therof. Take heed to it as ye best can."

This advertisement seemed verie strange. He communicateth this his informatioun to so manie of the ministrie in and about Edinburgh as could be convocat in haste. They direct Mr David Lindsay, minister at Leith, the minister whome the court liked best, to utter to his Majestie their feare, and to desire that nothing be done in parliament prejudiciall to the libertie of the kirk before the Assemblie of the kirk were heard for their interest. When he was comming in at the palace gate, he is apprehended, and careid to Blackenesse, and no caus understood of this hard dealing. They again assayed by other messingers to make protestatioun in open parliament, in cace they heard anie thing concluded in prejudice of the religioun or established governement. The doores were keeped so closse that they could get no accesse, howbeit others had libertie to be present, to heare and protest in their owne particulars. Some, indeed, of the ministrie, who had made themselves unworthie of the same by their naughtie conversatioun, or were suspended from it for their abominable vices, were present, and satt in parliament as the third estate, and gave their voices, forsooth! to make themselves bishops, namelie, Mr Patrik Adamsone and Mr Robert Montgomrie, of whom I have often made mentioun.[1]

The acts of this parliament were printed by Alexander Arbuthnet, printer to the king's Majestie. In the secund act, the king, his heyres, and successours, by themselves and their counsells, are declared judges competent to all persons spirituall or temporall, in all maters wherin they sall be apprehended, summouned, or charged to answere suche things as sall be inquired of them by our soverane lord and his counsell: And it is statute and ordeaned, that none declyne the judgement of his Hienesse, his heyres, and successours, or their counsell, in the premisses, under the paine of treasoun.

[1] Upon the 22d of May, Mr Johne Matlane was made Secretar, and Lord Grahame Treasurer.—*Margin of the original.*

The Word of God it self, and the interpretatioun therof, the power of binding and loosing, or whatsoever ellis may be called spirituall, is not excepted. If Jesuits flocke home, and find greafer favour in court heerafter than all the ministers in the Ile, and challenge them for anie heid of religioun, what sall become of religioun if the king or counsell be judge for the time? In the fourth act, all jurisdictiouns and judgements, all assembleis and conventiouns not allowed in parliament, are discharged, whill they be allowed by parliament: all convocatiouns or assembleis to treat in anie mater of estat, civill or ecclesiasticall, except in ordinarie judgements, are discharged, unlesse his Majestie's speciall commandement or expresse licence had and obteaned to that effect, under the paines ordeaned by acts of parliament against suche as unlawfullie convocate the king's lieges. There is no particular specificatioun of the judgements and assembleis heere called in questioun, as commoun lawes sould be cleere, to assure the subjects certanelie what sould be done or left undone. As for ecclesiasticall jurisdictiouns and assembleis, we know none but they had their owne allowance since the réformatioun. The 20th act ratifeis, approves, and reestablishes the state of bishops, flatt contrare the determinatioun of the kirk. *Item*, An act that none speeke against the three éstats, or preasse to diminishe the power of anie of them, under the paine of treasoun. This was made to secure the prelats in their seate in parliament. An act, unprinted, wherein the excommunicatioun of Mr Robert Montgomrie was disannulled, beside other acts, which I neede not to rehearse.

Upon the Saturday before the acts were proclamed, the king and counsell suspecting that the ministers of Edinburgh would invey against these acts, sent a charge to the proveist and bailiffes to take the ministers out of the pulpit, and cast them in prisoun, in cace they spake anie thing against their acts or proceedings. But Mr James Lowsone and Mr Walter spake freelie in their sermons against the acts and proceedings of the parliament, upon the Lord's day, the 24th of May. The proveist and bailiffes consulting with the counsell, determined to drive time till the acts were

proclamed. When the acts were proclamed at the Mercat Croce, upon Moonday the 25th of May, Mr Robert Pont and Mr Walter Balcanquall, at the appointment of their brethrein, with good and rype advisement, in all good order, the circumstances and ceremoneis of the law duelie observed, without anie signe of disobedience, tooke publict documents in name of the Kirk of Scotland, in the hands of George Makesone, before William Archibald, Robert Mark, and diverse others, that they protested against the said acts, in so farre as they prejudged the former liberties of the kirk. Arran made manie vowes, that if Mr James Lowson's head were as great as an hay stacke, he would cause it leape frome his hawse. Mr James Lowsone and Mr Walter, understanding what charge was givin to the proveist and bailiffes, what Arran had threatned, what was intended against them, how other of their brethrein had beene dealt with before, withdrew themselves secreetlie after they had consulted with some of the presbyterie, with the best of their flocke, with some barons and gentlemen dwelling about. Upon the 28th day, the king went over the water to Falkland; left Colonell Stewart to apprehend them. But they were receaved in Berwick, upon Wedinsday the 27th, before five houres in the morning, and out of his reache before he could execute his commissioun.

In the meane time was Francis Throgmorton arraigned, and condemned in the Gwyld Hall, in the citie of Londoun, for some treasouns practised and attempted against Queen Elizabeth and the realme of England, the 21st of May. The discoverie of the treasons was printed soone after, in June, the summe wherof I sett doun heere, as followes, becaus the Scotish queene had her part in them.

The queen's Majestie had privie intelligence that he was a privie convoyer and receaver of letters to and frome the Scotish queene. After some moneths past, he was apprehended. When he was apprehended, there were found two papers, conteaning the names of certane Catholick noblemen and gentlemen, expressing the havens for landing of forrane forces, with other particulariteis, both

writtin with his owne hand. There were also found, among other of his papers, twelve pedigrees of the descent of the Queene of England, printed and published by the Bishop of Rosse, in defense of the pretended title of the Scotish queene, his mastresse, with certan infamous libells against her Majestie, printed and published beyond seas,

When he was first preassed to discover by whom the platts of the havens were sett doun, and to what purpose, he beganne, by way of historicall narratioun, to declare, that at his being at Spaw, in the countrie of Liege, certane yeeres past, he entered in conference with one Jenney, a notorious knowne tratour, tuiching forrane invasioun; and, to the like effect, had sindrie conferences with Sir Francis Inglefeild, in the Low Countreis, who daylie solicited the Spanish king, and his governours in the Low Countreis, to attempt the invading of the realme; and continued a course of practising against her Majestie's estate, by letters betweene Sir Francis Englefeild and himself, untill within thir two yeares past. He farther confessed, he used his father's advice in setting doun the names of the Catholick noblemen and gentlemen who did acquaint him with the descriptioun of the havens for the landing of forces, which he conceaved and putt in writting onlie by view of the mappes. *Item*, Upon intermissioun of intelligence with Sir Francis Englefield, he was made acquainted by his brother, Thomas Throckmorton, by letters and conference, and by Thomas Morgan, by letters, two of the principall confederats and workers of these treasouns, residing in France, with a resolute determinatioun agreed on by the Scotish queene, and her confederats in France and forrane parts, and also in England, for invading of the realme: that the Duke of Guise sould be the principall leader and executer of the invasioun: that the pretentioun (which sould be publictlie notifeid) sould be, to deliver the Scotish queene, and to procure by force frome the queen's Majestie a tolerance in religioun; but the intentioun sould be, upon her resistance, to remove her from her crowne: that the Duke of Gwise had prepared the forces, but wanted money, assistance of a convenient partie in England, and how to sett the

Scotish queene at libertie. For money, messingers were sent frome forrane parts, both to Rome and Spaine, and their returne daylie expected. The Spanish ambassader, to incurage the English, gave out that his master would not onlie make some notable attempt against England, but also beare halfe the charges of the interprise.

For the secund, a messinger was sent under a counterfoote name, in August last, frome the confederats in France to England, to signifie the platt and preparatioun there, and to solicite the same heere: that he instructed the Spanish ambassader how and with whome to deale, for a convenient partie within the realme: that he shewed the whole platt and device of the havens for landing to the Spanish ambassader: that the said ambassader did, according to his advertisement, know and affirme that Charles Padget was come over to view the havens and countrie for landing of suche forrane forces about Arrandaill, and speciallie to sound the principall persouns for assistance. He confessed how the principall recusants as were in the Commission of the Peace, in sindrie countreis, might, upon the first brute of the landing of forrane forces, under colour of their authoritie, and defense of her Majestie, levie men, whome they might after joyne to the forrane forces. He confessed he had delivered manie letters to the Scotish queene, and convoyed manie to and fro, between her and Thomas Morgan in France, by whose meanes he was first made knowne unto her, and that he had receaved as manie letters frome her. The letters betweene them were writtin in cipher, and the cipher, with the nulliteis and merks, for names of princes and counsellers, he sent to the queen's Majestie, writtin with his owne hand. He delivered the names of some, by whome he convoyed letters to the Scotish queene; as one Godfrey Fulgeam, who fled the realme immediatlie upon Throckmorton's apprehensioun, and another called William Ardingtoun.

He alledged these his confessiouns were but inventiouns, for feare of the torture. But it is true he was at Spaw about the time by him mentioned, had conference with Jenney in that place, and with Sir Francis Englefeild in Flanders, and had writtin letters

to Sir Francis, and receaved letters frome him. What conference could he have with Sir Francis Englefeild, with Jenney, with Liggons, with Owen, and suche like, who were his daylie companiouns in France and the Low Countreis? He haunted continuallie two ambassaders at Londoun, by whose meanes he sent and receaved letters to and fro frome beyond the seas daylie, yea, to and frome Thomas Morgan and Thomas Throckmorton, at Parise, men knowne to her Majestie and counsell to be notorious practisers, verie inward with the Duke of Gwise. There have beene diverse advertisements sent to her Majestie frome forrane princes, and intelligence frome her ambassaders and servants residing in the countreis, that the Duke of Gwise did undertake the interprise to invade the realme with a forrane power, to be defrayed by the Pope and King of Spaine. He resorted twise at least to the Spanish ambassader when he was in Londoun. When he was apprehended, he had a casket covered with greene velvet cunninglie convoyed out of his chamber by a maid-servant of the hous, takin up under a bed-side in his chamber; which casket, not long after his apprehensioun, was, by one Johne Meredith, his follower, convoyed to the Spanish ambassader. After deliverie of the casket, this Meredith fled. Being takin suddanlie the time of his apprehensioun, and forced to runne up a stair to deface a letter which he was then in writting to the Scotish queene in cipher, as he hath confessed, and so forced to depart away presentlie out of his hous, [he] delivered privilie into the hands of Meredith, ather the cipher, by the which he was writting letters to the Scotish queene, or a letter in cipher by him writtin to her. Being apposed, he confessed afterward the casket, and said, there were certane letters therin that came to his hands for the Scotish queene, frome Thomas Morgan at Parise, and other letters and papers, but confessed not all, as is supposed.

It is true that Padget came over about the same time he mentioned, in secreet and suspicious maner, and stayed not above fyfteene dayes. To what end the names of men and descriptiouns of havens, their entreis, capaciteis, what winds bring unto them frome Spaine, France, Flanders, were writtin and sett doun by him? At

one time, he used these speeches following with great vehemencie: —"Now, I have disclosed the secreets of her who was the deerest queene to me in the world, (meaning the Scotish queene,) and whome I thought no torment sould have drawin me so muche to have prejudiced as I have done by my confessioun. I see no caus why I sould spaire anie one if I could say ought against him: and sith I have failed of my faith towards her, I care not if I were hanged." Removing aside frome the place where he satt, by the racke, to speeke with one of the commissioners, he used this proverb in Italian, *Chi a perso la fede, a perso l'honor;* that is, He that hath falsified his faith, hath lost his reputatioun.

He sent to her Majestie, together with his submissioun, a declaratioun writtin with his owne hands, conteaning the effect of the most principall points of the treasouns formerlie confessed, retracting onlie his accusatioun of his father, and some other particulars of no moment. He declared that his intelligence with the Scotish queene beganne a little before Christmasse was two yeeres. The cipher he had frome Thomas Morgan in France, at the first letter he receaved by Godfrey Fulgeam, by whome also came all suche others as after he receaved, for the most part: that he sent, by one of his men called Butler, letters for the Scotish queene to the hous of Tunstead, covered with a directioun to Tunstead, and under a letter to Fulgeam. "In suche letters as come to me frome the Scotish queene, were inclosed to F. A. manie times; and most times, some for Thomas Morgan; letters to me conteaned, &c. But before I returned my answere to her, I understood of the death of the Duke of Lennox; and with all heard frome Morgan, that by the perswasioun of the Pope and King of Spaine, the Duke of Guise had yeelded to perform the journey in persoun; and that it was thought that the nixt way to atteane libertie for the Scotish queene, and to reforme Scotland, was to beginne heere in England." That he being demanded, answered, he saw no great probabilitie of the successe, becaus the Catholicks were timorous and dispersed, beside, that it was an imminent danger to the Scotish queene. "I tooke notice of this mater," said he, "in my next letters to the Scotish queene, whose answere was, that she latelie

heard of the determinatioun. I said to the Spanish ambassader, it was to be resolved that the force which should be sent sould be of that number, that what backing so ever they sould find heere, they might be able of themselves to encounter with anie force; and, therefore, they could not be lesse than 15,000 men. To the danger of the Scotish queene, he answered, he knew no remedie, unlesse she might be taikin away by some 200 horse. I told him there was no gentleman in these parts he durst mak acquaint with the mater before hand. When he told me the force intended was farre inferiour to that I spake of, and that there was some difference betweene the Pope and the King of Spaine for the charge, I told him the surest course was, to send a supplee to Scotland. For a small force would breede a great alteratioun; and things being there established by the good lyking of the king, I thought it was in him, by continuall warre, and by incursiouns, so to annoy this estate, as her Majestie heere sould be forced to yeeld the libertie of the Scotish queene, and what sould therupon have beene reasonablie demaunded for the benefite of the Catholicks heere. I said it would be a great furtherance if, at the same time, some few had landed in Irland; for the charge would be great to her Majestie, and a great occasioun of dispersing her forces. He rejected the purpose for Irland, mislyked not the purpose for Scotland, but still was in minde to have forces landed heere. When I went to the Spanish ambassader, he told me that Parsons the Jesuit was going to Rome, sent, as he thought, to understand the Pope's minde. The writtings in my casket were suche as were by me confessed, and came to my hands as I have confessed."

Now, judge all ye that be not perverselie affected, whether Throckmorton be not justlie condemned, and whether his confessiouns (though as he pretended extorted frome him by violence) be of force in law against him. He hath conspired to overthrow the state, to bring in strangers, to invade the realme, and to remove her Majestie frome her lawfull and naturall right and inheritance to the crowne of England, and to place a stranger in her seate. But this last, for placing of a stranger, will perchance be denied: then note, that in the whole course of the practise, the greatest barre to

the prosecutioun of the interprise was, they found no way how to putt the Scotish queene in safetie. Then, if these dangerous reasouns be discovered by torture, (the onlie meanes left to princes to discover treasouns and attempts against their state and persoun, where they find apparent mater to induce suspicioun, as in the case of Throckmorton, upon the sight of the platts of havens,) may the law tuiche the tratour or not? If anie man hold this questioun negativelie, hold him for a friend to tratours and treasons, and an enemie to the queen's Majestie; whom God long preserve, and confound her enemeis.

Bernardinus Mendoza, the King of Spain's ambassader for England, stole secreitlie to France, fretting and fuming that he was thrust out of England, by violatioun of the right of an ambassader, when, as in truth, he had abused the reverend right of ambassaders, by the practises of treasoun against the estate, and, therefore, was commanded to depart out of the realme; whereas manie thought he sould have beene more severelie censured; for he practised with Throckmorton and others, to bring in strangers into England, to invade the land, and to remove the queene. When he was gentlie reproved, he was so farre frome excusing with modest answere, that he beganne to accuse the queene and counsell, for money taikin from the merchants of Genua; for helping the states in the Netherlands, the Count of Anjou, Antony of Portugall, and the spoiles that Sir Francis Drake had taikin frome the Spaniards, in the West Indies. That the King of Spain might understand the sending away of Mendoza was no violating of the right of an ambassader, the Queene of England sent Sir William Wade to Spaine, to informe the king how unworthilie he had behaved himself in his ambassadge. But he could not be admitted to presence, but returned unheard.

Mr Patrik Galloway came to Berwick upon the 21st of May. Mr Andrew Hay came to Edinburgh upon the 18th of May, upon the Clerk of Register's letter, and was wairded be-north Tay. It was bruited that he would putt out others; but there was no suche thing.

THE NAMES OF THE DISTRESSED.

Some are without, and some are within the realme. Of these that are without, some are banished, viz., the Lord Hammiltoun, the Erles Angus and Marr; the Master of Glames, Dryburgh, Paisley, Buchan, Carmichaell, Carnok, George Duglas of Parkheid's two sonnes; Mr Andrew Melvill, Mr James Carmichaell, Mr Johne Davidsone, Mr Patrik Galloway. Some were licensed to remaine abroad, but in effect banished, viz., the Lord Boyd, the Lairds Lochlevin, Wemes, Cleish, the Pryour of Pluscardin, and his brother, the Abbot of Cambuskenneth. Of these that are within the realme, some are captive, as Lindsay, the Bishop of Murrey, the Tutor of Cassills, the Lairds of Coldingknowes, Wedderburne, Mr William Leslie. Some are obscure within the countrie, for feare least they sould be apprehended, as the Lord Drummond, Cathcart; the Masters of Oliphant, Forbes, Rothesse, Lindsay, Boyd, the Laird Banheth, the Abbot of Inchaffrey; Mrs Andrew Hay, Andrew Polwart, and Johne Clappertoun, ministers.

Upon the Lord's day, the 25th of May, Johne Clappertoun, minister at Caldstream, was takin by two archers of the guarde, after sermon, and convoyed to Edinburgh. The minister of Dunce, Mr Patrik Gaits, [was] takin likewise. Upon Wednisday, the 29th of May, Mr James Lowsone, Mr Walter Balcanquall, and Mr Thomas Storie, came to Berwick at five hours in the morning, convoyed by William Hume of Hutton, from Edinburgh, all night. He roade backe againe to Edinburgh frome Chirneside.

THE COPIE OF THE DISPENSATION GRANTED BY THE KING'S GRACE TO THE TOUN OF EDINBURGH, FOR THE EXERCISE AND KIRK-SESSION, 28TH OF MAY.

"REX.

"We, by the tenor heerof, at the humble supplicatioun and requeist of a Most Reverent Father in God, and our trust counseller,

Patrik, Archbishop of Sanct Andrewes, upon sute made to him by our weilbelovits, the proveist, bailliffes, counsell, and commountie of our burgh of Edinburgh, licenses and permitts, that the exercise usuallie keeped in our said burgh everie Tuisday, and the conventioun of the ministers, elders, and deacouns on the Thursday everie weeke, for correctioun of maners, and distributioun of the almous collected for the poore, sall and may continue in time comming without perrell, skaithe, or danger to suche as sall conveene thereto, in their persons, lands, or goods, notwithstanding our late Acts of Parliament, or anie paines conteaned therin, anent the which we dispense by thir presents; discharging all you our judges and ministers of our lawes and justice, present and to come, and your deputts of all calling, accusing, unlawing, or in anie wise proceeding against suche as conveene to the effects above writtin; for that caus, poinding, troubling, or in anie wise intromitting with them, their lands and goods therefore, and of their office in that part for ever. Givin under our signet, and subscrived with our hand, at Halyrudhous, the 28th day of May, and of our raigne the 17th yeere, 1584."

(*Sic subscribitur*) "JAMES R.

"Glencarne, Thirlestane."

Mr James Melvill, Professor of Theologie in the New Colledge of Sanct Andrewes, being advertised that he was to be apprehended for interteaning intelligence with his uncle, Mr Andrew Melvill, fled likewise, and overtooke Mr James and Mr Walter at Berwick. He was no sooner gone, but his chamber was searched.

The ministers of Edinburgh, Mr James Lowsone and Mr Walter Balcanquall, sent a letter to their flocke in Edinburgh, declaring the causes of their flight, dated at Berwick, the secund of June, the tenor wherof followes:—

"To the faithfull congregatioun in the veritie of Jesus Christ, which is in Edinburgh, your poore ministers, with sorrow-

full hearts, and greatest love in Christ Jesus towards you, wishe grace, mercie, and peace.

"We thought good, deere brethrein, in few words, till our God offer an occasioun of farder declaring of our mindes, to rander a reasoun to you of this absenting, for the present, of your ministers, wherupon issueth a desolatioun most sorrowfull to the hearts of the godlie. It is not feare of death, nor love of life temporall, that moves us to withdraw us, till God joyne us again in mercie. But ye yourselves see the horrible confusioun and bloodie crueltie intended and begunne, first against us, and nixt against you, by wicked men, most assuredlie through the counsells of that Man of Sinne, the Antichrist of Rome, and his supports, as weill in this countrie, as speciallie furth of the same. Ye see the whole discipline violentlie plucked out of the hands of them to whome Christ Jesus has committed the spirituall government, and givin into the hands of them who have their calling of the world and men, and not of God; Assembleis discharged, and excommunicatioun made null, by them who have no power to bind and loose; letters and charges givin, that if we speeke our mindes freelie to you, we sall be apprehended, and that by the members of our owne flocke. And now, God will lett you see, the time is come, which we threatened long before against you. Alace! we may say farther, that some of yourselves, who thir three yeeres bypast have hardlie opponed your selves against us, and the Word of God in our mouth, for whome we powre teares daylie to God, have givin us no little occasioun to lett you know a little what it is to want that thing which has beene over muche contemned amongs you, albeit yitt we tender you. And this absenting of our selves is for love we beare to you; for our presence undoubtedlie would bring danger to you also, unto whome that bloodie and godlesse charge was givin, to tak us, if we spake the truthe. Besides this, it is lesume to escape the rage of men, as Christ Jesus himself did, and reserve our selves to a better time, for the glorie of God, and

profite of his mysticall bodie; which, if we sould not doe, then we tempt God, and offend his majestie."

They wrote a more ample declaratioun not long after, to the counsell and kirk-sessioun of Edinburgh, the tenor wherof followes:—

"It hath pleased God in his justice, (deare brethrein,) according to these manifold and oft threatnings which we with our eares have heard, and as God's messingers have pronounced, to bring that heavie crosse upon us, which our eyes doe behold, and our sorrowfull hearts doe consider. Our sinnes have deserved greater punishments, if anie greater can be. And now, becaus we are assured that manie calumneis are sett out against us, becaus we have absented our selves frome our flocke, which ever we loved more nor our lives, we have thought good to write to you the caus of the same, and necessitie which lay upon us, albeit we know ye yourselves cannot be ignorant of all this mater. It is knowne to you how that, for the resisting of the course which the rulers of court had in hand, (so dangerous unto the Kirk of God; which appeares this day, and will yitt draw with it greater miserie, and thraldome in conscience, if the Lord putt not to his mercifull hand, to help in this desperat estate,) we have susteaned the burthein of greate indignatioun of the greatest, and the continuall reproaches of the rulers of court, which made us most assured that they were bent against us, and would travell to be avenged upon us, whenever they might see a convenient time. In the meane time, sindrie acts of parliament are made, directlie repugnant to the Word of God, and doctrine which we, of a long time bygane, have taught, especiallie concerning the policie ecclesiasticall. And, to speeke it in few words, our whole forme of spirituall governement, grounded upon the Word of God, (wherunto the cursed bishops subscrived themselves, as their hand-writt will testifie,) which was growing and increassing in God's mercie among us, and did grow and increasse, untill it came to a reasonable perfectioun; at this parliament is altogether cast doun. That which was receaved as of God, that was in use among us, followed out to the great comfort

and edificatioun of our kirks, must be cast doun without reckoning, by the earnest labours of ours, and God's verie enemies, almost within the space of twentie-foure houres; no reasoning being had of the weightinesse of the articles, by them who are called the Lords of the Articles; none of the ministrie being heard, nor permitted to come neere them; yea, they of the Articles sworne oft-times to reveele nothing, least, peradventure, this strange dealing comming to the eares of the ministrie, they sould have withstand in pulpit, according to the Word of God, their dangerous and wicked attempts. And that which is greatest of all, when we sent doun to the court Mr David Lindsay, our brother, a wise and learned man, desiring we might be heard, he was apprehended, and committed to prisoun, where he remaines as yitt, as we heare.

"What thir things tend to, they that are of God, and have the spirit of righteous judgement, easilie may espie. Our bishops, of whome some are grosse libertins and bellie-gods, whose infameis are seene and graipped of you all; some sacrilegious dilapidatours of their whole benefices; some disturbers of the state of the poore kirk; all wanting warrant in conscience of their calling, yea, all bearing testimonie of evill conscience, in that now they condemne that which before they subscrived as undoubted truthe; some suspended frome their ministrie, some deprived, some excommunicat; these men must be the rulers in the spirituall governement, and the samine governement must flow, not frome Christ Jesus, but frome the corrupt affectioun of these who calles these unworthie soules to suche high promotioun. Beside, the articles were penned and presented to some ministers to subscrive, submitting themselves to their tyrannicall regiment; which, if anie will refuse to doe, he must be a tratour. The consideratioun of these things, and manie others, moved us in our sermons to affirme we would sticke to the forme of governement grounded upon the Word of God; we would oppone our selves against this new and suddane confusioun; as, in verie deed, was done by us, in token wherof protestatiouns were made, both frome the pulpit, and frome the mercat croce. Wherefore, our enemeis, yea, yours

and God's owne enemeis, (as experience has begunne to teache, and most assuredlie will teache more hardlie heerafter, except the Lord provide speedie remeed,) having the occasioun offered, purchased a charge to the proveist and bailiffes of Edinburgh, thinking to mak our owne flocke, above whose soules so carefullie we have watched, to be burrioes to us, to tak and apprehend all ministers that conveened to the eldership, (which before was almost the onlie bridle to vice,) and hold them in sure and fast prisoun. And siclyke, whosoever spake, ather in privat places, or in pulpit in their sermons, against anie of their acts, or thir their unhappie courses, to be taikin immediatlie by them, cast in prison, and handled as sould be thought most meete. In the meane time, wantoun words were givin out, that if we followed our courses, which surelie is of God, though our heads were als great as haystackes, we sould want them. We saw also good brethrein of the ministrie apprehended, of whom, we were assured, they had not so great mislyking as of us. Of all these things did arise our hard battell and greevous tentatiouns, which, how greevous they were unto us, He knowes who searches the hearts. To stay from our good caus we could not, for then we sould be tratours to God, who has beene so good to us. To continue therein was compted treasoun to the king, and hurtsome to our flockes, who gott the charge to tak us, in case of our proceeding in our office; which is, to condemne all acts made by men repugning to the decreets of the living God. Thus wrastling betuixt the tentatiouns, and tossed heavilie betuixt wind and wave; in end, we resolved to reserve our selves to a better time. And of a truthe this resolutioun was takin in the bitternesse of our heart, and in manie teares, especiallie remembring of you, our deare flocke. That was done after manie prayers, and after we were assured it was the will of the Lord, as we are assured the godlie think so indeid; and we farther perswade ourselves, that the Lord once sall lett the world understand he had his great worke in it, to his owne glorie.

"Lett no good man, therefore, thinke that this is against the law of God, or good conscience: farre be it frome us, that wilfullie

so we sould offend, seing we have walked in uprightnesse of conscience among you, and trusts, by God's grace, to doe to the end. We have manie things to write unto you, which we darre not committ to paper and inke, for your caus, in thir dangerous dayes. The Lord give you grace to stand, remembring to follow these things which yee have heard and embraced. We feare woolves sall intrude themselves upon you, as we heare some alreadie have done; which is a sore wound unto us, beside that we are plucked away frome you. We told you, when we were with you, that the contempt of the truthe would bring on the plague of the foolish pastors, who sought themselves, and not Christ Jesus, the great Pastour of the flocke. This little burthein, layed upon us by the mercifull hand of our God, we trust we sall susteane and beare in patience. We trust also we sall not be idle, but be profitable for the kirk, even there, in helping with some our labours which were begunne amongst you, and could not be perfyted by reasoun of our manifold occupations. We are in good hope the Lord sall unite us once againe; alwise his good will be done. We cannot wearie to speeke to you by letter, seing we may not by corporall presence. The Lord forgive the authors of this separatioun, and make them once to know, they have lifted up themselves in their pride against Him who sall humble them. Thus, we ceasse to trouble you, or awbound your hearts anie farther, by remembrance upon us, and upon the libertie lost for a time, which our God did give unto us, and so committs you to the protectioun of Him that is Most High. The Spirit of the Lord Jesus Christ be with you for ever. By yours to be commanded in the Lord, with manie teares.

(*Sic subscribitur*) "J. LOWSONE.

"WALTER BALCANQUALL."

Johne Carnes, reader, presented their letter to the counsell of Edinburgh. They directed it to the king, at the perswasioun of Henrie Nisbit, a favourer of the Duke of Lennox' and Arran's courses. The Bishop of Sanct Andrewes penned a letter, wherewith the kirk of Edinburgh was urged to send, as an answere to

the letter sent by their pastors. Whils the king remained at Falkland, Arran and Colonell Stewart came diverse times to Edinburgh, to urge subscriptioun. Their guiltie conscience putt them in suche feare, that they caused the toun keepe a great watche, everie night during their abode. Manie refused to subscrive the letter. Some were imprisoned. Edward and James Cathkins, two brethrein, and Robert Marke, were banished. Heere followeth the tenor of the letter:—

"We have receaved and read your letter, for the which offense we have humblie craved pardoun at his Majestie; who hath not onlie, of his great clemencie, graunted the same to us, but hath also permitted us to write this present, hereby to use you more charitablie and honestlie than ye have used us of late: remitting to learned men, and your own consciences, to show (since ye are not blinded with ignorance, or laike learning, at the least some of you) how farre ye have sliddin from the right way, in your last letter writtin to us, by unreverentlie alledging and affirming that his Hienesse' last acts of parliament have no ground or warrant in the Word of God, but, by the contrare, are directlie opposite and repugning thereto. Remitting the samine to be impugned by the learned, they content us fullie, and satisfie us, since we can find no part of the Scriptures and Word of God plainlie repugnant thereto: as also, in respect the first act of the last parliament ratifeis and allowes the libertie of preaching the Word, and religioun plainlie professed within this realme, and administratioun of sacraments; and since also, they were concluded by the estats, amongst whome there be men both fearing God, and learneder and wiser than ye are. It contents us to follow Sanct Paul, in the 13th of the Epistle to the Romans, the meaning wherof ye have too seldome exhorted us to follow. To returne then to our purpose: In respect ye have not onlie contemptuouslie and unreverentlie slaundered the good and necessar lawes established by his Majestie and estats of parliament, slaundered his counsell and present estate, exhorting all men to the mislyking of the same, fled furth of this realme unchallenged or persued, thereby making kythe your guiltie con-

sciences, but also have not behaved yourselves duetifullie, in particular, towards us, your late flocke, first in leaving us by our knowledge, against your duetie, and conditions made to us, thereby putting his Majestie in suspicioun of our foreknowledge of the same; nixt in making us offend his Majestie, in recept and reading of your slaunderous letter, ye now having made your selves his fugitives and rebells: Wherefore, and in respect of the foresaids causes, willing to use you, as we said before, more charitablie and honestlie than yee have done us, we therefore, by thir presents, discharge our selves unto you; esteeming our selves no longer your flocke, nor you anie longer our pastors; thanking God, the ruler of the secreet thoughts of all hearts, that He hath made you manifest, to your owne shame, and to the releeving us of woolves, in place of pastors. Thus, hoping his Majestie sall provide us of good and quiett-spirited pastors, we committ you to God's mercie, who may make you ashamed of your former offenses, and unfainedlie to repent for the same."

In the meane time there were spread in writt, some reasons why suche as feare God sould not subscrive this godlesse letter as followes:—

> "All that subscrive the divelish and blasphemous answere made unto the godlie and confortable letter sent by the pastors of Edinburgh unto their flocke, in tyme of their persecution, are goates of the flocke, and not true sheepe; false professors, and not true Christians; perjured men, and not faithfull people; promise breakers, mercilesse tyranns, and false backe-bytters; and, therefore, under the wrathe of God in the meane time to fall, if they prevent not the same by unfained repentance.

"It is provin that they are goates of the flocke, and not true sheepe, becaus, since their departing, they have followed strangers, not knowing the voice of their true sheepheards, speeking unto

them by letter, sent for no other caus but to confort the flocke, least they be moved and overcome with the present afflictioun wherewith Satan has tempted manie.

"Nixt, They are false professors, and not true Christians; for they once appeared to have roote and floorishing, but at the shynning of the sunne in his heate, are now withered and fallin away.

"Thridlie, They are perjured and not faithfull, becaus there was a famous and solemne assemblie used in the kirk of Edinburgh, before the celebratioun of the Lord's Supper, to the end that the whole bodie of the kirk, both pastors and flocke, being purged from all publict offensses, they might communicat at that table worthilie. And at this time, the whole kirk of Edinburgh being assembled, after earnest invocatioun of God's name, first, the flocke was charged upon their conscience to beare record of the doctrine and lives of their pastors; and if they knew anie slaunder or offense in their persons, to declare the samine: and that all might speeke in their triell freelie, the pastors were removed. But, after diligent inquisitioun, they were allowed of the whole eldership of the kirk, of the proveist, bailiffes, and counsell of the toun, and last, of the rest of the whole bodie, joyning therewith publict prayers and thanksgiving to God for their perseverance; the register wherof is yitt extant, to the great glorie and honour of these faithful pastors; and, on the other part, to the great shame and reproache of suche unthankfull men that, this day, subscrive the contrare, although the decent and comelie order was continuallie used, untill the late persecutioun of the pastors. But the veritie is not impaired with the light reeds shakin with the wind; nather are true pastors hereby dishonoured: for it is no reproache that comes by them who, with the same mouth, curse and blesse, honour and dishonour God's truthe, and messingers therof.

"Fourthlie, They are promise breakers; for that mutuall covenant, whereby the pastors and flocke were united, is brokin by them, heereby loosing that confortable societie which once Edinburgh and the flocke had with them.

"Fyftlie, They are mercilesse tyranns; for, heereby they wounded

the hearts of their faithfull pastors, that brake unto them the bread of life. For if Paul, in the middest of his persecutiouns, judged himself to be alive, becaus the kirk of Thessalonica, in his absence, stood steadfast in the Lord, sall not the pastors of Edinburgh be wounded by the dolors of death through the fall of thir unconstant men? And als, if the said apostle had great consolatioun, for that the Thessalonians had good remembrance of him, desiring most ardentlie to see him, sall not they have great sorrow, becaus the memorie of them, and their power, was extinguished; and also, they have maliciouslie divorced themselves frome them? But, O wicked men! can there be a just caus of divorce frome your pastors, who now, by Satan, are rent frome their flocke for a seasoun, concerning their bodilie presence, whill as yitt, in their hearts, they have a great desire to be with them? Thus did not the kirk of Thessalonica to Paul, nor the kirk of Millan to Ambrose, in time of persecutioun. Yitt, O faithful pastors! in the middest of all your sorrowes, lett your glorie and crowne of your rejoycing be, that some, although poore and abject sinners, within thir tempests, nather for feare of horning, banishment, imprisonment, death, or other torments, abide constant.

"Last of all, They are false backebyters; for if anie just offense had beene into them, they would have persued and accused them before their ordinarie judges, who judge, two severall dayes in the weeke, upon maters ecclesiasticall: upon Tuisday, the presbyterie, (a notable ornament of this natioun, albeit now by Sathan forbiddin;) and upon Thursday, the eldership of Edinburgh. And both unto the one and the other, with all reverence, they ever submitted themselves. But at that time no man did, or could, justlie blame them. As to these who have caused this divelish letter to be allowed by subscriptiouns, I will not at this time speeke, seing their whole proceedings in this mater, both first and last, testifeis that they doe against their owne conscience, the Word of God, and good reasoun. For they brought some that are now ringleaders in Edinburgh into this error and uncleannesse, with craftie and flattering words; and others they travell daylie to overcome by force,

and terrour of banishement, imprisoning, death, and other persecutiouns, by the which, the devill, impietie, and falset, have their authoritie in this world, as is weill knowne. And for this caus, we that are faithfull, assure our selves that the letter is false and divelish. But therunto it hath beene answered before; which, I trust, sall satisfie the hearts of the godlie.

"As towards their departure, I trust that no man is ignorant of the charge that Christ gives to his apostles, when he sends them to preache in Judea, saying, 'When they persecute you in this citie, flee to another;' and again, 'Whosoever will not heare you, nor your words, when ye depart out of that citie or house, shake off the dust off your feete;' to signifie, their land is polluted, and that ye consent not to their wickednesse. And when the rulers and courteours of Babell could find no occasioun nor fault against Daniel, they caused King Nebuchadnezer[1] mak an act against him, concerning the law of his God; which, as he refused constantlie, so might he lawfullie have fled the furie of the king and rulers, as Paul did in Thessalonica, and others manie moe. Wherefore, O brethrein in Edinburgh, stand fast in the Lord, and come out from among suche, and seperat your selves, and tuiche not the uncleane thing; and the Lord will receave you, and be a father to you, and ye sall be daughters and sonnes to him."

THE BISHOP OF SANCT ANDREWES' ANSWERE TO MR LOWSONE AND MR BALCANQUALL, FROME FALKLAND, 9TH JULIE 1584.

"The Proveist and Bailiffes of Edinburgh being charged by the king's Majestie, to present a letter subscrived with your hands, Mr James Lowsone and Mr Walter Balcanquall; which letter, after I had perused, I humblie supplicat his Majestie that it might be permitted to me to direct an answere thereto. For albeit, in directing your letter to the toun of Edinburgh, and sindrie honest men therin, yee might have brought them under the danger of the

[1] The word is so written in Calderwood, but is evidently a slip of the pen for Darius.

king's lawes, who had not deserved that at your hands, our duetie and obedience to our soverane had not suffered us to use the like indiscretioun, but to obteane his Majestie's licence to that effect. Nather sall ye esteeme that, in this answere, I putt my hooke in other men's corne, as the commoun proverb is, making this reply, to a letter not direct to me, but to the toun of Edinburgh; becaus, albeit your letter be so inscrived, it conteans verie little or nothing concerning the said toun, but rather diverse forged calumneis against the king's Grace, Honorable Privie Counsell, the Estats of Parliament, and degrees of the realme, the estate wherunto God hath called us, and sindrie invented injureis against these, whom it behoves you in your calling to honour and reverence, if your penne had beene conducted by that Holie Spirit which, in the beginning of your letter, ye use to your congregatioun. Nather doe I greatlie mervell on the part of Mr Walter Balcanquall: age, and small educatioun in learning, may carie him to suche attempts: but of you, Mr James, whose travels are bestowed in learning, age, experience, and knowledge, that ye sould have directed from you writtings of anie suche interprise. And, surelie, if we had onlie to doe with people of our countrie, I would not esteeme your writting worthie of an answere. But becaus other natiouns might be perhaps otherwise informed than the truthe, by some phantasticall and curious heads, that ye sould not abuse yourself in your owne opinioun, the countrie, nor estate, I could no longer temper to informe you with this letter, what slanderous heids ye have committed to your writting; how weake your excuses are, ye make for the departing frome your flocke, that under the colour therof ye might colour suche other attemptats as have beene practised, and, praised be God, discovered before the sunne and the moone.

"But least yee sould esteeme that I doe not directlie impugne the articles of your pretended allegeances, first of all, I perceave suche generalitie in your indytement, as sophists doe use when they would soyle the eyes of ignorant and unlearned men. Ye say, that now the plagues are performed which yee before threatned; and ye sett not doun, what threatnings ye used, or what

time, or upon what places of Scripture, that the triell of God's Word might examine your spirit. Nather doe yee specifie what plagues are now performed, which before ye threatned. For if ye meane of this late attempted rebellioun, it is a plague unto the countrie: men of good judgement will inferre that ye have beene privie to it, not by the revelatioun of the Spirit, but by conference of flesh and blood; wherunto your suddane departure frome your flocke, without anie just occasioun, has givin no little perswasioun the samine to be of truthe; and, therefore, will desire you, in the name of God, not to pretext the holie message of God's calling to suche threatnings, as carnall affectiouns on the one part, and hatred and malice of men, with sinister informatioun of craftie persouns who abuse, and have abused, your simple credulitie, to be conducted as the winds of the factiouns and conspiraceis had blowne; the which, the secund article of your letter does manifestlie declare. For ye say, the course of the court, this while bygane, had beene so dangerous, that ye repugned and resisted thereto; and that ye were enemeis to them, and they to you; in the which, as ye discover your proceedings to be grounded upon malice, so is your generalitie most captious and dangerous.

"Ye speake of the rulers of the court, and their practises against the truth; nather doe ye except his Majestie, who is the most zealous and godlie prince, praised be God, and of greatest expectatioun in the earth. Nather doe ye show anie practise of anie of the court intended against the Word of God; which, if ye had knowin, your duetie required, to have admonished anie of the noblemen, and counsell of the realme, and his Majestie's self, if that your intentions had beene soundlie, in the feare of God, to sute after a reformatioun; and not rashlie, under the pretence of this generall language, to inflamme the hearts of the subject against their prince, if it were possible, to bereave them of that naturall duetie which they ought to their soveran, even for conscience sake. Nather can ye say, that particular accesse was denyed you at anie time to his Hienesse' owne presence, when ever ye craved the same; but contrarie wise, his Majestie had your promise not to speeke anie

thing in pulpit concerning him and his estats, whill yee had advertised his Grace, that he might have redressed the same. So that, if I would reasoun with you in thir termes, that ye had violat your promise, that ye had past the bounds of your calling, and transgressed the dutie of a good subject, I am sure ye sould be more unable to defend your selves than yee are presumptuous to accuse others. Ye tak you frome the court and counsell to the estats of the realme conveened at this late parliament, and sett doun sindrie majesticall sentences; but all in generall but anie reasoun subscrived on your part, as if the estats of the realme had rashlie proceeded, and all were oracles, that ye dreame and fantasie in a commoun wealth. Ye say, the articles of Parliament are repugnant to the Word of God; and ye show not what articles, in what points, and for what reasoun. The first act does expreslie allow and ratifie the religioun established in this countrie. If that act does mislike you, I doe mervell what hath so suddainlie transported you: the wind of everie doctrine.

"But if we agree in the solide fundament of our faith, and the questioun, as ye write, is onlie for the policie of our kirk, it followes necessarilie, that the questioun sall be brought to this estate, whether the ministers of a countrie sould prescrive to the prince and commoun wealth; or if it be a cheefe article of his princelie office? which no man of good judgement is able to denie, or mainteane the contrare. And surelie the little successe which hath insued thir yeeres bygane, hath givin a manifest testimonie that the policie of an estate cannot depend upon the uncertan and arbitrall decrees of ministers, but must be founded upon the law of God, and godlie constitutions of the prince. If this time were proper, and if your owne conscience beare you not record, what confusioun hath insued on that policie; (but rather disorder,) which hath beene intended in the kirk heeretofore, no man having the oversight of dioceses, na difference betuixt great and small, learned and unlearned, young and old, no wise experimented in the Scriptures, but everie one claming equall authoritie and jurisdictioun, whereby insued suche confusioun, that the enemeis of the Word did call our Assembleis

Malcolmetoshes courts, and [said] that the decrees made in the said Assembleis did, in number, exceed the canon law; the most part fighting against themselves, and contrare one to another. Acts made to derogate the estat of the realme, yea, manifest treasoun allowed and approved, and an act sett furth to excommunicat all them who would not subscrive, that the Road of Ruthven, wherin his Hienesse' persoun was apprehended, and, with danger, reteaned against his will, was a good and godlie act for the kirk; admonitions direct, charging the king and his counsell not to dispone his patrimonie of bishopricks to anie qualified persons, under paine of excommunicatioun; fastings solemnelie reclamed throughout the realme, under the pretext of sanctimonie, but conteaning secreet practises, frome time to time, of lurking treasoun, and to incitat and provoke some subjects to rebellioun; to conveene the gentlemen of the countrie, to practise with them, in pretence of presbytereis; to alter and change, daylie, the order and state of the kirk, as within thir few yeeres has beene, frome superintendents to bishops, frome bishops to visitors, frome visitors to commissioners, and frome commissioners to presbytereis and moderators: and, finallie, to have none other order in the Kirk of Scotland but that which had beene commaunded by pluralitie of votes, wherin the most unwise and unlearned does often times prevaile; the confusioun wherof had made new lawes to be appointed by the king and estats, as is in the proverbe, *Ex malis moribus bonæ leges.* And, as concerning the lawes themselves, sett doun in this parliament, I wish ye sould beare a greater reverence to our king, estates, and countrie, than to traduce them in suche sort, in respect of diverse men of good judgement, who had not consented thereto, but a good warrant both of the law of God and upright conscience. And when ye sall lett us understand anie weightie argument out of the Scriptures of God, and antiquitie of the primitive kirk, ye may, if ye be not sufficientlie answered, please yourselves in your owne opinioun. But we are assured the farther ye sall travell in ryping up the ground of the truthe, ye sall more and more damne your owne proceedings, and give place in the end to the veritie. And, there-

fore, in this point I will appeale you rather to a learned contentioun than suffer you to misuse your stile, in a profane maner of injurious calumneis.

"It pleased you, masters, to call us cursed bishops, violators of our faith, and other odious termes unworthie of the eares of Christians, where as, (if it were not contrarie to the Christian dutie,) we would upbraid to the speciall of your opinioun, greater imperfectiouns than ye are able to charge anie of us with. And if ye had read the notable sentence of Jerome against Vigilantius, ye had not abused your paper with unreverend indytement. For Vigilantius having charged Jerome with some offense, in his youth, Jerome writeth, that becaus he did faile in proofe of his cause, he converted his stile into calumneis and misreports, 'which is the maner,' sayes Jerome, 'of all these who find themselves destitute of a good caus;' like as some of the Papists of our owne countrie, in their bookes imprinted, have sett furth diverse offensses in ministers. And if ye sall follow their exemple, and we in like maner towards you, we sall both expone the truthe to the mocking of the commoun enemeis, and mak an entrie to the idolatrie papall abolished among us, to the which ye appeare to endevoure your selves, by the foolish desertioun of your flocke, if God had not indued his Majestie with constancie in religioun, which, by your misbehaviour, (praised be God,) can not be brangled, muche lesse altered or changed. And albeit there hath beene in us anie having imperfectioun, and that ye had not the spirit of Sem and Japhet, to cover them with the mantle, notwithstanding, there can be no crime so great as may be justlie compared with this present desertioun of your flockes; the which, although ye would cover, under the pretext of just feare, it is on no wise so. For I know most assuredlie the contrare, that no man did pretend anie injurie or hurt to the smallest preacher of the truthe, who had not manifestlie assisted the late rebellions, ather by giving of counsell, practising, publict avowing in pulpit of their doings contrare their dueteis; and notwithstanding, diverse of them rather spaired by his Majestie's clemencie, and reverence he beareth to our calling, nor for anie their owne demerits. And

surelie, for my owne part, I do not believe that anie kinde of feare could move you to desert your flockes, if ye have not some guiltinesse of minde; and that some woffle and malicious persoun had not suddenlie affrayed your weake stomacke, and moved you to depart, rather to mak a commotioun popular, (if possible could have beene,) than for anie other good caus.[1]

"Ye sould know, by reading of Scriptures, what boastings the servants of God had in time of troubles, and raundered their life for the professioun of the truthe; and farther, how Johne Chrysostome, being condemned by a synod of bishops, said, '*Ego ex hoc throno* (meaning the pulpit) *non descendam nisi imperatoria vi coactus.*' But when has his Hienesse within the realme threatned or punished, without great rebellioun, and the samine often times pardoned, and they abused his clemencie and mercie? Did he adhibite anie violence to throw you furth of your pulpit? Or, contrariewise, did he not requeist and desire, like a godlie prince, you and all other ministers, and masters of colledges, to conteane yourselves within the bounds of your owne calling, to teache and instruct your owne people and flocke in the feare of God, good life and maners, and obedience to their magistrats; and not us, who sould be the instruments of peace, to be the disturbers and disquieters of the commoun wealth, by our seditious and popular sermouns? which, as the onlie thing his Majestie willed us, to cutt the Word of God aright to his subjects, which being his Majestie's and estates' whole end and intentioun, I doe not little mervell what has imprinted this suddane and panick feare into your hearts, except ye be bereft and spoiled of your naturall judgement; which may verie weill appeare, in that ye have sought your refuge in the realme of England, where you cannot possesse greater libertie of the Gospell than you have in this countrie. For, as concerning the princesse her self, albeit her Majestie loveth and mainteaneth

[1] In consequence of the loss of several pages in the original, the deficiency has been necessarily supplied from Calderwood's first *Cura*, extending from the commencement of this volume to the present paragraph.

the Gospell, she is a rare auditrix of the preaching, and, except in Lent, and few solemne dayes, heares no sermons. His Hienesse, beside the privie exercise used in his hous everie day, after dinner and supper, by one termed minister exponing the chapter, observeth solemnelie the sermons everie Sunday twice, with his whole nobilitie and counsell, and siclyke on every Wednsday and Fryday in the yeere. Her Majestie hath continued the reformatioun of King Edward, wherin the kirk is burthened with sindrie ceremoneis and injunctions, wherunto their clergie is astricted, wherewith his Hienesse hath not burthened his realme. Notwithstanding that Peter Martyr, Master Bucer, and Bullinger, men to be reverenced for their learning and sinceritie, did write to the bishops of England and whole pastors, that when the prince prescrived these ceremoneis, that it was not lesome to pastors or ministers to leave their flockes desolate, but rather to rander reverence. Which booke, if ye had perused, I thinke ye would not so lightlie have left your congregatioun. For, as concerning the lawfull authoritie of bishops in their dioceses, and princes' authoritie royall over all the estats within the realme, there is no man in England, where ye are now, had called the same in questioun, but some turbulent spirits who are banished the realme, and beginne to repent themselves of their foolish opinioun. As contrariwise, there is no act passed by us in parliament, to the which the whole learned, godlie, and faithfull professors of the Word, bishops, pastors, and ministers there, had not subscrived without anie controversie, manie in number, and rare in eruditioun, and suche in wisdome, that I cannot believe her Majestie, being so wise and godlie a princesse, will receave you, or anie suche as you, within that realme, to minister occasioun of anie fond opinioun within her countrie; or that the estate of that cleargie will tolerat suche beastlie men as yee are, to infect the youth of that countrie. For this propositioun I sett doun, as the occasioun of this letter, that the order, or rather disorder, which in the Booke of your Policie was appointed to the king and his estates, cannot stand with the sinceritie of the truthe, with the exemple of the an-

cients, nor with the scepter of anie Christian prince, which cannot be but continuallie disquietted, by meanes of your popular disorder.

"And, therefore, as for you, Mr Walter Balcanquall, knowing your qualiteis not to be suche as may serve for so notable congregations, I would, notwithstanding, use all meanes toward his Majestie, with my humble prayer, to reduce you, Mr James Lowsone, heere in your countrie, to be a good instrument in times to come. And if it sall fall otherwise upon your part, I trust, all natiouns sall understand that you have not loved your flocke, but upon suche occasiouns, as cannot justlie be mainteaned: Therefore, returne to the kirk, we crave you; the king, who is gracious, and your brethrein, who earnestlie desire a godlie forme of policie settled in the countrie, to the contentement of the countrie, and example and lanterne to other natiouns; which is the speciall desire of the king your master, whome God preserve, and for whose weilfare we sould have been more carefull than your departing hath declared: the which I wishe you heartilie to amend, and so committs you to God.

"From Falkland, the 9th of Julie 1584.

"Your brother, if yee travell not to divide the unitie of the kirk,

"M. P. ADAMSONE,
"Bishop of Sanct Andrewes."

Mr James and Mr Walter wrote a sharpe and picking answere to the bishop, as some manuscripts beare; but I have not seene it: alwise, they sent this letter following, as a reply to the letter subscrived by a number of the flocke:—

"*The Spirit of the Lord Jesus confort you in these dangerous dayes, and latter end of the world. Amen.*

"Our dutie constraineth us, and necessitie compelleth us, deare brethrein, to answere so shortlie as we can, a letter which, of late,

is come into our hands, subscrived, as we are informed, by some of that flocke, for the weale of whose soules how faithfullie and carefullie we have watched, the Lord doth knowe, and you yourselves beare record unto us. It cannot be told, how deepelie we were wounded at the reading of that writting. The dolour was the greater, and the wounds the more greevous, that frome you came dolour to us, who so oft had conforted you; and by you we were wounded, whose wounds and sores we have healed, with the most sweete and confortable medicine of the gracious Word of God, wherof we were dispensators in the middest of you. Our hearts and mindes were manie wayes oppressed with sorrow before, not onlie becaus we were constrained by the tyrannie of bloodie men, by bloodie intentiouns against us, and bloodie decreets made and published, to leave our friends, wives, childrein, and native countrie, but also to depart from you, above whose soules the Lord had placed us watche men. Yitt a good conscience, and suretie that God hath made this separatioun for a time, (wherewith we were and are assured,) did susteane and comfort us, in the middest of these miseries.

"But your letter addeth afflictioun to afflictioun, and trouble to trouble, upon us whom the Lord had smitten before, and who ever have, and yitt do so inteerlie love you in Christ Jesus. Yitt in the middest of this tentatioun our good God offereth mater of consolatioun to us. For we doe understand that this letter was both dytted and obtruded to you by others; and yee both urged and threatened oft times to subscrive the same. Which thing manie refused flatlie to doe, being a mater against their conscience, and choosed rather banishment, imprisonment, fetters, and chaines, which sall be unto them palms in their hands, and crownes upon their heads, when the names of others sall be writtin upon the earth in shame and ignominie. Some bought themselves by, and so were not preassed hardlie to lee against their owne soules in their subscriptioun. Others subscrived, indeed, ather for feare, protesting they did the same at the commandement of the superiour powers, against their will; ather seduced by that rod of God's

wrathe, and great plague to thee, O Edinburgh, who taketh upon him to be the perswader of others, whose vengeance sleepeth not, and whose judgement doeth approache. Of the which number, sindrie are heavilie troubled in conscience, becaus they subscrived against conscience; and we are affrayed the worme sall grow and gnaw the minde more hardlie heerafter, whome gladlie we would confort, and trust so to doe, that they be not overburthenned in this tentatioun. Verie few, in the meane time, have subscrived frome the heart; no, not foure or five of our old enemies, as we are informed; albeit it be no marvell that in such a congregatioun manie sould have beene found who, being urged so hardlie, threatened so tyrannouslie, and intysed so craftilie, might have beene moved to pleasure flesh and blood, and subscrive that letter, conteaning so manie calumnies and false accusatiouns against us, who have ever boldlie reproved iniquitie, and for that caus incurred the hatred of the world. The things layed to our charge are surelie layed to the charge of Him that sent us: for in them all we have warrant from above, as by God's grace once sall be proved, to the glorie of our God, confusioun of his and our enemeis. We are accused of uncharitablenesse and unhonest dealing, for writting unto you, making you offend the king's Majestie, in receaving and reading our letter; for which caus also you say you have craved and obteaned pardoun: that we have contemptuouslie and unreverentlie spokin of the good and necessar lawes of the countrie, established by his Majestie and estats of parliament: that we have fled from the realme, unchallenged or unpersued, and so, left our owne congregatioun, against dutie and promise: that never, or seldome, we have taught to you obedience to princes: that we are unquiett spirits, yea, woolves, and not pastors, made manifest to our shame; and, in end, before we have place to speeke, answere, or write for ourselves, yee concluded yee will no more esteeme us to be your pastors, nor yourselves to be our flocke.

"First, then, yee affirme, as we have dealt uncharitablie and unhonestlie with you, for writting to you, and making you offend the king's Majestie, in receaving and reading our letter, for the

which caus also yce say yee have craved and obteaned pardon; surelie the letter was writtin in manie teares, in the bitternesse of our hearts, according to our duetie, from your owne pastors, to you, our owne flocke, bound unto your pastors by innumerable obligatiouns; after the exemple of the deerest sancts and servants of God, when they were absent from their flockes, or constrained to leave their congregations at the commandement of the Sonne of God, and (as we are assured) by the good motioun of the Spirit of God. How is it, then, that we dealt with you ather uncharitablie or unhonestlie, in writting to you? or that ye had so great necessitie to crave pardoun for reading of our writtings? Are we of late growne so contemptible in your eyes, that yee think it a great offence to receave a letter from us, who yitt have receaved so oft comfort spirituall from our mouths, speeking in the name of the Lord? Or is that letter so treasonable in the self, that for the reading therof yee are all made tratours, and must crave pardoun from his Majestie? Sanct Johne, being constrained by the tyrannie of Domitian to leave these congregatiouns planted by him in Little Asia, and goe in banishment in Patmos, being there solitarie, in great heavinesse and manie teares, did he not write seven epistles (which have beene latelie preached unto you) to the seven kirks there? and did they not receave and read the same, to their great confort and instructioun? Reade yee, that for this caus they accused the deere servant of God of uncharitablenesse and unhonest dealing? Or, rather, did they not thinke this proceeded of charitie and duetie? Did they runne to Domitian, with the letters in their hands, confessing an offence for receaving or reading the epistles, and craving pardoun at the hands of the Emperour for the same? Surelie, nather did they traduce Johne to the magistrat; nather would they acknowledge that to be an offence which was their duetie; nather did it enter into their mindes to crave pardoun for that wherin they had not offended.

"But yee say, we have made ourselves rebels by speaking against the king's lawes, and escaping out of the countrie, and, therefore, we, falling in this rebellion, have dealt uncharitablie and unhonest-

lie in writting to you; and it behoveth you to crave pardoun for receaving and reading of our writting. Surely, whatever can be spokin of us in this mater, the samine may be affirmed of the prophets, the apostles, the martyrs, and Christ Jesus himself, who all have damned the lawes and ordinances of men repugning to the lawes of the everliving and blessed God; and who have declynned the rage of God's enemeis, and reserved their life, to the profite of the kirk of God. But this heed will be proved heerafter. And yitt, farther will we say, whatever we have made ourselves, we have made us suche for your sakes. For your caus, we have refused worldlie things, which otherwise we might have possessed more abundantlie than manie of our fellowes. For your caus, and the weale of your soules, we have susteaned the hatred of the world in preaching the Word freelie, with libertie, and in the power of Jesus Christ, unto you. For your caus, what anguishe of minde and dolours in heart we have had, how manie battells, how manie tentatiouns we have susteaned, what travells and importable burthens we have borne, the righteous Judge of the world doeth know, yourselves beare witnesse unto us, and some of our wasted bodies doe testific unto the world. For your caus, we were constrained to depart, yea, rent away perforce from you, with whom we were so neerlie conjoyned; for surelie this was good and profitable for you, as we trust to reasoun and prove heerafter. Therefore, if we have made ourselves tratours, for your cause we are tratours, albeit we protest before God, who knoweth our hearts, we are cleane from anie treasonable dealing; and heerin we are readie to submit ourselves to the verie judgement of our enemeis. Lett men define treasoun as they list; our hearts and consciences are pure and cleane before that God in whose presence yee and we must compeere. And yitt, it pleaseth some of you to style us with the titles of rebels and tratours. If our deedlie enemeis sould have wounded us with suche a dart, we could have receaved and borne the stroke and wound easilie. But thou, my familiar freind, yea, whom we preferred to our owne life, who are bound to us as the flocke to the pastor; and, in so farre as we susteane the place and

persoun of Christ, are oblished to us in a maner, as the kirk is bound to Christ Jesus! Thus have some of you not onlie slandered and falselie and calumniouslie opened the mouth, and used the penne against us, but also wounded almost to death these hearts which loved, and yitt love you above anie earthlie thing; and that which is greatest of all, manie wayes, through our sides, wounded the Word of God, which we have carried and dispensed among you, and pierced through that dreadful God himself, who called us; for which caus, we denounce unto you, in his great name, that so manie as repent not sall find his revenging hand heavie upon them, day and night, when he sall rise in judgement.

"The second thing wherewith yee burthein us is, that we have contemptuouslie and unreverentlie spokin of the good and necessar lawes of the countrie, established by his Majestie and estats of parliament. In our letter, we affirmed that sindrie acts of parliament are made directlie repugnant to the Word of God, and doctrine which we have preached among you, especiallie concerning the policie ecclesiasticall; that by the same acts the whole forme of spirituall government among us, grounded upon the Word of God, (wherunto our cursed bishops subscrived themselves, as their hand writts doe testifie,) which was growing and increassing these 24 yeeres, and did grow and increasse in God's mercie among us, untill it came to a reasonable perfectioun, at this parliament is cast down, almost in the space of 24 houres, no reasoning being had of the weightinesse of the articles by these who are called the Lords of the Articles; none of the ministers being heard nor permitted to come neere unto them; they of the Articles sworne oft times to reveele nothing, lest, peradventure, this strange dealing, coming to the eares of the ministrie, they sould have withstand, in pulpit, their dangerous and wicked attempts by the Word of God; and that which is greatest of all, when we sent doun to court our brother, Mr David Lindsay, to desire we might be heard, he is cast in prisson, and remaineth yitt therin.

"This farre, indeed, we wrote into our letter. Now, we appeale you before the throne of God; speeke in truthe; are yee not con-

victed in conscience that all this which we affirme is most true? Do yee not as yitt understand the deepenesse of Satan, which in these acts is to be seene and graipped by these whose eyes are not blinded, ather by the Prince of Darknesse, ather by wilfull ignorance, ather by blind affectioun, which, alas! carieth manie to destruction? And now, we affirme before God, that not onlie a great number of these acts repugne to the Word of God, but also, that there cannot a kirk of God endure anie short space in Scotland, in puritie and integritie, if these acts stand, and if they be not called backe again, seeing they tend so manifestlie to the overthrowing of the great worke of God wrought in Scotland. And we think this a benefite of God, that the devill hath shewed himself in them, what he meaneth in his instruments, for the removing of the candlestick from us, and spoiling us of the light of the blessed Evangell. It is true the first act, wherinto ye repose yourself overmuche, ratifieth and approveth the libertie of preaching the Word of God, and ministration of sacraments. But see yee not, the whole discipline and forme of governement spirituall, which God and acts of parliament before have granted, is heere altogether pretermitted? Espy yee not the same throughout the rest of the acts of this parliament, from the foundatiouns overthrowne and everted? And farther, do yee not consider that the acts of this parliament following, not onlie spoile the kirk of God of the right governement, but also haistilie sall spoile you of that libertie of the Evangell which the first act appeareth to graunt? In the secund act, it is decerned that the king and his successors, without exceptioun, whatsomever they be, Papists, apostats, Atheists, hypocrits, (as commonlie the pompe of the world draweth the higher powers in a contempt of the Most High God,) sall be Judges competent in all maters temporall and spirituall; and, consequentlie, in all doctrine, and teaching by the Word of God. And, in another act, it is concluded that he and they may stay and suspend the decreets of anie judgement inflicting paine and punishment, als weill ecclesiasticall as temporall; and farther, to make null and of no effect decreits ecclesiasticall, alreadie past according to the Word

of God, and sentences of excommunicatioun justlie pronounced at the commandement of God. Which things, by a new exemple, and never heard before this time, are practised in this parliament in pronouncing the sentence of excommunicatioun (led against Mr R. Montgomerie, by the authoritie of the Generall Assemblie of all the faithfull in Scotland, being ather present themselves, or their commissioners) to be null, and of no force and effect. In the fourth act, all judgements and jurisdictiouns spirituall are discharged; all users, exercisers, and obeyers of the same, are judged worthie of that punishment which usurpers and contemners of his Highness' authoritie deserve. Nather are they content with this generall onlie, but also, it is forbidden in speciall, that none of the ecclesiasticall estate conveene or assemble themselves together in elderships, or whatsomever assembleis, to speeke or treate of anie ecclesiasticall mater, without his Majestie's speciall licence and expresse command, under the paine due for the conveeners of the king's leiges. The conveening to preaching and prophecie is not excepted. So that, howsoever libertie is graunted to preache the Word, in the first act, libertie to conveene, to heere the Word, is forbidden in the fourth act. And so sall yee find when men sall interprete the same according to their purpose. In the thrid and other acts, bishops are re-established; all power and jurisdictioun is given in their corrupted and polluted hands, who yitt could never governe themselves aright, muche lesse are they able to governe the holie citie of God. The appointing of ministers' stipends is putt in the hands of the Lords Auditors of the Excheker, and they of the brethrein of the ministrie (who before, by act of parliament, were appointed for this purpose) discharged. In the 13th act it is ordeaned, that the first yeere's fruicts of all benefices be uplifted to the sustentatioun of the king's guarde; and that everie benefice valued to 1000 pund Scotish sall pay 200 punds, beside the ordinarie thrid: and siclyke of the benefices beneath, perpetuallie. And, in end, becaus wicked men saw these things so prejudiciall to the glorie of God, and weale of the poore kirk of God, and feared oppositioun in pulpits, it is statute and ordeaned,

that none, privatlie or publictlie, in sermons or familiar conference, speeke anie thing against their acts and effaires concluded by the estats, under paines conteaned in the acts of parliament.

"Now, if all doctrine frome pulpit sall be controlled by the court, where sall be found a free speaking of the truthe and libertie of the Word, wherwith the Lord blessed Scotland in time bypast? If all judgement in ecclesiasticall sessiouns may be stayed, suspended, and made null, by these who are not called to the spirituall governement, but civill administratioun in the commoun wealth, what place sall be left to discipline, to repentance, to removing of slanders from among the middest of the Lord's inheritance? If elderships, Provinciall, Nationall, or Generall Assembleis, (which were the onlie bridle to vice in our countrie,) and all ecclesiasticall conventiouns, sall ceasse, the staffe of beautie is broken in thee, O thou afflicted Kirk of Scotland: thy ornament is takin from thee, and, under colour, thou may be spoiled haistilie of the libertie to conveene for hearing the word of truthe. If the jurisdictiouns that remaine be devolved into the hands of bishops, (the deadlie enemeis of the most sincere preachers:) if they sall receave presentatiouns, give collatiouns, admitt, depose ministers, reforme colledges, and use their tyrannous impyre as they list, above their brethrein, what place sall be to good men? Hastilie plagued sall yee be with hyrelings and corrupt teachers, which is of God's justice, seeing ye esteemed before lightlie of the messengers of the living God. If God bind from the heavens, by the mouth of the ministrie, in whose hands the keyes of binding and loosing are placed, and the parliament loose the bonds at their appetite, and so plucke unto themselves the power of binding and loosing out of the hands of God, and overpasse Uzziah in usurping the office of the preests, oh, what confusion sall be there; and what plagues hang above the heads of these who spoile God of his glorie, and so highlie and proudlie preasse in his place! If all that speeke against the crooked course of men, and deepe draughts and counsells of the devill, be tratours to men, all the ministers that will not be tratours to God must become haistilie guiltie of treasoun and

lese majestie to man. O yee of our flocke, who hath bewitched you, that yee sould call the deepe counsells of Satan profitable and necessarie lawes of the countrie! What blindnesse hath overtaken you, that ye see not how they bereave you of the crowne and glorie of Edinburgh? that is to say, the happie Word of life, and holie discipline preached and exercised among you? What madnesse hath fallin upon you to accuse us for warning of you, and disclosing our mindes in the feare of God to you? O, would to God we had that libertie from the stoole of truthe, the pulpit, where yee have seene the power of God mightilie working, with vive voice in the name of our God, and force of God's Spirit, to speeke unto you! But since the Lord hath plucked us away from you, (for some great caus yitt not seene unto you, and, perchance, not fullie knowne to ourselves,) whose counsells we reverence, and at whose judgements we have caus to tremble, it sufficeth us to speeke unto you by penne and ink. Our verie absence preacheth unto you; and if yee saw our teares at times, for your blindness, they would wound you. Our prayers are for you, notwithstanding of all unthankfulnesse. It feareth us, that unhappie experience sall teache you, that these lawes which yee call profitable and necessarie, are the most cursed laws that ever were made into our countrie: which is the more to be thought upon, because, that under the colour of establishing of religioun, the throne of Jesus Christ, erected before in the middest of Scotland, is by them throwed doun to the ground. Awake out of your deadlie sleepe; seeke for remedie in time; repent yee have givin your consent heerunto, least yee be guiltie of the crime, and participant of the plagues which hang over the heads of these who, wilfullie, have runne this course against the majestie of the great Judge of the world.

"Now, lett us come to the thrid heed of accusatioun. Yee say that we, unchallenged and unpersued, have left our flocke, against promise and duetie, and fled from the countrie, and made ourselves fugitives, and his Majestie rebels. First, we say, we were persued by manie kindes of persecutiouns. Persecutioun of the godlie is, when as ather they are persued in name or fame, by

the mocking, railing, or evill speeking of the wicked; ather by open violence, ather elles by craft and perellous policie. Now, it is knowne to all the godlie, that the whole ministrie, and we especiallie, have beene persecuted by false calumneis, slanders, and the venomous tongues of the wicked, yea, of some of our owne flocke, these certane yeeres bygane, for opponing ourselves against the following of the Frenche counsells, the treating of the murtherers of the sancts of God, the shaking of the conjunctioun with the godlie professing one religioun with us; and entering in strait familiaritie, conjunctioun, and confederacie with them, who sought to evert the throne of Christ in Scotland, and, alace! have prevailed over muche of late. So, in name and fame, by mocking, railing, and evill speeking of the wicked, were we persecuted, and the Word and Christ Jesus wounded, as it were, through our sides; wherof we have sindrie times compleaned to our God in pulpit, desplaying the railings of the ungodlie, as Ezekias did the blasphemous letter of Senacherib, before the blessed God, in the middest of his sanctuarie; and we are assured oft tymes we have left a pricke in the consciences of suche persecuters of us, by the force of the Word, which did pricke them, and will further speeke unto their tosted mindes, by the hand of God's justice heerafter, if they will not repent. We take yourselves witnesses what heavie crosse we did beare, how manie sore wounds we have receaved, what dolours we have endured, in the middest of suche persecutiouns. Moreover, when strait charge was given to the magistrats to apprehend us, to cast us in prisson, keepe us in sure firmance, if we continued to oppone us to these acts and lawes repugning to the living God; was not this a violent persecutioun then begunne, which yitt goeth forward in thee, O Scotland, and belyke to continue and increasse, till we be better humbled under the hand of the mightie God? And last, not onlie we, but also all the true teachers in Scotland, yea, the whole favourers of the Gospell, are persecuted by craft and perellous policie, which kinde of persecutioun, the more deepe and hid it is, it hath the more perrell and danger therewith conjoyned. Late acts of parliament are made, discharging all assembleis, cast-

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ing doun the spirituall governement, devolving all in the hands of most corrupt men, and others suche like statutes, tending farther to the hurt and overthrow of the kirk of God; unto the which, they that will not subscribe must tholl all extremitie, against the which who will oppone, he must be a tratour. Of this it cometh to passe, that we, and all good men, were brought in danger of life if we would not obey; or perell of conscience and abnegatioun of the truthe, if we yeelded to suche impietie. Doe ye not see now, how that all the three kindes of persecutioun fell upon us? By railing, taunting, lees, and slanderous speeking, our name and fame were invaded: by charge of apprehensioun, our bodeis putt in danger; by hid fraud and perellous policie, the verie soule and conscience also were brought in hazard. And yitt, darre yee say and write, we past away unpersued? We could rehearse manie persecutiouns which we have susteaned by some of yourselves; but we spaire you, thristing your amendiment and salvatioun.

"Thus, your ground being false which yee have layed, and that which yee have sett doun being in the self most true, to witt, that we departed being by manie meanes cruellie persecuted, we come to the departing from you, our flocke. And first, we say, our minde was not to make a perpetuall separatioun or departure frome you, without returning; but we did withdraw us for a time, having most assured warrant so to doe: and if we had left the same undone, it appeareth to us we sould have tempted God. And seing we did finde and feele also, in our persouns, all these persecutiouns wherof we have spokin, and it was not unknowne unto us what farther purpose our cruell enemeis had in hand, we thought, as the truthe is, when God offered midds to declyne the present danger, it was an evill thing, and a tempting of God, to refuse the midds offered by God. Therefore we tooke purpose to reserve our selves to a better time. And surelie we had manie reasons serving to perswade us to this opinioun. First, the studie and desire to preserve themselves is ingrafted by nature in the hearts of all; the which thing, when as we doe honestlie in time and place, the Word of God doth not condemne, but rather condemneth them who ne-

glect and contemne the ordinarie midds granted and offerred by God: as Lott his follie is reproved, who haisted not to depart from Sodome. Therefore, least we sould appeare to repugne to nature agreing with the Word of God, we were moved to declyne the rage of the ungodlie. Nixt, this served to the glorie of the God of nature, and God above nature, seing we give obedience to the voice of Christ, saying, 'If they persecute you in one citie, flee to another.' And we are assured he hath some farther worke to worke than presentlie we do see, to his owne glorie, which now is hid in the brazen mountaines of his secreit providence, and will open in effect in the owne appointed and determined time. Moreover, in this departing of ours, that we sould not fall in the hands of cruell men, we respected the weale of the whole Kirk of Scotland. For, albeit it was good for us to have suffered all extremiteis, and to be dissolved from these bodeis of clay, and be with Christ, yet was it meete for the kirk that we sould reserve ourselves for the confort therof, as now we travell to doe the samine by writt: heerafter, we trust to labour by present preaching, when the Lord sall bring home these whom the furie of the enemie hath scattered. Besides, that the rulers of our flocke receaved commoditie heerby, to whom the commandement was givin to apprehend us. For if they had obeyed, then they sould have wounded their owne conscience, and offended the majestie of God, whose message we beare: if they had not obeyed, then incurred they the utter indignation of the superiour powers, and paine of disobedience; and so our departure preserved them from both these extremiteis. Yea, farther, the Lord had a worke heerinto for the instructioun, admonitioun, and correctioun of you all. For heerby is the contempt of the Word in the persons of the wicked punished, the good and evill tried, the godlie sent to weepe and lament before the throne of God's mercie, the oft threatned punishment seene by your eyes, the farther judgements of God in this one foretold, foreseene, and represented to all, to the end and purpose that all might be humbled, before the fierceness of the wrathe of the righteous God burne like a fire, and none be able to quench it. Our verie enemeis also, who doe calum-

niouslie traduce us and that which we have done, have been charitablie handled by us, to their profite and commoditie in this our doing. For, if in their rage they sould have prissouned us, or dealt more hardlie with us, according to the oft vowes made by them, then our evill handling sould have beene farther layed to their charge by that God whose message we beare, and the judgements of God hastenned upon their heads.

"It woundeth our heart with sorrow to take an argument from the behaviour of you, our owne flocke, to prove what occasioun yee have givin, at the least some of you, to our departing. Alace! yee have consented by your commissioners to these acts, and yitt mainteane the same, which are against God, and whereby our bodeis and consciences were brought in hazard and danger, and the Kirk of God is like to be overthrowne in Scotland; your magistrats refused to be our mainteaners and defenders, in speeking the truthe of God, and opponing ourselves to these cursed acts; yea, they would not resolve us whether they would take us or not, when they receaved the charge to apprehend us, but did answere in the presence of manie, their charge was strait, and they were not resolved what to doe. What some of them minded toward us, not onlie their subscriptioun of that slanderous letter, but also their earnest travell to make others subscrive with them, doe testifie. In so farre, then, as ye consented to the making of these lawes, yea, yitt by your letters mainteane the same, yee refused to defend our bodeis from the tyrannie of earthlie tyranns. Yee receaved charges against us; who can say but yee have ministried just occasioun of departing to us? Whether now, we pray you, are we or yee promise-breakers? Whether we or yee have done against duetie, the world may see, and the righteous God doth pronounce sentence on our side. We do not burthein you, our deere flocke, who sigh and sob for suche iniquitie. We will not wound your hearts, whom we love as our owne hearts. We trust yitt to confort you by our presence in Christ Jesus. And, last of all, we may bring furth for our warrant in our doing the exemples of the prophets, apostles, martyrs, ancient fathers, the greatest part of the deerest

servants of God, and Christ Jesus himself, who oft times did declyne the rage of the enemie, used good and lawfull midds for their safetie, and reserved themselves to the confort of the kirk of God. Of all this, it followeth by necessarie consequence, our departing was and is leasome; and, therefore, we have not thereby ather broken promise, or forgett our ductie to you, ather made ourselves rebells to our king and countrie, as yee inferre. We beseeke our God he lay not this iniquitie to your charge, and enter not in judgement with you, for this unnaturall and cruell dealing against us.

"The rest of your accusatiouns may be easilie answeered, seeing that they conteane untruthes knowne to the world, and patent before the sunne and the moone. Yee say we have over seldome taught you obedience to princes; that we are unquiet spiritts, yea woolves, and not pastors, now made manifest to our shame. O Lord God of Israel, who dwelleth betwixt the cherubins, bow doun thyne eare, and heare these rebookes. Open thyne eyes, and behold the wounded mindes of us whom thou hath sent, and judge thou us, and them who wound us, according to thy righteousnesse. Doe yee say outwardlie by word, we have over seldome taught unto you obedience to princes? yee are convicted inwardlie in conscience of the contraire. Do yee subscrive that we are unquiett spirits? the world knoweth, and ye have seene by experience, that we have loved quietnesse and tranquilitie, and procured the same oft times among you, and in the countrie, in the middest of great commotiouns and troubles. Are we become woolves unto you, who have resisted woolves, and by the force of the Word obteaned victorie over them? Albeit we had offended you, as we trust we have not done in anie thing, thinke ye it your duetie thus to have dealt with us, who so inteerlie loved you? Is this the recompence of our labours and watching, day and night, over your soules? But we must beare this in patience, as a part of the crosse which it hath pleased the mercifull hand of God to lay upon us. . .

"Last of all, for conclusion, yee write, and by the hands of some of you it is subscrived, that yee will no more esteeme us to be your pastors, nor yourselves to be our flocke. A strange sentence,

pronounced without anie advice of the kirk, before anie conviction of the crime, and before that we be heard, ather by word or by writt, to speeke unto our owne caus! But yee cannot make the calling of God null and of no effect, no more than yee can plucke Christ Jesus from his throne. Be it so, we are no more pastors unto you; we are glade to have our conscience in that part unburthened. Yitt pastors are we, and choose rather to follow furth that vocatioun and calling, through contempt, povertie, needinesse, anguishe, and misereis whatsomever, then to injoy the pleasures of the world, and possesse the throns of all the princes of the earth, if they sould be offered and givin unto us. Have yee left us? our good God will not forsake us. Do yee so lightlie esteeme of us? the Lord who loveth us will honour us. Do ye cast us altogether out of memorie? we are in the memoriall booke of our gracious Father, being rings on his fingers, and having our names engrafted on the palmes of his owne hands. We are assured the Lord sall make our labours redound to his glorie, and profite of the kirk, wherever he cast us.

"And now, we convert ourselves to you, the rest of our flocke, whose hands are not defiled with this iniquitie, and to all these that feare God, and love the Lord Jesus Christ. Confort yourselves in the Lord. Hold fast the eternall truthe of God which yee have heard. Cursed be they, who ever they be, that would spoile you of your crowne. Sigh and sobbe before your God for your sinnes, and the sinnes of that natioun: pray unto God he may remove the present plagues, and cast the rods whereby he hath smittin you into the fire. When yee and we are sufficiently humbled, and the measure of the iniquitie of your and our enemeis accomplished, then looke for helpe and deliverance from above. Remember that, in desperate times, God before hath succoured us; and when no helpe was found in men, he arose like a mightie gyant, and brake the hornes of bloodie beasts, pushing and gorring through the sides of the saincts of God. If yee thinke our returning may doe good, and serve to God's glorie and your confort, we refuse not to putt our lives in your hands, and teache among you, in despite of all

invy. We are yitt strong eneugh for the enemie. The Lord give us zeale and boldnesse in this caus, and strike a terror in the hearts of the adversareis of his glorie, that they may knowe they are but men. The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ be with you, for now and ever more. Amen."

> " *The Spirit of the Lord Jesus assist you and us in thir miserable dayes, in which Satan, by his instruments, directlie and indirectlie, goeth about to the overthrowing of that everlasting Evangell which we have so long, in the mercie of our God, heard and professed, to the great glorie of his name, and to the eternall confort and salvation of the faithfull.*

" Most dearlie beloved pastors in the Lord Jesus, the causes moving us at this present to write are, that, having heard and receaved your confortable letter directed to the kirk and counsell, which, as it was no small joy and confort to the faithfull, so, on the other part, it hath raised and enraged others of the contrarie spirit to make an answere most blasphemous to your most upright and godlie meaning, writtin therin; and that in the name of the proveist, bailiffes, counsell, and your late flocke; by whose dytement the Lord knoweth: Wherefore, we, hearing, reading, and weighing the whole heeds therin, after earnest incalling upon the name of God, in thir dayes of persecutioun, have, according to the measure of his Spirit granted to us, answered to the whole heeds conteaned in that blasphemous letter sentto you, not by your flocke, but by them who, in calme, appeared to be of us, but now, in time of persecutioun, with Demas, have embraced this present world; and that not of a few number. But yitt yee have wherin greatlie to be conforted, that the doctrine taught by you, as instruments of God, hath left the owne fruict, both in disclosing of hypocrits and false brethrein, in time of rest and quietnesse; as also in raising the hearts of the godlie, not onlie of your owne flocke, but of the most part of the ministrie and professors within this realme.

"This muche for the preface. Now, to answere to everie heed in that horrible letter, as the Lord will assist us by his Spirit. First, acknowledging our great unthankfulnesse; that we have not so charitablie and reverentlie used you, our faithfull pastors, as it becom us of duetie; in not giving obedience to that great and eternall Word of God so long taught among us, for the contempt wherof, and manie other greevous sinnes, the Lord beginneth to threatten us with the famine and hunger therof; which is the last and most fearfull plague that God, in his justice, hath ever powred furth upon anie people, natioun, or citie, since the beginning, as in the exemple of the Jewes, and of the whole kirks that Paul planted, this day may appear. The Lord in mercie deliver us of that plague which our sinnes most justlie have deserved. However it may please Him to exercise us with all other punishments therefor, we confesse from our hearts that yee have walked uprightlie, according to your calling, in doctrine, life, and conversatioun; to the great glorie of Him who elected you to that high honour, and to the confort of the faithfull, not onlie when yee were present, but muche more now; esteeming you worthie followers of your Master, Jesus Christ, who abode not the furie of the Jewish people, muche more than of princes, but gave place to their rage, as the exemple of the prophets and apostles may evidentlie declare.

"As yee have been faithfull in your calling, so have yee, in manifold prayers, both secreit and publict, made for preservatioun of the king's Majestie's person both in soule and bodie, and continuance of his Highness' authoritie: also, with all reverence yee have esteemed of his Majestie's lawes and acts of parliament, which directlie have not repugned to the Word of God, and discipline therin conteaned, as the sindrie acts of parliament since his Majestie's coronatioun will ratifie; but that which is more, the Confessioun of Faith subscrived by his Majestie and houshold, with a charge to the ministers within their diocie, under a penaltie, that the whole people sould subscrive the same, (which was putt in practise,) and the contraveeners to incurre punishment, according to the lawes, which was godlie, and answering to his Word. But thir late acts,

disagreeing to the manifest Word of God, and to the premisses abovewritten, yee have, like most diligent watchemen, opponed yourselves, in the stooles of veritie, (which now, alas! by some Balaameis have beene fearfullie polluted;) using the ordinar meane, that in your brethrein and you lay, as the protestatiouns sent to the king's Majestie and counsell, together with acts tane at the Mercat Croce, in time of publicatioun, will testifie. So have yee approved all good and godlie acts therin, as the preaching of the Word and ministratioun of the Sacraments. But the sinewes of the Word and Sacraments (which is the whole discipline of the kirk, which, in the mercie of God, hath continued the space of twentie-five yeeres or therby) is now whollie cast down in three dayes. The Lord grant the authors repentance, or elles his suddane plagues from the heavens. As also, the proclamatioun made upon the 19th of Junie, discharging the ministers' stipends; which is, to command the oxe to trode furth the corne, and after he hath laboured, to mussel his mouth. Howsoever men pretend wisdome and learning, yet, wanting the warrant of the Word of God, they cannot establishe the law and policie of the kirk of God therin conteaned. As yee have truelie and sincerelie opened the meaning of the whole parts of Scripture, so, that part of Scripture writtin in the 13th chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, with other places agreeing therunto, have yee most diligentlie exhorted us, according to the meaning of the Spirit of God, to follow, as the evident exemple therof appeareth in your owne persons. But some who heard that Word have receaved poysoun in place of honie; whome we remitt to Him who sall judge betwixt you and them one day.

"As to your godlie and honest departure from your flocke unchallenged or persued, we affirme the reasouns and causes sent to the kirk and counsell to be most necessar. For if yee had remained, and taught as the Lord commanded you, yee sould not onlie have brought your owne persons in danger, but also brought in hazard the godlie and zealous of your congregatioun, if yee had spokin against these godlesse acts of parliament; as that writting sent to

the proveist, to take and apprehend suche as either privilie or publictlie sould speeke against them, doeth testifie. And so, yee sould have fallin in the hands of God's enemeis and yours, as some of your brethrein are luiking for farther, if the Lord putt not to his owne hand. If this be not persecutioun, lett all who have the true feare of God judge.

"Sore do we lament that we have so long heard that confortable doctrine, by the Spirit of God moving you to teache us, but, alace! so little fruict therafter following; for now, in place of the free libertie of the preaching and applicatioun of the bread of life, have entered some cruell and devouring woolves, not having their calling of God, nor of the flocke, who have not orderlie come in at the right doore, but have leaped over the dyke. As the doctrine taught by them, to the great greefe of the faithfull, hath beene in your place most fearfullie abused; and as we acknowledge them to be no pastors to us, so, on the other part, we do, and sall, by the assistance of God's Spirit, affirme and approve your conjunctioun and ours, lawfullie called by God, as also orderlie by your whole flocke approved; from which copulatioun, all the enemeis of God sall not be able to separat us. So, we esteeme you, and no others, (where ever it pleaseth God yee are,) to be our most faithfull and true pastours, and we, by God's grace, sall remaine your faithfull and obedient flocke, in heart and minde, to the end."

MR PATRIK GALLOWAY, MINISTER AT PERTH, HIS APOLOGIE.

"Understanding myself to have been unjustlie detracted and calumniated by malicious persons, and that some in their writtings, als weill as in speeches, have not spaired to traduce me, and to charge me with diverse odious misreports, against the truthe and their owne conscience, I thought meete to notifie and make knowne my innocencie in that behalfe, for better resolutioun of the godlie, and stopping of the mouths of wicked and godlesse persouns, enemeis to the truthe, and to the preachers and professors

therof; and to that effect have, in this short treatise, declared the veritie of all things that ever, at anie time, touched that mater wherupon these misreports did proceed.

"First, in the yeere of God 1582, in the moneth of Junie, the king's Majestie came to the toun of Perth, wherin I was by appointment of the Generall Assemblie, at the earnest sute and desire of the magistrats and whole inhabitants of that toun, established pastor and minister; and in his Grace's companie were diverse noble men and counsellers, and among others, the umquhile Duke of Lennox, who then had the cheefe steir and credite in court, preferred to all others in dignitie, authoritie, and rule of the effeires of the realme; who professed not onlie the religion with us, but subscrived with his hand the articles of faith, and the publict forme sett doun in parliament, for obedience to the Word, Sacraments, and ecclesiasticall discipline, and communicat at the Table of the Lord diverse times, for better attestatioun of his zeale and affectioun to the truthe professed and established in the countrie.

"At the time forsaid, he had in his companie Mr R. Montgomerie, who having left his flocke and congregatioun of Stirline destituted of a pastor, without advice of the kirk, or of his owne flocke, did accept the bishoprick of Glasgow; the title wherof the said duke had procured to him, that he, having the name of bishop, and eight hundreth merks money for his living and sustentatioun, the whole rents, and other duteis of the said benefice, might come to the duke's utilitie and behove. Which being signified to the brethrein of the ministrie, he was, according to the Word of God and rule of charitie, admonished to desist from that office of a bishop, which was not lawfull to him to accept, becaus, by the appointment of the Generall Assemblie, he was placed minister to another congregatioun; as als, that the order and degrees of bishops, as then they were used, were by publict and unanime consent of the Generall Assemblie of the whole ministrie, commissioners of the king's Majestie, shirefdoms, and burrowes within the realme, appointed to have no place nor authoritie, but to expire and ceasse. To the which the said Mr R. Montgomerie himself

had not onlie consented and subscrived, but in his sermons had allowed and approved the same act; and after his admonitioun had solemnlie promised, in presence of the whole Assemblie, never to accept anie suche charge or cure as to be a bishop; and did protest that he repented, and was from his heart sorie, that he had done against his knowledge and conscience alreadie in consenting to the duke's desire in that mater, and, therefore, that he would obey the censure and will of the rest of the ministrie in that point. Quherethrough I, at his owne desire, did sute at their hands to bring him to their favour; and my intercession availed so with them, that he was accepted and admitted to his repentance.

"But, notwithstanding of all these promises made to the Assemblie, and the severall oaths and protestations made to myself, he maketh defectioun immediatlie; and against his conscience, knowledge, and faith, accepteth the same, and is, after the forme directed by the duke, inaugurated his bishop; for which defectioun, and obstinat persisting in his sinne, without signe or will to amend, preaching erroneous doctrine, and wilfullie refusing to submitt himself to the censure of ecclesiasticall discipline, he was adjudged and ordeaned, by decreit and act of the Generall Assemblie, to be excommunicated. Which sentence was, after the due order and forme prescrived in the Booke of Discipline, pronounced against him, and he accursed, excommunicated, and cutt off from the societie of the kirk of God, and of the faithfull members of the same. Which being signified to the king's Highness, and Lords of his Secreit Counsell, was contemned by the duke; and the said excommunicated bishop not onlie interteanned in his companie and hous, and placed nixt himself at his table, but, in contempt and despite of the religion, and professors therof, brought in to the king's hous, to his hall and chamber, where his Majestie did eate, and to his privie chamber, to quiett conference. Which when I had, according to the Word of God, charitablie desired to be reformed, it was promised to be amended, and that he sould not be admitted to have accesse to court, nor to his Highness' presence, nor receaved in his hous. But finding that promise was not keeped, and that

the duke reteaned him still in his companie and in court, I spake against the same diverse times in pulpit. Perceaving no signe nor appearance of amendement, I plainlie reproved the same, as my duetie was. Otherwise, I could not have discharged my calling before God, nor duetie to his Majestie, nor to the auditor present, to have suffered so notorious an abuse and enormitie unreproved. Wherat the duke stormed in suche sort, that I was called and charged before the Secreit Counsell; and having compeered, was, after reasoning and conference according to the Word of God, dimissed, and no fault imputed or found to me, and promise made that that abuse sould be reformed.

"But the duke, not contented that I was thus lett depart without trouble, and insisting obstinatlie in his proceedings, thinking whatever he did sould be comported with, did interteane his bishop, and favourablie did use him, purchassing letters to caus him be obeyed of his benefice, and mainteaning him in his new usurped dignitie. When I did speeke against the same, he did plainlie minasse me in pulpit, and called me pultron, villane, mischant, with manie other injurious words, and threatened to thrust me through with a rapper, till his Majestie himself was compelled to lay his hand on his mouth and stay his furie and malicious language, heard of all that stood in his Highnesse' seate, and uttered publictlie before the people. And after the sermon was ended, at his passing out at the kirk doore, in plaine audience, laying his hand on his sword, [he] boasted to have my life, and used diverse contumelious and reprochefull words of malice and despite; and in no wise could be mitigated nor asswaged, except I were discharged of preaching in my owne congregatioun during the king's remaining there; which he obteaned, exped and past by some of his favourers in the cabinet counsell, and so caused command me not to preache anie more so long as the king taried at Perth; which charge was not past nor knowne by the Lords of Secreit Counsell, as I tryed severallie by themselves. And for farther declaratioun of his malice and hatred against me, he caused pen and read an infamous libell in the kirk immediatlie after the sermoun, for better utter-

ing of his anger and wrathe, as the same yitt extant proporteth. He perswaded his Majestie likewise to conceave evill opinioun of me, and to vow that he sould never heare me preache therafter; and yitt I obeyed the charge, and past to Kynnowle, and preached.

"Heerafter, in the same moneth, his Majestie past to the Hieland hunts in Atholl, and the duke past to Dalkeith to prepare for his chamberlan aire in Edinburgh, and his justice air in Glasgow, at the which ellevin of the ministers there sould have been putt to death; and his Majestie, in the end of the moneth of August, did returne to Ruthven; where, upon the 23d day therof, the Erle of Marr with his freinds, the Erle of Gowrie, and some others of the nobilitie, did place themselves about his Majestie, and caused apprehend the Erle of Arran, who was come thither to have convoyed his Majestie to Kinneill, wherin there sould diverse of the nobilitie have been apprehended that favoured the religioun, and the king's weelefare and estate. But this being prevented, as at lenth is sett out in the Apologie for the said nobleman, the king's Majestie came again to Perth; and there, in my sermon, I desired his Highnèss to consider the dangerous estate wherin he was of before, and that he ought to praise God that he was delivered and freed of such pernicious persons as had been about his Majestie this while bypast, who sought nothing but the overthrow and subversioun of his estat and religioun, with the trouble of the commounweale. I likewise exhorted the noblemen there present to prosecute that good and godlie caus with constancie, zeale, and feare of God, and to studie to the advancement of God's glorie, weelefare of the king's Majestie, and quietnesse of the countrie; howbeit his Highnesse was not weill pleased with this forme of doctrine at that time. Afterward I was sent for to Stirline, where, in my sermons likewise, I gave the like admonitions and exhortations, and somewhat tuiched the imperfections of these who had misgoverned the estat in time bypast, wherethrough his Majestie did mislyke more of me nor of before. After this, his Majestie being come to Halyrudhous, in my sermon preached in the Abbey kirk, I did use the like exhortations, with earnest desire to his

Highnesse and the nobilitie to be carefull for the advancement of God's glorie, and maintenance of vertue, with punishing of vice; and I did speeke against some abuses and enormities that had raigned in court, which I wished now to be amended. But that did miscontent his Majestie greatlie, being moved thereto by some evill persons in his companie who suspected me to have knowne of the Road of Ruthven, becaus I was minister of Perth, wherof the Earle of Gowrie was Proveist.

"The Erle of Arran, after his apprehension, being putt in the place of Ruthven, to remaine, where he was honorablie and courteouslie intreated, at diverse times entered in conference with me, and opened to me the unhappie designes and comploits intended, and purposed to have been practised by the Duke of Lennox for wracke of the religioun, and of diverse noblemen and ministers, and alteratioun of the present estate and governement of the realme. Which at that time, with manie attestatiouns and solemne oaths, he affirmed to me he mislyked in his heart, as repugnant to God's true Word, and to all humane societie. And becaus he knew that through his behaviour bypast he had made himself to be thought of a corrupt life, and suspect religioun, he travelled with me, and studied to perswade me, to deale publictlie and plainlie with the kirk in his favour, to move them to conceave good opinioun of him, and to like of his conversioun and zeale to the truthe; and to remove anie evill lyking conceaved of him before, which he sould, in time comming, amend, and be a most zealous favourer and advancer of God's glorie, and truthe professed. But I being moved by manie good reasons not to give hastie and facile credite thereto, thought it a mater hazardous to deale in, except I had seene better proofe nor his naiked words, which oft times, in times bygane, had been accompanied with few good effects. And, therefore, he perceaving my slownesse to promise that which he desired, he conceaveth against me an inward malice and hatred, which then he did craftilie dissemble, but hath sensyne most evidentlie uttered, as his proceedings against me beare record.

"In the moneth of Julie, after the alteration made at St An-

drewes, by removing the Erles of Marr, Angus, Bothwell, and others weill-affected to the religioun, and of his Majestie's companie; and others who favoured Arran's proceedings, and consented to an unquietnesse and trouble of the religioun out countrie, being cheefe courteours, the king's Majestie directeth his missive letters to a great number of the brethrein of the ministrie to come to St Andrewes; and a letter was sent to me, among the rest, to that same effect. After the recept wherof, another letter was sent to me to come thither eight dayes before the day appointed to the rest; and according to the will therof, I obeyed. And being come thither, the colonell, Sir Robert Melvill, and the Laird of Segy, entered in conference, if they might have entised, or anie wise moved me to disallow the act of the Generall Assemblie made anent the subscriving of generall bands, for maintenance of the king's weilfare, religion, and quietnesse of the countrie, wherin the whole conventioun had found that the noblemen had done good service to God, the king, and realme, that had removed evill counsellers from his Majestie, and had prevented the great evills that otherwise had fallin out, if their pernicious intentions had not been stayed, as the said acts beare. But they could not move nor induce me in anie sort to yeeld to that their purpose. Therefore, the Erle of Arran therafter, upon a night, in his owne privie chamber, entered in conference with me a long space to the same effect. But finding me constantlie to abide at the said act, and to disassent from the rest of my brethrein in no sort, he not onlie conceaveth malicious hatred at me, but moveth his Majestie to alter his favour and countenance farre against me, insomuche, that becaus I would not applaude to the appetites of these pestilent counsellers, I was altogether mislyked, and out of favour of the court; partlie, becaus the time forsaid the yeere preceding I had reproved the abuses and enormiteis croppin in the court, and had spokin against the vices and imperfections of these who bare cheefe rule, and partlie becaus I would not, against my conscience, agree to the present proceedings, which tended to the wracke of the religion, corrupting of his Majestie's tender yeeres, and affable eare and inclina-

tioun, and to the overthrow and ruine of all good and godlie noblemen, and others, that sought the advancement of God's glorie, weelefare of the king, and quietnesse of the commoun wealthe, wherethrough I was altogether out of credit, and was brought in malgrace of the courteours.

"The king's Majestie having retired himself from Fife to Stirline, and therefra to Edinburgh, to make his residence all that winter, did assemble a conventioun of the estats, wherin the alteration at Ruthven was found treasoun, and suche as were therat appointed to take remissions for the same, as a crime of lese-majestie and haynous conspiracie; which of before was found, in a more ample conventioun, good and necessar service for the weelefare of his Highness' owne estate, the religion and countrie. And by this new act all men were brought in an unsuretie and despaire of their estate; and all promises in effect were brokin that of before were made to the nobilitie and the ministrie. The Erle of Gowrie, resident at Perth, accesse to court being denyed to him, becaus his lordship resorted dailie to my sermons, Arran had some of his flatterers and pyckthanks present there to note my teaching and his lordship's behaviour, who not onlie sent daylie advertisements to court, falselie and calumniouslie against the truthe and their owne conscience, concerning his lordship, but did maliciouslie lee of myself, and invented false reports which I never spake nor mentioned; that I sould have exhorted his lordship and the people to make insurrectioun against his Majestie, and that I affirmed they might justlie take armour upon them; and his Hienesse had declyned from the truthe, and that I never prayed for his Majestie at my sermons; although in presence of God they did manifestlie lee of me, and spake against the truthe and their owne knowledge. Yitt thir misreports being thus brought to his Highness' eare, did daylie move his mislyking to increasse against me, becaus the reporters were not knowne but suspected by me, and unavowed, so that I could not have the moyen to bring my innocencie to triall. And, therefore, in the moneth of December, when his Majestie directed the Erle of Rothesse, the Lairds of Caprin-

ton, Colluthie, and Mungo Grahame, to Perth, in commissioun to the Erle of Gowrie, to command him, in his Majestie's name, to take a remissioun for that alteratioun at Ruthven, and to condemne that fact as treasoun, the saids commissioners had a speciall directioun to enter with myself concerning the foresaids reports, as they did; to whome I declared my innocencie in that mater, and the malice of these leers who had thus surmised against me, and durst not avow the same. They had directioun to try the same by the Erle of Gowrie, who not onlie assured him of the contrarie, but by his letter, and by some gentlemen of good credit sent to his Highnesse, resolved him that there was no suche thing true, and preassed to have had that mater tryed, but it could not be had. Yitt Arran persisting in his malice, and having no way, but by misreports and lees, to make me odious to the king, he moveth his captors still secreitlie to insist in their former lees and advertisements; and he reporteth them as truthe unto his Highnesse, not onlie for my harme, but to accumulat hatred and malgrace to the said Erle of Gowrie, then absent from court. So that his Majestie did accompt these reports true, and was minded to have caused charge me to compeere before the Secreit Counsell for the same. But Arran knowing my innocencie, and that the triell therof would turne to his owne shame, stayed that, and thought, in the moneth of Marche therafter, when I come to Edinburgh for some of my owne particular affaires, to have caused apprehend and imprisson me without triell, was not I, being advertised therof by freinds, retired myself home, and so eshewed that present inconvenient.

"Thus his Majestie having beene moved by the Erle of Arran, and suche others his adherents as were in his Majestie's companie, to take up a course repugnant to that which, by act of conventioun of the estats, in the moneth of October, anno 1582, was established, and found good service, and by the act of the Generall Assemblie was, on the same maner, allowed and approved. Becaus noblemen, and manie others who favoured the religioun, were therethrough brought in an unsuretie, and impietie and daylie vice beganne to abound in the court and realme; as the text ministred

occasioun, some ministers did reprove the enormiteis that raigned; and therefore were not onlie mislyked of and hated, but captors were privilie appointed in everie notable congregatioun, to advert what was preached and taught toward the abuses and misgovernement of the countrie. And some of our brethrein were commanded silence, others were banished from their flockes, and some were charged before the Secreit Counsell; and among others, that notable instrument in the kirk of God, (whose learning and qualiteis are manifestlie approved and knowne,) Mr Andrew Melvill, was commanded to prissoun, to the Blacknesse, frome which he sould have been brought to his death. Wherof, he being secreitlie advertised, according to the rule prescrived by our Maister, Christ, for safetie of his life, he was forced to eshew their hands, and flee out of the countrie. Wherat Arran and his associats conceaved suche rage and passionate wrathe, that they procured an act to be made, that therafter there sould never a minister be charged, by letters, to compeere before the Secreit Counsell, but sould be apprehended, and hands layed on them, to be brought and presented to justice for their doctrine, or anie other mater that pleased the court to lay to their charge.

"There was beside the publict and manifest contempt of the Word of God, and the preachers and professors therof, a manifest and daylie testimonie of atheisme, and evill, ungodlie, and licentious life, givin by them that had the rule in court: for not onlie were suche in credit, and brought in favour, that had beene enemeis to the king's authoritie, and were cheefe favourers of the Papisticall and bloodie Councill of Trent; but avowed Papists, and suche as for Papistrie had beene and remained still excommunicated and accursed, were brought into his Majestie's companie, privie chamber, and were in favour and good estimation, and had swey and steir in maters of estate, to the great greefe and grudge of the ministrie, and all other godlie and zealous servants of God.

"The great hazard of the king's Majestie's person, estat, and religioun, and of the commoun weale being thus understand, foreseene, and cleerelie perceaved by diverse noblemen, the preachers

and professors of the truthe, to their great greefe and regrait there appeared daylie occasiouns of greater sorrow to all faithfull hearts. For that apostat, Mr Patrik Constean, Bishop of St Andrewes, being in England ambassader, by all possible diligence studied to invent and practise trouble and schisme to be brought in into the kirk of God, and was diligent to bring to passe suche instructiouns as he receaved from Arran and other godless courteours; as the effect sensyne hath sufficientlie testified. Which, becaus it is more nor notorious to all the world, for brevitie I omitt. The Erle of Gowrie, likewise, in the moneth of Aprile, a pearle and patron of godlinesse, policie, learning, and all notable vertues, was treasonablie, by the craft of the Erles of Arran, Montrose, Crawfurd, and Colonel Stuart, surprised and apprehended in Dundie, and brought to Edinburgh, to be putt to death upon simulat causes, to the great sorrow and lamentable greefe of all good men, and to the evident perrell of the religioun. Some of the nobilitie, upon the 18th of the said moneth, assembled in Stirline, for redresse of the saids enormiteis, and safetie of his Hienesse' person, religioun, and countrie, from the imminent evills that hang over their heads; and by their proclamations made publict attestation of that their intentioun, as most godlie, necessar, and profitable for the estate and realme.

"The Erle of Gowrie being tane, and the enemeis of God and his truthe thus triumphing, and ruling all things at their pleasure, and abusing his Majestie's eare and flexible inclinatioun, I, knowing their devilish purposes and intentiouns, which daylie more and more uttered the self, prayed to God, in my secreet meditatioun, for redresse heerof; and upon Sunday, the 19th of Aprile following, in my sermon, my ordinar text, wherin, becaus the Word ministred apt occasioun thereto, I did open to my flocke what perrell the religioun and estate of the truthe was in, and proved by diverse arguments that they meant nothing but subversioun and wracke of the same.

"In the moneth of Aprile there was an assemblie of the ministrie appointed to be in Sanct Andrewes, for some effaires of the ecclesiasticall politie, to which diverse of the best learned and most

qualified of that professioun being conveened, I come thither likewise. Where, looking that in quietnesse suche things sould have been handled and treatted, as served for advancement of God's glorie, Mr Johne Grahame, Justice-Depute, was directed from court, weill stuffed and replenished with Arran's informations; and not onlie uttered in presence of the brethrein there conveened, minassing language and words of reproache against us all, with a plain discharge of our Assemblie, and that he would not onlie be moderater but commander therein, but, in particular, shew me what evill opinioun and mislyking was had of me in speciall; and having privilie a commissioun to apprehend Mr James Lowsone, Mr David Lindsey, Mr Andrew Hay * * * * and my self. Becaus of Mr Andrew Hay's absence, (whom he looked for to have resorted there that night,) he deferreth the executioun of his intentioun that night, that he might have trapped us altogether. But I being certified and warned therof, withdrew that same night out of Sanct Andrewes, and came to Perth, to my owne flocke, upon Saturday, the 25th of Aprile, and preached upon Sunday the 26th therof, before noone and after noone, opening, according to the Word of God, my minde, and discharging my conscience to my auditor; willing them to convert rightlie to God, and with all humilitie to pray for avoiding the perells and plagues that hang on that countrie, and everie part therof. But I was immediatlie thereafter made foreseene, that there was another charge directed to the Bailiffes of Perth, and commissioun sent to apprehend me. Wherof being advertised, I past to Dundie, to visite some freinds, and to eshew that surprise that was devised against me. And when I had not remained two days there, another commissioun was sent to the magistrats there, to apprehend me in like maner; for eshewing whereof, I past to a freind's hous, sixteene myles distant therefra, to Robert Guthrie of Lownan's dwelling, where I had not abode two or three days, when the fourth commissioun was sent to the Shereff of the shire, the Maister of Grey, elder, to apprehend me; which he would not refuse, but sent eighteen hors thither for that effect. But God, who never leaveth his owne in

their distresse, was carefull for me, so that I was certified therof. And being thus unnaturallie, and against order of law, hunted up and doun, [I] was at last forced to care for my owne safetie and releefe, and by God's providence escaped their bloodie and cruell hands. Immediatlie after my departing out of Sanct Johnstoun, my wife remaining there desolat and solitare, my hous was most narrowlie sought for me, my servants examined with rigorous words, and threatned, to tell where I was; and the beds of my hous stogged[1] with swords, to have bereft my life, if I had not thus escaped. Therafter they putt so extremelie at my wife, that she was compelled to buy my escheate from their treasurer, and to deburse more money therefore, (onlie for safetie of my books,) nor the commoun custome of suche merchandise was wont to be valued at, albeit I had beene ten tymes richer nor I was.

"Besides this rude and barbarous dealing, there was all kinde of rigour used against Robert Guthrie of Lownan, a gentleman of good calling, who feareth God with his heart; to whose hous I came, and remained two or three dayes. I nather being charged publictlie nor privatlie, nor putt to the horne; and yitt, against the law of God, of nature, and the commoun law of the countrie, he was therefore called to their law, putt out of his hous, and the Maister of Gray, younger, caused his brother to take his escheate. So that, to rid himself out of that trouble, he behoved to pay foure hundred merks, beside his trouble and sickeness, and spoile of his hous."

THE ELDERS AND DEACONS OF EDINBURGH URGED TO SUBSCRIVE THE LETTER.

When the greatest part of the citicens refused to subscrive the letter formed for answere to their ministers, some of the elders and deacons, to the number of ellevin, were charged to compeere at Falkland, the 28th of June. They were accused of treason, for receaving, reading, and concealing the letter, which the ministers

[1] Pierced, stabbed.

sent to the counsell and sessioun of Edinburgh, before he [the king] and his counsell had seene the same. Some denyed that they had seene it. Johne Blekburne being demanded, confessed he had seene it. His Majestie asked, why he did not subscrive the letter? He answered, Becaus it was against the Word of God and his conscience. The king turned him in his chaire, and laughing, said, "We have gottin a scripturar: wherin is it against the Word of God?" "Yes, Sir," said the other, "almost in all the heeds; but speciallie concerning the doctrine. It is said in the letter, that they seldome exhorted us to follow the meaning of the 13th chapter of the Epistle to the Romans; for both Mr James and Mr Walter taught upon that, or some suche like place, according to the meaning of the Spirit of God." "I say not, "said the king, "that they taught never, but seldome, upon that subject." "Als oft," said the other, "as they had occasioun." Then was he demanded by the king, What he thought of the causes moving the ministers to flee out of the countrie? He answered, He heard them but once read before the sessioun, and thought them reasonable. Then said Arran, They sould tak order with him: the sinewes of his craig yuiked: suche a proud knave come never before the king and counsell. "I see he would be away," &c. The king again demandeth, what he thought of the causes of their flight. He answered, He thought weill: but becaus he heard them but once read, in presence of the sessioun, he desired the authentick copie of the letter, that he might conferre it with the Booke of God, and he sould give suche answere as the Lord sould furnish him. The king ryseth, and goeth quicklie to the foote of the boord, and tooke the penne, inkehorne, and paper frome the clerk, and gave him, and putt him to a by boord. The counsell rysing, becaus it was dinner time, he desired a secreit part to retire to, where he might write his answere. The king called for the Erle of Arran, and Colonell Stuart, and after he had conferred with them, the Serjeant of the Ynote Guarde was sent for, to putt him in the yrons. He craved respite till night, becaus the window was high, and he could not stand with the yrons on his feete, to write; which was granted.

He wrote in the guarde-hous three writts. One tuiched the ministers, their life, doctrine, and conversatioun. The other conteaned a supplicatioun, wherin he purged himself of treasoun, and humblie meaned his owne estate, not able to endure the charges which were layed upon him; for it cost him two merks everie day in Falkland, the space of a moneth, and in Dumfermline als long. The thrid conteened an answere to the heed propouned by the king's Majestie. James Stuart of Traquare, Captan of the Guarde, was sent to receave his answeres, which were delivered, and read by the king and Arran. He was deteaned in the yrons the space of six dayes, but sometimes he was eased by the serjeant. James Chisholme, one of the maister-housholds, was sent to perswade him to subscrive the letter; but he refused. At lenth, when the lords were absent, for the most part, by the mediatioun of Mr George Young, he was wairded in Dumfermline. Mr Johne Preston, elder, said plainlie before the king, He would not subscrive the letter: he would not call them seditious or evill men whose doctrine and life he approved: he would not be a false witnesse, &c. When he came furth to the rest of the elders, and they inquired how maters went, he said, "I pray God, I never see his face again."

George Ramsay of Langraw was sent to waird to Dumbartan, onlie for admonishing Bishop Adamsone, and reproving him secreitlie for railing against faithfull pastors.

Mr Archibald Harbertsone of Glasgow was sent from the king to England, with commissioun to call home certane Scotish preachers, upon hope of good provisioun in honourable places. Among the rest, he caried a letter to one Maister Moresone, dated the 10th of June, the tenor wherof followeth:—

"Trustie and weilbeloved—Forasmuche as, since the acceptatioun of the regiment in our owne person, we have cheefelie endeavoured ourselves to establishe a godlie and perfyte order of policie in the kirk of our realme; for the sinceritie of the Gospell being professed in our kingdome, and the troubles wherewith this realme hath beene vexed in our minoritie, not permitting a solide and

stablished order of policie, we, comming to the yeeres of maturitie, have cheefelie disposed our intentioun (by the grace of God) to mainteane the truthe, sett furth his glorie, (by whose mercie we governe and raigne,) and to establishe suche order, whereby the posteritie heerafter may find the confort. And becaus the worke of God cannot goodlie be accomplished without instruments, and that we are certainlie informed of your good qualitcis, bestowed in good learning, and in the Scriptures; and that speciallie to performe this worke, we have need of men indued with suche vertues; therefore, we have givin commissioun to our weilbeloved, Mr Archibald Harbertsone, whome yee sall trust in our name, that yee may with possible diligence addresse yourself hither to your native countrie and king, that we may have your counsell, assistance, and concurrence in so godlie a worke: assuring you, upon our honour, and in the word of a prince, that upon your returning to your native countrie, yee sall find us disposed, not onlie to consider the paines of your journey, but to respect you in like maner in your placing, and providing for you in honourable rowmes, which we desire to be furnished with godlie, learned, and quiett spirits. And like as we protest before God to meane sincerelie, so wishe we you to render that obedience to us, wherof yee sall have good proofe of favour. We have commanded our weilbeloved clerke and counseller, the Bishop of Sanct Andrewes, to write unto you in these maters; to whose writting, and the declaratioun of the bearer, (whome ye sall credite, and whome we have speciallie directed for that purpose,) we remitt the rest. Not ellis, but committs you and your labours to God, and wishe you not to be negligent in his worke.

"JAMES R.

"From our Palace of Falkland, the 10th of June 1584."

Mr Moresone not onlie refused to come home, but also dissw[illegible]ded others who were likewise sent for. This Harbertsone was a coosener: he borrowed money from an embroderer, in Mr David Black's name, and in Mr Johne Davidsone's.

A REPLY OF JONET GUTHRIE AND MARGARET MARJORIBANKS, THE SPOUSES OF MR J. LOWSONE AND MR W. BALCALQUALL, TO A CALUMNIOUS AND BLASPHEMOUS ANSWERE PUTT FURTH UNDER THE NAME OF THE PHARISAICALL PRELAT OF ST ANDREWES, TO A LETTER SENT BY THE SAIDS MR JAMES AND MR WALTER TO THEIR OWNE FLOCKE AND CONGREGATIOUN OF EDINBURGH.

"We have seene and read your answere, (pharisaicall prelat,) dyted, as it were, to these notable servants of God, our husbands, but nothing lesse meant than to be sent to them; but as it were, in forme of a calumnie or contradictioun, to be sparsed abroad, to wound in their persons, and (as it were) through their sides, the blessed Word of God preached by them. We consider that yee have pynned yourself muche, *usque ad cestum solutum et demensos ungues*, to beautifie your attemptat, with inkehorne termes and counterfooted eloquence, and als hask [1] a stile, as would *deco* * * * * * *sedem apostolicam.* It is true, that we, two simple weomen, (that for the present necessitie tak upon us to reply to your answere,) have not atteanned to the suggarred eloquence of Cicero or Demosthenes; and yitt sall be able to matche thy pharisaicall majestie, blasphemous lees, counterfoote eloquence, and hard yron stile, with the simplicitie of the simple truthe, able to discover and confound thy blasphemous slanders, howsoever rhetoricallie thou hath decked them; and convince thee of shamefull leeing, (yea, leeing, and inverting the reasouns of their godlie letter,) of slander, of perjurie, and of turning again to thy vomite, like a filthie dog, to the cleering and purging of our husbands of all these false calumneis, howbeit it be after a simple stile, and rude dytement of simple weomen.

"Yee have sett doun, in the first foure or five lynes of your answere, that having perused our husbands' letter, directed to their owne flocke, yee sought licence of the king to write an answere to it; as though it had beene a treasonable fact to the toun of Edin-

[1] Scurrilous.

burgh the recept of it, and you to have answered it, except they for recept, and you for your engyring answere, had speciall licence of the king's Majestie. After that your weightie reasons sall be debated, we leave anie indifferent man to judge what is that point of treason which is committed. Yee say, yee cannot be judged to have putt your huick in another man's corn, howbeit yee tak upon you to answere to a letter that is not directed to you; becaus, howsoever that letter seemed to be directed to the congregatioun of Edinburgh, it conteaneth little or no purpose concerning the toun, but forged calumneis against the king, counsell, and estats, (and you are in number;) and that it apperteaned rather more in their calling to reverence them, if they were led with the Spirit of God. The intentioun of their letter to their flocke was, to make them understand, that just feare of their life, for mainteaning their Maister Christ's caus, and the keeping their owne flocke from manie straits that their byding might have brought them in, was caus of their withdrawing themselves for a seasoun. And sua the letter itself bewrayed you of a manifest leasing, and conteaneth great and weightie causes of their departure, which was verie requisite that their flocke sould have understood. As to the old and commoun reproache against God's servants; troublers of commoun wealths, rebells to princes, unreverent speekers of these that be in authoritie; they may beare it with their Master, to whome that and more was said. '*Non ne bene dicimus, quod Beelzebub habes?*' But becaus this will depend upon the discussing of the particulars of the reply to the answere of the letter, we will say but this muche shortlie, as Elias said to Achab, 'It is thou, and thy father's hous, that trouble Israel.' It is thou, and the remnant of you, pharisaicall prelats, becaus yee are not throuned up in the place and authoritie of Pops, that would rather mixe heaven and earth, ere the pompe of your prelaceis decay. Yee say, except it were for caus of strangers, (least they sould be sinistrouslie informed,) yee would not compt it worth an answere. Pearles are not the worse though filthie swyne trode them under foote, and preferre their draffe in their stinking sty unto them. Your answere, when it sall be

matched with a reply of the learned, (which, we doubt not, yee sall find one sent by time,) sall be found worth little to except for an apothecar's booth, or a seed man's shoppe, and the great paines ye have tane to beautifie leesings and false calumneis sall be found fruictlesse labour.

"You come at lenth, and lay furth the particular heeds of impugnatioun of their letter. And, first, impugning their excuse for departing, which yee esteeme to be verie weake, because (say yee) they appeare rather to colour suche attempts as have latelie beene practised, and detected to the sunne and moone. *Turpe est doctori cum culpa redarguit ipsum*, for, in the nixt lyne of your letter, yee blame them of generallitie; and yee are so generall yourself, that nather darre yee condescend upon anie practises, nor yitt affirme that they were culpable of anie. Wheranent, if yee had beene speciall, yee had receavëd speciall answere, *Questio enim per forte solvitur per forte non.* We are assured, that yee, nor none in Scotland, is able to convince them of anie treasonable attemptat, ather against God or the king. You blame their sophisticall generalitie, (so it pleaseth your pharisaicall majestie to terme it,) not condescending what plagues they had threatned, at what time, upon what places of the Scripture. Truelie, if their sermons had beene als rare as yours, since yee were My Lord Bishop, we thinke they might be the abler to have reduced them to thir remembrance; and that generalitie which yee so blame, is yitt freshe eneugh in the hearts of their owne flocke, and this day seene accomplished, to the great regrate of all the godlie sort, that sob for reformatioun. What volumes, we pray you, had they writtin, if they had writtin all the doctrine taught by them, impugning the dissolutioun of this age, als weill among their owne flocke as at court? And yee thinke that that court sould be as *Sancta Sanctorum*, reproached or reproved of no man; sua fynelie have yee learned for your luckelesse court flattering! As to that conjecturall argument of yours, that for feare of being challenged of the Road of Ruthven, they had left their flocke; if yee list to make an affirmative assertioun of your conjecturall argument, yee sould

receave a short answere, to witt, (with reverence of your pharisaicall Pontificat,) yee lee in your throat. For yee are not able to prove the least suspicioun of intelligence of it.

"Yee affirme, that the culpablenesse of their attemptat is bewrayed, and the malice of their hearts plainlie uttered, in the secund article of their letter, becaus, these diverse yeeres, they have beene enemies to the course of the court, and the court to them; and querrell meekle the not excepting of the king's person, with (we wote not what) other fecklesse phrases, requiring little answere. In their letter there is no suche phrase as invying of court; (put your spectacles on again when yee list:) yitt, albeit it were as you say, is it anie new thing to see profane, dissolute courteours, invy the teachers of Gode's truthe? And God's servants invy not their persons, but their dissolute and profane behaviour. And in this, we leave anie indifferent man to judge betuixt us, that sall read your blasphemous answere and our reply, and are acquaint with the behaviour of the court this day. You blame them that they shew no particular practises of court against the truthe. What mistereth them to show that which you have publictlie proclamed at the Mercat Croce, and exhibited as a publict law repugnant to God's eternall truthe, which yee, as cheefe author and father, have beene in brewing both at home and afeild, and have abused the good nature of the king's Majestie, making him understand that these acts may agree with God's law; and agree als weill with it as light with darknesse. And yitt yee will speere, What hath the court practised? Yee be like these who enquire the way they be weill eneugh acquainted with. You querrell, that in this generall reproache of court, the king's person is nöt excepted nor exeemed. O flattering panche-god! that would bring out of the envennomed treasure of thy invyous heart, discord betuixt God's servants and their naturall and loving prince. Envennomed vespe! sucker of poysoun out of wholesome and confortable flowers! forging and fostering calumneis upon innocent men, where there is no suche caus in the letter. Be there not at court a good number of honest, godlie, and zealous persons, besides his Highnesse? Thinke yee, whill God's servants

reprove profanitie of court, and thyne, and a number of other unquiett braines doing what in them lyeth, to impoysoun the king's heart, and introduce in the kirk your new devised Popedome; thinke yee, we say, that we burthein his Grace, and that godlie remnant, and not rather you, the authors and inventers? And we waite for this muche of his gracious clemencie, that some time his Hienesse sall make this new forme of policie be better examined, and tried with learned and indifferent men; at what time, we doubt not but his Hienesse, understanding your flatterie in abusing his Grace for your stinking promotioun, sall, for your reward, erect you in a tow. You reproache them of breache of promise made, that they sould speeke nothing in pulpit of court, before they had conferred with his Hienesse' self; and you are not able to condescend on anie particular, whereanent yee can blame them in this behalfe. Whensoever yee sall doe it, in anie particular, they sall cleere themselves to the satisfactioun of all honest men. But we wonder, that suche a Holiglasse as you are (we speeke with reverence of your Pontificat) sould querrell breache in promise, who, in breache of promise, is reproachefullest of anie man in our knowledge in all Scotland. *Qui dicit quæ vult, quæ non vult, audiet.* How manie ever had dealing with you, to whome yee have not played an Holiglasse tricke?

"You prosecute in your answere, that they, leaving court and counsell, querrell the estats conveened at this present parliament; and sett doun (you say) majesticall sentences so generall against the late acts of parliament, alledging them to repugne to the Word of God; and therefore blame their generalitie. And, for your better warrant in blaming them, yee produce the first act of parliament, and make a long discourse, to little purpose, upon the same; and ather ignorantlie mistake, or maliciouslie (which we rather judge) depravat the ground of their godlie letter, writtin to their owne flocke, being the just caus of their withdrawing them frome their flocke; becaus, in the late parliament, acts were sett doun and published against the Word of God; and for the more terrour to anie that sould oppone against them an act made to compt it treasoun to speeke against these acts; strait charges sent to the ma-

gistrats of their owne flockes, to imprison them that oppouned against them. In this strait they were in danger of condemnatioun of both soule and bodie, if they keeped silence, and spake not against these lawes: of treasoun against the king, if they oppouned themselves against them. Minassings, and bloodie words of great courteours, cast abrode for their greater terrour, ministred just caus of feare, and was lawfull caus of their departing; sua judged and accepted of the most and best part of their owne flocke, howsoever yee would engyre your self, to perswade them of the contrare; and without witt, with huike, in verie deed sheare another man's rig: depraving and calumniating their good meaning, as though it were hi gh treasoun against the king the writing of it, and higher treasoun the recept of it. His Hienesse' eares are wearied with your inopportunitie and malicious forged leing upon these poore servants of God. The cheefe point that yee querrell them for is speeking against the acts of the estats, hypooriticall prelate! If the late acts, or anie of them, be suche as agree not, or may not stand with God's law, and the forsaid minassing also true, who darre be so impudent as to blame their departing; or them for speeking against the estats, that darre take upon them to sett doun lawes against God, though they were authorized with the estats of all the parliaments on the earth? You will say, we know you be not mett directlie. You querrell them of impugning the lawes of the estat, as repugnant to God's law; not condescending what acts repugne, nor how they repugne. What hath their letter to doe, to satisfie your grosse and wilfull ignorance, that see als cleere as the sunne the repugnancie, and yitt maliciouslie seeme to misknow, onlie to forge a querrell, and be, like Chaucer's cooke, bussier nor yee mister, and skad your lippes in other men's kaile? Their owne flocke, to whome the letter is directed, know the mater, and see repugnancie, and are satisfied. What have they to doe with you, who, in your poysouned malice, is wilfullie ignorant? He is blockish as a stocke, and blind as a mod-wart, that seeth it not. And if your craft had not beene suche to obscure them from men's knowledge, discharging your clerks to give furth anie extract of

them, and have beene ashamed to committ to print the best part of them, they had beene, ere now, directlie impugned out of the Word of God. Therefore, seing the force of thy ingyne is to deceave honest men, goe seeke some other course: thou sall never be able to prevaile that way. We mervell at the envennomed malice of thyne heart against these men, thy manifold unreverend words, and the deepe dissimulatioun of thy hypocriticall course, that, in conference with good men tuiching the late acts, thou hath protested before God (as though thou disallowed them thyself) thou never knew there was anie evill intended against the kirk, nor was of counsell of these lawes before they were penned and propouned in parliament hous. And yitt suche a brazen face darre upbraid so godlie men, susteaning so good a caus, when thy owne conscience throweth out of thee, now or then, to one or other, the disallowing of these acts! Were not for bringing good men in trouble by thee, we sould decipher thy dissimulat hypocrisie.

"Thou taketh occasioun, upon the first act of that parliament, to make a brag of a notable worke, and commenteth largelie upon it. But for what caus comment yee not als muche upon your fourth act and twentie act, which is the fundament of your Popedome; and the remanent acts, which yee thinke shame to print? We must make your answere, Becaus yee are not able to justifie them by warrant of God's Word. And all that yee have established in that act yee annull in the rest, *derogantes priora posterioribus.* Yee induce an evill collected consequence, farre from the meaning of anie point of their letter, to make disputatioun, whether the ministers of a countrie sall prescrive to the prince and commoun wealth; or if he, bearing cheefe authoritie of his princelie office, sall sett doun lawes for the policie of the kirk. This farre-fetched mater, to debate on, is als farre sought out of their letter, as *bellum Trojanum a gemino ovo.* As to their purpose, we say yitt once again, that wicked lawes which are established by the estats (of which number yee boast you one) of the realme, and tyrannicall threatnings against them, if they sould oppone against the same, have ministred caus of just feare for them, to withdraw them frome their

flocke, and reserve themselves to a better time: and that gloreing of thine, of being one of the estats, and sitting in parliament, representing a member of the kirk, and against thy faith, against thy conscience, against thy former hand-writt and subscriptions yitt extant, sall be a testimonie of God's just judgements against thee. And when ever the subject of these acts sall be debated before an indifferent judge, your aspiring to a Popedome sall be brought to matche with the lowest sort of your marrowes; your pharisaicall hypocrisie discovered, and the prince, in his princelie authoritie, fullie satisfied. You prosecute your argument, enlarging it from exemple of late yeeres preceeding; and prove that the policie of the kirk can not depend upon the decrees of ministers, but upon the law of God, and constitutions of princes; becaus (say yee) experience hath taught, that great disorder in the kirk, no man having the oversight of dioceis, no difference betwixt great and small, learned and unlearned, young and old, but everie man acknowledging equall authoritie and jurisdictioun in the kirk.

"Howbeit, all this mater be farre-fetched, and concerne not the answeres of our husbands' letter; and you thinke these reasons suche, as great Œdipus could not find out an answere for them, we will assay what two simple weomen can doe. You have oft querelled our husbands' letter of generalitie; and you are alwise puddelled in the same myre, never specifeing in particular these confusiouns. We would mervell, (if we knew not yee were effronted shamelesse,) so manifestlie to lee, of not visitatioun of the dioceis, which was ever the cheefest care of the kirk, and the first thing that was taue accompt of in Assembleis, as though your new devised Popedome and visitatioun by you, that nather can nor beare good will to visite, and are so defiled with the stinking puddell of all corruptiouns and filthie crimes, that men would soone upbraid you, 'Reforme your selves, and syne reforme us;' as though we say, your visitatioun sould be preferred. As to equalitie in jurisdictiouns, and authoritie in the kirk, which you aggravat most, we affirme it is the verie true order left by the Spirit of God, for the best forme to governe his kirk, and preserve it frome the ty-

rannicall pride and ambitioun of your prelates, which, of old, induced the Popedome, and now is aspired to by you, though after another forme. Our Maister, Christ, smelling the pridefull ambitioun that was likelie to enter among his apostles, after his departing, contending who sould be greatest, said, 'Who would be greatest among you, be servant to the rest.' Unto which of the apostles gave he prerogative above the remanent? (except yee would induce again that phantasticall opinion of Peter's supremacie, and fundament of the Roman kirk.) If there be necessitie of preferment of one minister above another, or others, yee must needs ascend till yee come to one above all, and so, in end, to the old Popedome, that your ambitious hearts aspire so muche unto. God hath givin alike commissioun to all these that have their lawfull calling of him in his kirk. We will use a familiar similitude. What greater preferment (we meane of his office) hath one bailliffe above another, howbeit he be perhaps of honourabler kin, greater riches, age, or wisdome? If there were tenne in a toun, in prerogative of his office, he is no wise above his marrowes. Your answere meeteth verie directlie (God wote!) their letter, when you upbraid them two, that the acts of the Assemblie repugne one to another; and some of them, you say, derogating to the estats of the realme: and that pluralitie of votes sould beare maters away there; and all must be out of order, that dependeth not upon the policie which you, corrupt and ignorant prelats, with a number of unlearned others, putt furth, under the colour of the king's name and estats of the realme. You be so oft relapse in generalitie, that we forgett the number, not mentioning the acts repugning, their bookes being extant with their acts; and amongst manie, yee might have produced one, and lettin the repugnancie and derogatioun to the estats have beene seene. But, becaus yee could not possiblie doe it, yee overpassed it with a generalitie. Where you querrell that pluralitie of votes sould beare maters away, lett us understand anie forme of concluding debated maters, ather in old or new, spirituall or temporall councells, yea, within your own parliament, beside that forme. Produce it; for hitherto we have never heard of anie. You querrell and

reproache the number of the acts and statuts of the kirk, saying, they goe beyond the number of the statuts of the Canon law. If the statuts themselves be good, yee doe wrong to blame them: for the Canon law was never blamed in the number, but in that, that the greatest part of them repugned to God's law.

"You reproache speciallie the act made tuiching the Road of Ruthven, as treasounable. How can yee reproache ather them two, or the whole Assemblie, of that act; you, (whom yee call the estats,) having before found, and declared it to be good and acceptable service to his Grace; and his Grace having directed his Hienesse' owne commissioners to that Assemblie, declaring that your lordships had so decerned, and that it was his Hienesse' minde, that all his good subjects sould understand it to be so consented, that there sould be an act made to that effect? How manie proclamations sett yee furth, for approving and justifeing of that act; and that no man sould speeke evill of that act, yea, under paine of treasoun? You charge them with commanding the king's Majestie, under paine of excommunicatioun, to dispone his bishopricks to qualified men; and therin you make a manifest leesing of them; for you are not able to prove it. You blaspheme fasting, that notable exercise of God's service. We doubt not but God sall punishe you with that or the like punishement of Rabsakeh and Senacherib, for their blasphemie. You sett doun a great majesticall sentence, (we use your owne termes,) *ex malis moribus bonæ leges ortæ sunt.* It behoved you first to have provin *malos mores*, which you sall not be able to doe, when you have striven to the uttermost; nor yitt prove *leges bonas.* It appeareth that yee call these, *malos mores*, the changing of superintendents to bishops, frome bishops to visiters, frome visiters to commissioners, frome commissioners to presbytereis, ; and, under colour of presbytereis, (so impudentlie it pleaseth you to speeke,) to practise their treasonable attemptats, with gentlemen of the countrie, against the king, and incitat his Hienesse' subjects to rebellioun. We perceave there is no end of thy blasphemous leing. Are yee able to bring out of all the presbytereis of Scotland one prooffe of anie treasonable attempt, or incitation to commotion popu-

lar, against his Hienesse? If yee could, I doubt not yee had done. As to the changing of their names, what is that to the purpose what name be givin; the effect of their calling, that was so termed, remaining? For ministers be sometimes called ministers, sometimes pastors, sometimes preests, sometimes bishops. The Spirit of God, in the Revelation, calleth them angels. What of the name, when the mater remaineth all one? Have yee so soone forgott your owne approbatioun of all that policie, when you, like a proud Balaam, had oppouned your self against that forme of policie which, by force of argument and reason, convicted and overcome, yee were compelled to yeeld to, and crie with teares, which now are seene to have beene hypocriticall and crocodilicall? Thou came, as Balaam, to curse thy brethrein, the authors of that policie; and God opened thy mouth, and (maugre thy heart) made thee to blesse them, confessing thy self convicted in conscience; allowing all that policie, and begging of God that you might have had an houre in pulpit, to lett the world understand how yee were satisfied; and, as avower and approver of all, subscrived it with thine owne hand, yitt extant, incace thou would denie, although now, like a filthie dog, thou would returne to thine owne vomite. Prosecuting your digressioun from formall answering to their letter, you come to justifeing of the late acts; and all that you bring for justifeing of them is your owne assertioun, that in upright conscience, and warrant of God's law, yee did it; willing them to speeke more reverentlie of the estats and their lawes. If yee had provin your assertions, and made induction of them with their warrant of God's Word, yee had done somwhat. But a feg for your bare assertioun, without farther! for all your preferment, and all your authoritie, is not yitt suche as all must be truthe, *quia ipse dixit*. And we leave God to judge betwixt you and them, who misused themselves most to the estats; you with flatterie abusing the truthe, and they impugning lawes direct against God's truthe. You querrell them for calling you 'cursed bishops.' In a cursed time were you borne; a cursed life, in a cursed time, have you lived; and if you mend not your maners, in God's wrath accursed sall you dee. And, albeit some

of you be washed (*sutorio atramento*) from your cursednesse, (the exemple wherof yee sall never be able to prove in anie age of the kirk,) cursed yitt in God's sight continueth he still.

"Where, you say, if charitie would permitt, you would upbraid the cheefest of their opinioun with fouller vices, wee mervell you speeke so muche of charitie, who have so foullie abused your self beyond the bounds of all Christian charitie, so falselie, with so manie reproachefull words, blaspheming not onlie them, but God's Word through them. We understand not what yee meant by the 'cheefest of their opinioun;' except it were their Master, Christ, *contra quem durum est calcitrare.* You object to them, Jerome and Vigilantius, tuiching slanderous crimes in men's owne persons. But this subject is not fitt, being for the power and authoritie of God's Word, intended by you to be brought under the appetits of men, whill yee thinke that men's law sould stand repugnant to God's law. Remember the zeale that men sould be moved with when God's caus is in hand, whill the prophet sayeth, '*Zelus domus tuæ comedit me.*' And truelie, with Jerome and Vigilantius, in reproaching men's owne particular vices, we would be both slow and modest, howbeit (in this your answere, yee have observed little of their rule) you come yitt once again to calumniat their departure, as a crime you cannot esteeme to have a matche; and judge it to have beene to none other end, but onlie to have stirred up some popular motioun. *Charitas non est suspiciosa.* Where is that Christian charitie you boasted so muche latelie of; or what argument of suspicioun was ever found in anie of these two? You are in the bitternesse of gall, and false invented malicious leing. We are certane the king's Majestie himself is perswaded otherwise. As to the justifeing of the lawfulnesse of their departing, we have said before, that we doubt not to cleere their honestie in that point; and had beene now more speciall, were not we understand that there is a discourse betwixt two burgesses of Edinburgh, disputing that mater at great lenth.

"All that followeth in your answere, from Chrysostome's answere, *non descendam*, &c., till you come the third time to your late acts,

tendeth onlie to praise the king's Grace, that willed all them of their vocatioun to walke in their owne calling, teache and instruct their flockes, and not be disturbers of peace and quietnesse of the commoun-wealth, nor stirrers up of popular seditioun, in anie their sermons. In this we most heartilie praise God, begging to his Grace long life in God's feare and obedience, and preservatioun frome so cursed flatterers, malicious leers, detracters of innocent men, as you be, who have moved the good nature of good princes oft tymes to doe that rashlie, that, after deliberat advisement, they have sore repented.

"You say our husbands be mad, and bereft of their witt, that thought to have greater libertie of religioun in England (whether they be fled) than in Scotland. Your reasons be, the queene is a rare auditrix of sermons her self, and hath yitt continuing in her realme the reformatioun of King Edward, blemished with manie ceremoneis and superstitions. What is it to the libertie of their conscience how manie or how few sermons the queen heare? And have not these notable kirks, both of France and Flanders, found recept, confort, and defence, in the puritie of their owne reformed religioun, notwithstanding of anie injunctions of her owne subjects? Yee make a gallimafra of this answere of yours under colour of answering; interlacing so manie sindrie purposes, and going frome purpose to purpose, now to it, now from it, now to it again. Now yee cast out Bullinger and Mr Bucer's opinioun tuiching the ceremoneis of England: again yee querrell, of new, their departing, as though yee could never say enough: againe (*agens negotium de banoco*) you confirme the authoritie of your pharasaicall dignitie, that truelie we wearie of your answering. Yit, least yee thinke yee have triumphed with victorie, lett us come to the particulars. Martin Bucer, nor Henrie Bullinger, were never of that opinioun, that these ceremoneis which were not *adiaphore*, and might not stand with the expresse Word of God, sould be allowed or borne with; but suche as were in themselves *adiaphore*, and might stand with the Word. What would these notable instruments of God say to you if they were alive, that would reduce, after twentie-

foure yeeres' reformatioun of religioun in puritie, but anie ceremoneis or injunctiouns, not onlie *adiaphore* ceremoneis, but place constitutions, sett out in publict, lawes repugning *ex diametro* to the Word of God? You affirm that no men in England, where they are, call in questioun the authoritie of the king over all estats in his realme, nor authoritie of bishops in their dioceis. We would that yee, villane prelats, sould matche you with others than princes. Who is in Scotland that doubteth of his Hienesse' power over all his estats, yea, in als solemne a maner as anie prince under the sunne? What part of their bill (that yee ingyre you to answere unto) deduce yee this answere from? As for you, pharisaicall prelats, with that authoritie which yee would challenge over dioceis, and which yee affirme that the whole learned men in England approve, we are assured you blame them falselie, and when they sall heare of it they sall matche you with an answere; for the best and learnedst sort of that realme approveth not the forme among themselves there; and the whole learned men there are in contrare opinioun, that after so long sattled policie there sould be so suddane alteratioun.

"You come nixt to the impudentest and manifestest leesing that ever we heard; and say that there is not one of these late acts of parliament which the whole bishops, pastors, ministers, and other learned, godlie, and faithfull professors of the Word in England, have not approved, allowed, and subscrived, without ane controversie. How manie, we pray you, of all the learned in England, have so muche as once heard that there are suche acts made in Scotland, lett be to approve and subscrive them? We mervell they be gone so quicklie abroad in England that none could gett the copie of them in Scotland. Fy upon thy shamelesse leing! You say, you thinke the estats of that realme will not tolerat suche beastlie men in their countrie to infect their youth. *Bona verba quæso, ne in tam amplo campo malum dicens, pejus audias.* But we wounder more that the earth beareth suche a profane leing villane, epicurean bellie-god; for thy beastlinesse, if we sould descrive, we sould bring the livelie image of Heliogabalus, Scroggan,

or Holliglasse ;[1] and when we had done that, we could not descrive the tenth part of thy treachereis. If you thinke we have exceeded matronall silence in thy description, learne yourself to speeke truelie and reverentlie of honest and godlie men that have testimonie of thousands, both of doctrine and behaviour. That great axiome which yee affirme yee will close up your answere with, what part of their letter it answereth to, God knoweth, being only an invective against the Booke of Policie and authors therof. The order, or disorder, (yee say,) sett doun in the Booke of Policie, tuiching the king and estats, cannot stand with sinceritie of the truthe, exemple of the ancients, nor scepter of a Christian prince. What can be answered to this generallitie, which you so muche blame in others, and yitt are alwayes in relapses, of one to the tenth? What is sett doun in the Booke of Policie tuiching that subject we know not, and we never heard of anie suche booke sett furth in Scotland. But had you deduced that which you so straitlie impugne generallie, you sould have beene answered to your shame; and, therefore, we continue speciall answere till you condescend both of the booke, and the particular heeds sett doun, that you would impugne.

"You turne your stile from them conjunctlie to Mr Walter alone, and affirme, you thought him never worthie to have charge of suche a congregatioun. *Magna res est, scilicet,* that you thought sua. Whill he was with them, he was both in doctrine and behaviour, and now absent, longed for and thristed after, and his absence bewailed with teares of the godlie. But we thinke it sall be long ere your absence be so regrated of your flocke. You exhort Mr James Lowsone to returne again, and show the king's graciousnesse and clemencie, and that he is thristed for of the brethrein. Blessed be God that he is yitt thristed for of good men, howsoever suche a

[1] Holiglasse, or Howleglas, so often alluded to at this period, was a popular personage of the morality plays of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, who identified the French Tartuffe, and the Italian Harlequin in his own single person. The allusion, therefore, possessed a poignancy in Melvill's time, which is in a great measure lost to the readers of the present day.

villane as you calumniat him. We acknowledge and confesse his Hienesse' clemencie, and, in our verie hearts, praise God for the same. For, if his Hienesse would serve the appetits of your raging malice against God's servants, that in puritie of religioun would serve him, and not mainteane your pharisaicall pompe, and beare up your stinking tailes, they had beene compelled ere now to seeke another land for their dwelling. The Lord open his eyes to see your malice, pride, and hypocriticall flatterie, and tuiche his Grace more and more to see his owne calling, to God's glorie, his Hienesse' long life, increasse of honour, with good successe in all his godlie effaires, rejoicing, as in open sunne, the hearts of manie godlie men. How you, and others your companions, maliciouslie and untruelie calumniat, the Lord, we say once again, judge betuixt you and them, that his Hienesse may once see whether yee, with your impoysouned flatterie, or they, in the simplicitie and uprightnesse of their conscience, meane faithfullest to his Hienesse' obedience; wealthe, and weelefare to his Hienesse, bodie and soule. Amen. Amen.

"Arise, O Lord Jesus, to judgement, for the poore and simple be oppressed with the calumneis of the wicked.

"Your sisters, if yee had not alreadie divided the unitie of the kirk; and when yee sall returne in Peter's teares, be sisters againe.

"JONET GUTHRIE.

"MARGARET MARJORIBANKS."[1]

THE SUMME OF THE CONFERENCE BETWIXT HENRIE AND EDWARD.

About the same time, there was sett furth a dialogue betuixt two citicens, under the name of Henrie Nisbit and Edward Hope, tuiching the subscriving of the letter, which was sent to the congregatioun of Edinburgh to be subscrived, as an answere to Mr James Lowsone and Mr Walter Balcanquall, their ministers.

[1] This letter, which was actually written by the wives of the two ministers, so excited the rage of the archbishop, that he procured the persecuting edicts of the king against them, instead of encountering them with their own weapons.

Henrie chargeth Edward with the recept of a slanderous letter, that impugned the king's lawes. Edward answered, it had beene a churlish thing not to have receaved a letter from their owne pastor; and if they had beene perswaded that in anie case it would have offended his Majestie, they would never have seene it within. "But the question is," said he, "whether I may damne Mr J. Lowsone and Mr W. Balcalquall for preaching and writting, that the late acts of parliament repugne to the Word of God, before they be heard? Putt the cace, the bailiffe apprehended a nighbour who had spokin als muche as they have writtin; had attached him, therefore, to the law; fenced a court, putt him to the knowledge of an assise, layed doun his dittay to the assise. If this man sould offer to prove cleerelie and manifestlie the lawes to be repugnant to God's Word, could the assise justlie damne him in the penaltie of an act, and judge him *reum capitis?*" Henrie confessed the law of God sould have the first place. "With what conscience, then," said Edward, "can I, nather perfytlie knowing the whole tenor of the late acts, nor their reasons, that affirme that they agree not with God's truthe, in whom I have seene the power of God's Spirit so mightilie, call them slyders from the truthe, transformed woolves, and bereave so notable instruments of their fame and honestie? Some of the authors of the late acts have besought God to forgive them, and professed plainlie that some of these acts may nather stand with God's law nor man's: yea, some have beene appointed, even since the concluding of these acts in parliament, to peruse them over againe; and are yitt in suspense if they sall publishe some of them in print, and in what forme. Farther, that letter beareth that these men have seldome exhorted us to follow that rule of Sanct Paul in the 13th of the Romans, of obedience to princes, which, if I sould subscrive, I sould avow a manifest lee." "But," said Henrie, "are they not fugitives, deserters of their flocke, and promise breakers to us?" "If a man," said Edward, "intised by whatsomever occasioun, hunt for the life of his wife, or she for his, the mater being certane to be so, desertion for sō reasonable a caus is not a haynous crime. Strait charge was sent to

the magistrats, a part of their owne flocke, if they impugned the acts, to apprehend them, cast them in prissoun, keepe them in sure firmance, till order be taikin with them for their proud contempt and rebellioun. One charge was sent after another, and the ministers threatned, though their craig wer als great as hay stacks, their head sould ly at their heeles, if they presumed to impugne these acts. And when the magistrats were demanded, What would be their part? they answered, the charge was strait. So, they were the first breakers of the mutuall contract, and gave occasioun of their departure. Sould not the obedience of the Great King goe before obedience to an earthlie king? They were fullie perswaded, if yee had beene foreseene of their departure, some of you would have bewrayed it; and so, when there had beene greatest necessitie, they had not beene permitted to depart. Hath not Christ said, 'If they persecute you in one citie, flee to another?' Manie of the servants of God have givin place to the furie of men when their life was in hazard. How manie prophets hid themselves from the crueltie of Jesabell? Escaped not Christ himself, diverse times, the crueltie of the Jewes, becaus his hour was not come? Paul escaped King Aretas hunting for his life. How manie pastors, both in France and England, have interchanged both citeis and realmes, *ubi non erat tuta statio inter proprias oves?* All flockes and congregations in the world are Christ's. He changeth or removeth pastors from one congregation to another, sometime in judgement, becaus his Word is not receaved with obedience, and his servants reverenced; sometimes, to keepe them from the craftie snaires of men layed against their lives; sometime, to worke his worke in some other place. Farther, that letter would have me to discharge them of their functioun over us, and us of being their flocke. How can we discharge them before the kirk have tried their fault, and deposed them? *Eorum est deponère, quorum est admittere.*"

About this time a licence and power was granted to the Bishop of Sanct Andrewes, the which licence may be a commentarie to the late acts of parliament, the tenour wherof followeth:—

"Our soverane lord, with advice and consent of his Hienesse' Privie Counsell, ordeaneth a letter to be made under the great seale, in due forme, giving and granting to his welbeloved clerk and oratour, Patrik Archbishop of Sanct Andrewes, power, authoritie, and jurisdictioun, to exercise the samine archbishoprick, by himself, his commissioners, and deputs, in all maters ecclesiasticall, within the diocie of Sanct Andrewes, and shirefdoms which have beene heeretofore annexed thereto; with power to the said archbishop, under his Hienesse, to call and conveene synodall assembleis of the ministrie within the diocie, for keeping of good order, mainteaning of true doctrine, and reformatioun of maners; allanerlie to plant ministers of kirks, which sall happin to be desolate and vacant; to give admissioun and collatioun of benefices to persons qualified, ather presented by the lawfull patrons or us; to depose persons unqualified, and unable, in life and doctrine, for discharging of their cure. The which persons being so deposed, their rents, stipends, and benefices, to vaike in the hands of the lawfull patrons, to be conferred of new to qualified and godlie persons; to reforme colledges, kirks, and suche other places appointed for learning; to place and displace maisters of colledges, unqualified, according to the tenor of their foundations, or evill affected to our service and obedience, contraveening, by word or writt, our royall power and priveledge, established in our late acts of parliament, or slandering us by erroneous doctrine: to visite the hospitals within the dioceis and kirks, and see them weill furnished, mainteanned, and apparrelled; commanding our faithfull and true subjects to yeeld unto the said Patrik Archbishop of Sanct Andrewes due obedience. And, that the same may be the better reverenced and obeyed, we have givin and granted power to the said archbishop, to have one of the most virtuous, godlie, and honest officers of armes within the said diocie, who sall be called Officer of the Kirk; who sall, in our name and authoritie, assist the foresaid bishop; and sall command all and sindrie contraveeners, and breakers of the good and godlie order of the kirk, of what degree or qualitie so ever they be, under us; with suchie penalteis, mulcts, impris-

sonments, repentances, and maner therof, as we, our counsellers and officers, sall agree unto, upon the humble sute of the said archbishop, other bishops, and commissioners in ecclesiasticall maters. In which, if the said bishop and officer be disobeyed, we will accompt the injurie done to our owne persoun, and punishe the samine with all rigour, in exemple of others. Providing alwise, that if anie person or persons receave anie intolerable wrong, or, without caus or just deserving, be otherwise used by the said bishop, that, as the law of God and lovable constitution of this realme doeth permitt, it sall be leasome to the persons so enormelie hurt to appeale to us and our soverane authoritie, to be interpouned for remeed therof. For if the statue and image of emperours, in ancient time, was a sufficient girth, asyle, and protectioun to them that had refuge thereto, it becometh us muche more, in our owne persons, to be a comfort and releefe to these that sall seeke unto our clemencie, against whatsomever oppressioun by spirituall or temporall persons; to whom we promise our princelie favour, the which we minde alwayes to administrat, by the grace of God, in suche sort as we may answerable to Him whose image and lieutenantrie we beare in this realme. And, further, becaus it is necessar for the kirk of God, and preservatioun of good order to be mainteaned therin, that when necessitie requireth, the bishop of everie diocie, and suche other learned men of the diocie as sall be thought meete for that purpose, assemble together, for taking of an uniforme order to be observed in the realme, in forme of commoun prayer, and other things requisite for the commoun estate of the kirk; we, of our princelie power, grant the priviledge unto the said archbishop to conveene the rest; providing alwise, that before anie conventioun generall of the clergie, that the said bishop sall make us advertised of the necessarie causes of the foresaid conventioun, that we may understand the samine to tend to the weelefare of the kirk, and policie of the countrie; and that the said bishop may have our speciall licence thereto granted to him, under our privie seale: and that no act or constitutioun made by the assemblie of bishops or clerks have anie force, strenth, or effect, within

our realme, to bind anie of our subjects, without they be allowed, approved, and confirmed by us, our counsell and estate; and after the approbatioun of our royall authoritie, they to stand in full force and effect."

Mr Johne Howesone rebooked the court for their proceedings. He was apprehended and examined at Falkland, the 12th of Julie, as followeth:—

At Falkland, the 12th day of Julie, anno 1584. In presence of the king's Majestie, his lords, and others of his Privie Counsell underwrittin, viz.: Johne Erle of Montrose, Lord Grahame, his Hienesse' Treasurer, James Lord of Down, Collector-Generall, William Commendatare of Pittenweeme, Captane of his Guarde, Sir James Campbell of Archinglas, knight, his Hienesse' Comptroller, and Alexander Hay, clerk.

1. Mr Johne Howesone, minister at Cumbuslaing, enquired, declareth, that he will never obey Mr R. Montgomrie, Bishop of Glasgow, becaus it is against his conscience and the Word of God; and becaus he is an infamous person, a monster, and an idol.

2. Farther, the said Mr Johne sayeth, he remitteth the high maters to the king, and his three estats.

3. And being enquired, how sall the three estats judge, when the ministers will have one and the first of the three estats putt away, that is to say, the bishops? he answereth, Indeid, the ministers would have them away, and suche godlie and true bishops as Sanct Paul appointeth, to be elected by themselves, occupying their place in parliament.

4. Granteth his text was out of the Acts of the Apostles, (viz., "Whether it be right in the sight of God to obey you rather than God, judge yee:") and that it was not his ordinarie text, but purposelie taught upon.

5. Granteth that the king's Majestie's injunctions ought not to be obeyed, concerning obedience to be givin to Mr R. Montgomrie

and the bishops; and that he will never obey Mr R. Montgomrie whill he liveth.

6. Granteth that he prayed that the king sould not be abused by suche godlesse men as Mr R. Montgomrie and others were.

7. Denyeth that there is anie other Head of the church than Christ; becaus he is head onlie that can give life to the members.

8. Denyeth that he spake anie thing of the late acts of parliament.

9. Denyeth that he spake anie thing against the king, ather in the excusatioun or accusatioun of his godlesse counsell that informed him wrongfullie, as is aforesaid.

10. Granteth that he spake suche words as, "What could they have of him but his blood, and his head?" and that he exhorted his brethrein to doe the like as he did.

11. Granteth that he spake, The church would gett a deliverance, and that God had promised the same; but he wist not how, nor where.

12. Denyeth that he spake anie thing of a gowke's storme. He said, indeid, God fought not with a multitude of men.

13. Granteth the speeking of the words, We are not so fleyed[1] as you thinke; and, likewise, that he knoweth there is a deliverance to come; and the deliverance he meant of himself and others, that they would gett deliverance, ather by life or death.

14. Being enquired what he meant by deliverance of the kirk? he answereth, Becaus he thought the present state therof boundage and thraldome.

15. Granteth that he spak likewise of the terrour of the wicked, at the moving of everie rash bush, and at hors, kyne, and everie beast of the feild.

16. He sayeth that the king sall never be judge of the doctrine preached by the ministers, but to their bodeis in civill maters: and incace they preache treason in the pulpit, the king, the Assemblie, and they, to be judge what they preache, and whether it be treason or not; and to that effect the king hath power to caus

[1] Dismayed.

the ministers assemble. He sayeth the apostles deing for suche doctrine as he taught, he sayeth he would never obey that bishop, nor suche idols as have not their calling out of the Word of God.

17. He affirmeth that the king sould be no judge to their doctrine; and that, as God said unto Elias, there are 7000 in Scotland that have not bowed the knee to Baal. To tell their names he can not, no more nor Elias could; and that there were 7000 knowne to him, and if you please, ten thowsand, that would approve his doctrine, men, weomen, and ministers.

18. He said he gave no consent to the act of approbatioun of the Road of Ruthven; and doubteth what he would have done, if he had beene present; for he wist not what it was.

19. And being inquired, how he would like of the deed, where both the king's Majestie was taikin, and the Duke of Lennox chassed away? answered, that he knew nothing of suche maters; but he cannot tell, but that he would have allowed his putting away, incace it had beene asked him.

20. Inquired, why? Becaus he heard in Scotland that the duke was not of sound religioun.

21. He sayeth he disallowed the Road of Stirline more than twentie times in conference.

22. He sayeth also that he would the Erles of Angus, Marr, Arran, and Montrose, were altogether freinds about his Majestie. If his Grace be weill, it is alike to him. It is not the king's vocation, or Lords of Secreit Counsell, to interprete the Scripture, or to judge upon them, except they were preachers.

PAPISTS INTERTEANED.

A secreit messenger from France came thither, and stayed secreitlie in Leith, till Down was sent to fetche him to court. Mr William Schene and Mr William Bellendine, Jesuits, conferred at lenth with the king, and obteaned licence for Jesuits to come in Scotland, with his oversight, if they will stand to the venture of the popular furie. Fentrie was absolved by the Bishop of Glas-

gow, and hanted the court. As Papists were thus interteanned, so were ministers evill handled: for all tenents were discharged by proclamatioun to pay ministers their stipends for the yeere 1583 and 1584; and were charged to give the same to the collector, till the king be farther advised.

Crawfurd and Arran discorded about Lindsey; so the king's favour was withdrawin from Crawfurd. But they were reconciled again, at least in outward shew.

Mr James Melvill, at his arrivall at Berwick, found Mr J. Lowsone and Mr W. Balcalquall there, who tooke journey within three or foure dayes after to London. His uncle, Mr Andrew, and Mr Patrik Forbesse, apparent of Corse, had entered in their journey two dayes before his arrivall. Mr James stayed at Berwick about a moneth. After long advisement, he resolved to tak journey toward the south, and to embrace anie conditioun the Lord would offer, if it were to teache a schoole, and catechise the youth. The Erles of Angus and Marr wrote to him twise, and desired him to come and preache to them. He answered, he could not, becaus he was not entered in the ministrie, and was but a young man of little experience. The truthe is, he made some scruple to have muche adoe with them, being the king's rebels; and not knowing the mysterie of their caus, and dispositioun of their heart. Yitt could he not but visite them by the way, as he intended to goe to the south. Therefore, he being at Newcastle, went to the lords, and visited them. Mr Johne Davidsone, his maister in Sanct Andrewes, a man of authoritie in the Word, informed him of all things; and shewed unto him that it was the minde, not onlie of the noblemen, but of the whole brethrein that were gone to the south, that he sould stay with the noblemen, till that ather they all, or some of them, at least, returned backe. After his informatioun, and the earnest dealing of the lords pleading their caus, he resolveth to stay with them. Soone after, Mr Davidsone went south, for he was deteaned onlie till his comming. Mr James sett doun the order and maner of exercise of the Word, and discipline for correction of maners, which was to be used in the companie of these

noblemen; how oft they sould heare sermons in the weeke, and on the Sabboth; that the Commoun Prayer sall be used twise everie day; that there sall be one weeke in the moneth dedicated to abstinence and publict humiliatioun; that everie Saturday there be a lecture upon the principall grounds of Christian religioun; that everie Tuisday or Thursday suche as sall be chosin elders and deacons sall conveene, to constitute all things belonging to good order, and to censure offences and scandals. To this order of exercise in doctrine, prayer, and discipline, was prefixed a pithie and prolixe exhortatioun. The exhortatioun and directioun was presented to the noblemen, and weill accepted; the elders and deacons chosin, the noblemen themselves bearing the place of magistrats and rulers, everie one of their owne companie, and all together of the whole.

They entered in practise of the order sett doun about the beginning of August 1584, and continued therin during the time of their sojourning in England, to the great contentment of the Erle of Angus, in speciall. This erle travelled with Mr James to sett doun the abusses and corruptions both of kirk and commoun weale; which he did, and presented them to him, when he was in companie with the rest: which were read by them, and carefullie keeped by him in his coffer, the tenor wherof followeth:—

"CERTANE GREAT ABUSES AND CORRUPTIONS IN THE KIRK AND COMMOUN WEALE OF SCOTLAND, WHICH PARTLIE THE LATE MISRULERS HAVE BROUGHT IN, PARTLIE, AS THE HIGH PLACES IN JUDAH, HAVE REMAINED UNREFORMED UNTO THIS DAY: GIVIN UP TO THE NOBLEMEN EXILED IN ENGLAND, TO WEYGH AND CONSIDER, THAT THEY MIGHT BE REPENTED FOR THEIR PART, AND ENDEAVOURED TO REDRESSE, WHEN IT SOULD PLEASE GOD TO GRANT ABILITIE AND OCCASION. AT NEWCASTELL, 10TH AUGUST 1584.

"Jesus Christ, the onlie King of the kirk, with the libertie and freedome of his spirituall kingdome, in preaching of the Word and

exercising of discipline, is brought latelie in most abominable slaverie to the corrupt affectiouns of flesh and blood. For, wheras Christ ought onlie to command and beare rule in the kirk by his Word and Spirit, and by the ministrie of his lawfullie called officers and servants, to whom he hath concredit the dispensation of his heavenlie mystereis, the guiding and feeding of his lambes, with the keyes of the kingdome of heaven of binding and loosing, the king taketh upon him to rule and command, als weill in Christ's spirituall kingdome, as in his owne civill. Which is most sacreligious, and worse nor papisticall; and hath appointed not servants, but under lords and commanders, whose authoritie and power floweth not from Christ or his kirk, but frome the king, as the bull givin to the Bishop of Sanct Andrewes plainlie testifieth; and who not onlie are most slanderous persons themselves, but also, whose office hath nothing at all to doe with the Scriptures of God, but is meere antichristian, to tyrannize over the Lord's inheritance, and vexe the bodeis and consciences of Christ's flocke: and that which is most dangerous, and almost desperat, this fearfull and horrible spoliation of Christ Jesus, and tyrannie over his kirk, is made and confirmed by plaine lawes in parliament.

"Heereby is the libertie of God's Spirit bound in the mouths of the preachers, the gift and freedome of cutting and dividing the Word aright, and applying to everie one their part as they have need, without spairing of the greatest, becaus of greatest need, so muche commended in the historie and writtings of the Apostles, restrained and oppressed; the mines of discipline, excommunication, with all the spirituall censures and corrections of the kirk; electioun, ordinatioun, and privatioun of ministers, appointing of Assembleis, and giving of warning to the people to eshew plagues, by fasting and prayer, together with the whole governement of the hous of God, are putt in the hands of the court and their corrupt bishops, the which, of all other, have most need of discipline; who for their odious crimes are most subject to excommunicatioun and censures of the kirk, who have nather skill nor will to elect good and qualified pâstors; who are readie, and more willing to deprive,

and putt away the faithfull and edificative, nor the mercenarie and slanderous; who, sleeping in their sinnes, have not wakerife eyes to see the plagues comming, and, therefore, care not for fasting and prayer; and, finallie, who being the cheefe corrupters and deformers of the kirk, can not suffer free Assembleis to be had, for ordering and reformatioun herof. The rents and revenues of the kirks, the bread of the ministrie, schooles, and poore, is givin to dogs and swyne, to the greatest contemners, vexers, and oppressers therof; and, in a word, the hous of God is made a denne of theeves, and the flockes of Christ committed to hyrelings, whom the fearefull woolves have at their devotioun.

"The whole bodie of the natioun, and namelie, the greatest members therof, who sould be guiders and good exemples to others, are defiled with sacriledge, swearing, blasphemie, blood, adultereis, reafe, and oppressioun, &c., so that no mervell it is though the fleing booke of God's judgements enter in their houses, and consume timber with stone.

"Lawes nather throughlie weill made, for punishment of suche haynous crimes, and manie weill made want executioun; like addercope webs,[1] that take the sillie flees, but the bumbarts[2] breake through them.

"By the insatiable sacriligious avarice of erles, lords, and gentlemen, the kirk, schooles, and poore, are spoiled of that which sould susteane them; the materiall kirks ly like sheepe and nolt faulds, rather than like places of Christian congregations to assemble into. The parochiners will have a couple of scores of hirds to feed their cattell, but skarse one pastor to feed three thowsand of their sowles; wherof cometh fearefull darkenesse of ignorance, superstitioun, and idolatrie, with innumerable filthie and execrable sinnes, which procure God's just vengeance upon the whole land.

"The small number that is of the ministrie can have no certantie of the poore stipend assigned unto them, but yeerelie it must be cast in the lords modifiers' hands, and of new shaipped and assigned over again, to see how muche may be wonne in to the col-

[1] Cobwebs. [2] Blue-bottle flies.

lector. Of this cometh that suche who have court and credit, and await theron, gett weele meekle, namelie, if they can comport and flatter others; and the best gett not for their necessitie.

"There is no provisioun made for the poore relicts and fatherlesse of the ministers; but notwithstanding their earnest, faithfull, and most wakerife care over their flockes, which made them to cast away all other industrie and vertue, for worldlie provision to their wives and childrein, they are suffered to beg, and ly in miserie, after their departure.

"The schooles, and, in speciall, the Colledge of Theologie, which sould be the seminarie of the kirk and ministrie, laiketh provisioun both for maisters and students. For the whole rents therof, standing in tithes, are sparpled[1] in sindrie parts and provinces of the countrie; and their gentlemen tennents, accustomed to pay a small silver duetie, will no wise grant to augment, uncompelled by law. The which the exceptioun of *omnium interest* stayeth from taking effect; so that honest, grave, and learned men, suche as sould be the professors of theologie, can not have their needfull and honest sustentatioun. And as for students, the childrein of the great and riche are not desirous of divinitie; the midde ranke thinke it an unthrift to bestow their childrein's barne's part of geare in susteaning them at the studie of theologie; and when they have past the course therof, to have no good rowme or moyen of life prepared for them in kirk or commoun weale. And as for the poore, which are commounlie best givin to that studie, and wherof cometh most fruict to the kirk of Christ, they have nothing to susteane them with of their owne, nather is there provision of bursars' places for them: so that no mervell it is, howbeit there be both great raritie and ignorance amongst the ministrie. And in verie deed, it is of the extraordinarie benefite of God that there is ather learning or religion in Scotland; being therin nather foundations nor moyen to traine up schollers, nor honour and profite for suche as have atteaned to learning.

"Of these cometh it, that the good ingynes, wherof no nation

[1] Dissipated.

hath greater store than ours, ather are applyed for necessitie to handie crafts and courting service, or then goe furth of the countrie, where the greatest part are corrupted and abused, and made most dangerous enemeis to the kirk and estat of their countrie.

"The nobilitie and gentlemen are unlearned themselves, and take no delyte to have their childrein and freinds brought up in letters, to the great reproache and shame of the countrie, and their owne great hurt and dishonour.

"There be manie noblemen and gentle men that have prebendreis, altarages, and other rents and casualteis, by which they pleasure their servants and freinds, in giving them lyverents therof, the which, if they were a little mended, rightlie used, and made burses in the schooles of Philosophie and Theologie, everie nobleman might have a seminarie of the youth of their owne freinds and servants, within few yeeres, weill instructed in good letters, not onlie to serve themselves in their houses, but also, their other freinds, and whole people of their lands and dominions.

"Dilapidators of their benefices, and analiers therof from the right use, unto their wives, childrein, and freinds, after they are deposed justlie by the kirk from the office, yitt, neverthelesse, in despite of God, the kirk, and good order, the prince and the law make him to possesse the benefice. And incace a hundreth yeeres since, the labourers or factors had payed victuall, or fortie pennies money for the boll, if they sett it now in few or long tacks, for fortie pennies the boll, or change the victuall in silver, it is not esteemed diminution of the rentall; albeit the truthe be, that fortie pennies money now is diminished in valour sex-fold from that it was an hundreth yeeres since; yea, that fortie penneis grow now toward fortie shillings, and the boll of victuall, which was then bought for fortie pennies, will not be bought now, *communibus annis*, for ten times our fortie pennies at this day. Yea, so hath the great abuse growne, that incace the predecessour, being a waister of his benefice, have sett long tacks and fewes, with plaine diminutioun, and also conteaning just causes of reductioun, there is no remedie to be gottin, although the law be plaine; becaus judges,

lawyers, lords, and all, are infected with the same sicknesse, so that the remeed falleth among impossibiliteis, like the Heeland and Border thift.

"The rents, lands, and livings, of the hospitals, almous-houses, and maissone-dieues, are likewise tane in few by gentlemen and burgesses for ryght nought; in suche sort that their buildings are all where decayed, and their foundations lost and abolished.

"The poore, partlie for want of their owne patrimonie, and partlie for yeerelie increassing of their number, by wrong and oppressioun, goe through the countrie in swarmes, worse nor Turks or Infidels, godlesse and lawlesse, without mariage, baptisme, or knowledge of duetie to God or man.

"The nobilitie neglect and cast off their publict calling, living, not as suche as sould have a speciall care and charge of their countrie and commoun weale, and whom God hath called to be counsellers to their king, fathers of the people, and defenders and mainteaners of His kirk in this cleere light of the Gospell; for which calling Christ sall one day call them to accompt; but rather as privat men, thinking it eneugh to keepe that which their fathers have left them, and take their pastyme or pleasure; or to conqueis more to their childrein, or to be redoubted of their nighbours, and play the oppressors and bangsters, &c. As for the ruling of the commoun weale, holding hand to executioun of justice, reforming and establishing of the kirk, counselling and assisting of their prince to that purpose, they care no more therefor, nor so muche, as may be a pretence for their particulars. So that, where they sould be rulers and holders of others in good order and duetie, both in kirk, court, and commoun weale, they are become degenerated slaves to courteours, and corrupters of judges, men of law, and kirk-men, for bringing to passe manie unjust and wrongefull turne; or to be suffered to sitt at home for their ease and pastyme, as though they were borne for their owne bellie, like beasts; wherof have proceeded these mischeefes following:—

"Ambassaders of Babel, clients of the Pope, our Athaliah, the hous of Guise, and the court of Spaine, professed Papists, have

beene, and are suffered to carie away the king's heart from the cheefe professors and mainteaners of the Gospell, to runne a course direct against religioun, weale of his countrie, and standing of himself in good estate of kinglie honour, bodie and soule. So that it is thought and spokin, that the unduetifulnesse and negligence of the nobilitie hath endangered, and almost lost that rare perle of so notable expectatioun. Debaushed men, godlesse flatterers, who have sold themselves in bodie and conscience to doe anie thing for worldlie preferment, were suffered to insinuat themselves in the king's favour, who, with violence, outragious pride, craft, falshood, and flatterie, were meete to execute the platt layed doun by the Papists, and now ungratefullie, indeid, and unjustlie, upon the part of men, imployed to wracke their advancers, but in respect of God most justlie to punishe the oversight of the nobilitie; yea, their degenerated hearts, who cared not for purchassing of their particulars, to become servants and courters of flattering courteours, and permitt the whole governement of the commoun weale to be cast louse, and turne in tyrannie, to their just deserved wracke in the end.

"Of this hath sprung the absolute power, whereby, as a monster never heard of in anie just governement, the whole priviledges of the three estats of the realme is weakened, and almost taikin away. By the which estats, according to the lovable custome of the kingdome of Scotland from the beginning therof, all things with mature deliberatioun, free reasoning, and voting, were done, and by the which, kings passing their bounds, to the wracke and oppression of the commoun weale, were corrected and brought in order. In like maner, the priviledges of touns and universiteis, yea, of the holie kirk itself, established by so manie good rulers and parliaments, according to the Word of God, are overthrowne. All the judgements of the realme, Secreit Counsell, Sessioun, Justice Courts, Consistoreis, Shireffs' Courts, Proveists, Bailiffes, and others, are ruled not by law, civil or municipall, right or reasoun, *sed Principis placitum legis habet vigorem.* It is the king's will: for now, Captan James, as Stratocles in Athens, hath made a law, that,

Whatsoever the king commandeth, that is holie toward God and just anent man.

"From thence are so manie score of slaughters and murthers, heirships and oppressiouns, lying on the heed of the king and backe of the countrie, crying to the heavens for just vengeance from the righteous God. For as everie one hath moyen at court, so cometh his mater to passe; and becaus the court is godlesse and wicked, the most ungodlie and wicked find the greatest moyen therin. Wherof it cometh that the wicked thus triumphe, and the good and godlie are oppressed and wracked, so that no mervell it is to see the countrie thus plagued, yea, howbeit it sould utterlie perishe in God's righteous judgements.

"The king's patrimonie and casualteis are greatlie hurt and abused, which causeth not onlie his povertie, to the great shame of the countrie, and hinderance of commoun workes, but also so manie intolerable taxations, exactions, and imposts, to be made upon his subjects, to the tyning of their hearts, and wracke of the poore labourers. For lords, lairds, and prelats, exact twise so muche from their poore tennents upon this occasioun.

"Of the forenamed papisticall course, and this, come so manie forefaultreis, and banishment of the best and most noble men of the realme, selling of slaughters and blood, great summes of composition exacted for no fault but weill doing. The which all of God's judgements turne to mischeefes, whill as by the devilish seducters it is abused to execut all kinde of violence against the good men of the land."

Mr Andrew Melvill about this time wrote to the kirk of Geneve and Zurich, to informe them of the estat of our kirk, wherin the pretended bishop, Mr Patrik Adamsone, was painted out in his colours. The letter, as it was translated by Mr James Melvill his nephew, out of Latine, I have heere sett doun as followeth:—

"To the most Reverend Fathers, and our most loving Brethrein in the Lord Jesus, the Pastors of the Kirk of Geneve and Tigure.

"It is now almost 25 yeeres (reverend fathers in God, and brethrein in the Lord, most worshipfull) since that grave and learned men, and (that which is cheefe) burning with wise and sincere zeale of the glorie of God and health of his kirk, informed with your precepts, and instructed with your exemples, have in the first planting of our kirks, conjoyned with the puritie of doctrine the holinesse of discipline. And that their uniforme consent and agreement in all points, witnessed to the whole world, might be left to the posteritie, they subscrived your Confessioun. In the footsteps of which godlie and renowned men, we therafter insisting, have nixt, after the heavenlie oracles of the Word of God, following the doctrine and constitution of your kirk, keeped the same course unto this present day; and further, also, leaning on the mercie and goodnesse of our God, and on the strenth of his Holie Spirit, we doubt not constantlie, without weareing, to hold the same to the end. Of the which our purpose, and constant agreement with you in doctrine and discipline, we have found of God's goodnesse the fruict, that during so manie yeeres no heresie hath sprung up in our kirks; none come from other places have taikin roote, entered anie thing deepelie, or remained anie space of time in the heart of anie man, muche lesse to have growin up or creeped abroad. No obstinat Papist, or trespasser, publictlie knowne, hath it suffered long to converse among us, untane order with. So it hath pleased the Lord to blesse the labours of his servants, undertaikin according to the direction of his Word; and unto this day to heape so greate and incredible happinesse, of his owne singular goodnesse, upon the congregations of Scotland.

"But in the meane time, alace! whill as we answered not unto so great and rare a grace and goodnesse of God toward us, by that thankefulnesse of minde, obedience to his Word, and diligence in our dueteis that became us, behold, of the fearefull judgement of

God, (but indeid justlie deserved,) Satan so blinded with avarice and ambitioun one, not of us, albeit among us, bearing the office of a minister, that forgetting, as sayeth the poet, both his owne shame and the health of his brethrein, and that which is more miserable, casting off all good conscience, and making shipwracke of his faith, goeth fordward without ceasing to mixe heaven with earth, and with utter confusion to trouble all things. For when he had left his flocke, and, unwitting of the kirk, had creeped in court; when he had not onlie, with subtile craft and policie, intruded himself in the estate of false bishops, (of new sprung up again from the hells, the which he had oppugned of before,) but also, had taikin plainlie unto him that false usurped authoritie which in his sermons publictlie he had damned; which openlie, in a most frequent Assemblie Generall of the kirk, he had often times abjured, and which, by sindrie subscriptions and hand-writts, he had renounced and givin over; when, as he had addicted himself to the most vile servitude and slaverie, and with the sworne enemeis to the good estat of the countrie, kirk, and religioun, in a most filthie caus joyned and banded himself; when that, in doubtfull maters, and desperat health of his bodie, he had not onlie consulted with witches concerning the estat of the king and countrie, but also for releefe of his sickenesse he had earnestlie sought the helpe and support of devilrie and witchecraft; when that, after a stubburne silence from preaching the space of a whole yeere, (under cloke of sicknesse and infirmitie,) he had (to foster and stirre up the pernicious affectiouns of the court) made two turbulent and seditious sermons; when he had, with the Machiavilians of the court, and the Pope's traffiquers at home, devised most cruell counsells against the lives, lands, and estats of the best and most zealous noble men, and others good gentlemen and subjects of the countrie; when he had done manie other things, which nather time suffereth, and shame forbiddeth to write; and now, when formall processe upon the forenamed most odious and haynous crimes was led and deduced against him before the presbytereis and assembleis, and for that caus, after that he was inhibited, as most slanderous, and unworthie

to use the functioun of the ministrie untill the time that the last censure of the kirk might strike upon him, to cutt him off from the bodie of the same, as a most contagious and corrupt member,—he obteaneth a free legacie from his Majestie to passe to other nations, where, under pretence and cloke of curing his diseases, and seeking of his health, he made moyen all the meanes and wayes he could, as his verie deeds have declared, to vexe and trouble the kirk, the which now he had layed in his heart to slay and destroy as his deedlie enemie.

"Yee will give us, as we hope, this leave (reverend fathers and brethrein in the Lord) in the caus of God and his kirk simplie and plainlie to deale with you; for that onlie All-searcher of the hearts is witnesse that we yeeld nothing in this present narratioun to our privat affectiouns, but rather passe over manie things of sett purpose, which the caus itself requireth. In Londoun, then, letting himself out as ambassader for his Majestie, he thifteouslie intreatted often times, of secreit purposes, with the ambassaders of France and Spaine; with our nighbour bishops (for there amongst our nighbours he remained, nather purposed he at the beginning to goe anie farther) he had conference. By which he traduced the best of our nobilitie and subjects, as seditious and treasonable. He gave himself to suche devices and counsells, by the strenth and effect wherof all this time the most learned and faithfull pastors in both the kingdoms are forced, ather whollie to keepe silence and leave the ministrie; or then by flight and exile to save their lives; or ellis to assay the filthie wearinesse of stinking prissons; or then of necessitie to doe that which onlie remaineth against their duetie and conscience, to subscrive to the ambitious tyrannie of the false bishops, and to the impietie of manie corrupt rites and ceremoneis. Of this cometh these archi-episcopall letters writtin to you and the brethrein of Tigure, by which that mervellous cunning and fyne artificer in faining and dissembling what he will, both doeth burthein us with false and forged crimes, and bringeth the governement of our kirk, traduced by manie calumneis, into doubt and questioun: albeit he is lesse ignorant than anie man; and our

owne consciences beare us record, us to have preassed earnestlie to that, that the discipline of the kirk might be taikin out of the Word of God so farre as could be, and that it sould not passe a jott from the judgement of your kirks.

"Wherefore, lyke as it sould be superfluous to us to open up and declare our judgement unto you, namelie, concerning maters of discipline, seing whatsoever we have in that mater we willinglie and plainlie confesse to have receaved it of you, and that we altogether agree with you in all points, (so mervellouslie doe our mindes and wills, by the vertue of God's Spirit, consent in an harmonie;) so will we not, for feare both of temeritie and impudence, prescrive unto you anie forme of answering, or maner of writting againe to the bishop's letters and questions. Of this onlie, at this time, would we have you perswaded, that the good order of the kirk, the which Adamsone durst first undermyne secreitlie, and therafter openlie impugne, and now at last wickedlie calumniat, faithleslie mansweare, and maliciouslie to deteast as Papall tyrannie, mother of confusioun, and faggot of seditioun, hath beene receaved within our kirk, conforme to the Word of God and maner of the constitutions of your kirk, ever since the first time that Papistrie was chassed away; and incontinent approved by the vots of the whole estats of the countrie in parliament, and peece and peece, at last, by the mercie of God, hath beene brought to some mediocritie of perfectioun; so farre at the least as the smalnesse of that measure which God hath bestowed upon us may atteane unto; and which, these yeeres agoe, hath beene approved, sealed up, and ratified by the professioun of the mouth, (the holie and fearefull oath of the Lord interponned,) and subscription of the hand of the king himself, and everie one of his subjects, great and small, of what order, ranke, or estat so ever they were, and that by the expresse letters patents of his Majestie, commanding all and sindrie, under the highest paine, to doe the same.

"Now, although these things be so in verie deed as is declared, and this our discipline be corroborated by diverse and manifold use and experience (maister of fooles) in all parts, and in everie occa-

sioun fallin out continuallie these 25 yeeres bypast, neverthelesse, the adversar, after he had made the most godlie and stout, als weill of the nobilitie as of inferiour estats, who had beene the speciall instruments of God in the defence and establishment of religioun and the caus of the king, by conduced and suborned accusers, wailled[1] out of the number of suche men who had sold themselves in soule and bodie to worke all kinde of iniquitie and villanie for worldlie preferment, and by false forged crimes most craftilie and deceatfullie layed upon them, ather to be accused of their lives and want the head, or to be apprehended and cast in prisson, banished, and forefaulted, to the intent that none sould be left to gainstand their godlesse course: this adversar, I say, caused the king's Majestie incontinent, and these papisticall Epicureans and bloodie clients of the house of Guise and queene mother, (by which his Grace is holdin in fearefull bonds and abuse,) to convocat a parliament of the three estats of the countrie, to bring the samine into vile and bound slaverie. For nather durst they reasoun of the maters propouned, nor therafter give their votes and judgements freelie, according to the wonted libertie of the estats of Scotland, the laudable governement of our natioun; but in a new and most strange maner (the king's will being made a law and reason for all things) the presbytereis are utterlie perverted, the pseudo-episcopall tyrannie restored, the king by a plaine law receaveth a full and absolute power to command and rule in maters als weill ecclesiasticall as civill, the sentences of excommunication, lawfullie pronounced by the presbytereis, by their authoritie, is disanulled, and declared to be of no force nor effect; and, finallie, all ecclesiasticall jurisdictioun, and nixt, under the king, all power of ruling in the kirk is givin to the false bishops, which were of before when the kirk stood, ather most justlie excommunicated, or lying under the processe of the kirk's censures, as knowne most slanderous and unhonest persons throughout all the countrie.

"Amõng which, the cheefe captan and ruler, even the author, forger, and cheefe executer of all this wickednesse, is Patrik Adamsone, the false Bishop of Sanct Andrewes, who staying upon his

[1] Selected.

perpetuall and pontificall *Dictatura*, mervellous it is how craftilie he rageth against the pastors of the kirk. For both he propyneth certan articles skarted[1] together by him, or rather blotts of that comelinesse and order which sould be in Christ's kirk, drawin newlie out of the dregs of the cuppe of Antichrist, unto the lawfull pastors to drinke, and als, by the authoritie of the king, obtrudeth them to be subscrived, under the paine of banishement, incarceration, or depriving of them from the ministrie. By the which articles, both that libertie of preaching the Word (being oppressed) is attempered unto the lusts and pleasures of men; and state of publict prayer, with the simplicitie of rites in ministration of the sacraments, and celebrating of mariage, is filthilie adulterated, and manie other things against the expresse Word of God are committed. He hath piteouslie destroyed the colledge, a five yeeres since, at command of the king, and by a speciall act of parliament, consecrated to holie erudition and vertue; that onelie one anti-seminarie of the knowledge of the tongues, and sincere theologie in all the realme of Scotland, sett doun and planted against the manifold seminareis of the bissie Jesuits; casting out therof all the professors and students, and spoiling the Bibliotheck and writtings therof; it not being obscure what Satan purposeth by this doing, to witt, that the light of heavenlie knowledge being extinguished, we be involved againe in the mist and darkenesse of Jesuiticall sophistrie; that we who beganne in the Spirit may end in the flesh; that the vineyarde of the Lord, spoiled of the safeguarde and defense of his hedge, might be eatin up of wilde beasts; and, finallie, the walls of Jerusalem cast doun, the sanctuarie may be burnt and defiled. Unto the holie peace, concord, and unitie with our nighbours, to whose freindship we are joyned so straitlie, first by the bonds of religioun, libertie, and conqueist therof, by their speciall helpe and meanes, and therafter confirmed with manifold benefites, they prefer the favour of the Gwisians, and the rest of the monstrouous Readeakens,[2] who celebrated that bloodie drunken feast of

[1] Scratched

[2] Or Redettins, the Ogres of the nursery tales of the period.

Barthlemew in Parise, with that horrible butcherie of the holie martyrs of God, the which our court now affirmeth justlie to have beene massacred. Yea, they have perswaded our Joas to receave in Athaliah in the associatioun and fellowship of the sceptre and crowne, without whose good will, benedictioun, and full deliverance, they contend, that nather can he happilie raigne, and lawfullie at home, nor obteane the impyre of the whole Ile of Britaine. By the bloodie counsell and direction of which Athaliah, all things have proceeded since Monsieur Aubigney's first comming in Scotland, in suche sort that, according therto, three yeeres agoe the Erle of Morton, Regent of Scotland, and now latelie the Erle of Gowrie, both most stout and valiant avengers and defenders of religioun and the king's caus, by the sentence of corrupted judges were circumveened and oppressed; at whose pleasure and will (albeit captive) the best nobilitie and peeres of the land, the frackest[1] and most zealous in religioun, *indicta causa*, unheard, are forfaulted, appointed for the slaughter, and drawin to the gibbets and commoun places of executioun, and all their goods and gear, as the clothes of the innocent to the hangman, are givin to the soullesse client of Gwise and Athaliah. The which mercilesse men, with the goods and geir of the noblest, best, and most innocent, as with the spoile of their enemeis, are gorgeouslie arrayed and accompaneid warlike with a sort of lymmars and godlesse souldiers, most fearefull and dolorous to the good and godlie, and profitable and pleasant to the ungodlie and wicked. They abrogat and breake God's lawes, and make wrong and unjust, and putt them sharpelie in execution. So that in no place ever could that be more truelie spokin:—

"Jam late impietas grassatur libera; passim
Omnia plena malis.
Cum penes injustos jus est, et jussa malorum
Sunt metuenda bonis.

[1] Most active.

Now rageth lowse ungodlinesse in land;
In everie place all is ill and molest,
Whill as the right is in the wrangfull hand,
And worst men's lawes are fearefull to the best.

"See now, although we sould keepe silence, (Reverend Fathers, and most loving brethrein in the Lord,) what meane the questions of Adamsone tuiching the power of the prince in making ecclesiasticall lawes, and constituting of the policie of the kirk; in convocating of Synods and Generall Assembleis, and proclaiming of fasts; to witt, that nothing be so sure and sacred among us which by the wickednesse of these mischant men sall not be violated and undone. He knoweth weill eneugh, nather can he be ignorant of that which he hath so often read and learned of your most godlie writtings, that it perteaneth not to the prince ather to prescrive religioun to the kirk or discipline to the pastors therof, but by his authoritie to confirme both the one and the other, appointed by God, and sincerelie declared out of his Word by the ministrie of his servants; to revenge and punishe all corrupting of cleane doctrine, contempt of holie discipline, and perturbation of lawfull order, (for which use and purpose he hath receaved the sword;) to decore the Assembleis, if need be, with his presence; to arme the innocencie of the ministrie by his safe-guarde and defence; if there arise controverseis among the pastors sometimes to compose and agree the same by his authoritie interpouned; to promove, by good lawes made for that effect, these things which are lawfullie constituted by the Assembleis, and to doe manie other things for the weale of the kirk which were long to rehearse, and unneedfull. But farre otherwise doeth he sitt in the synods among the pastors than he doeth in the throne of the kingdom among the estats: heere to make lawes for subjects and command, but there to receave lawes from God and to obey. And albeit that some things be called ecclesiasticall, and other things civill, and the civill apperteane to the commoun weale, and the other to the kirk; yitt it is not so muche to be considered what things are handled, as how, seing the

knowledge of one and the self-same thing one way, and in some respect, apperteaneth to the magistrat, and another way to the senat ecclesiasticall. And yitt suche a mater nather doeth the kirk civillie, nor the counsell or parliament ecclesiasticallie intreat; *αλλα γλαυκας εις Αθηνας*—salt to Dysert, or coles to Newcastell.

"And as tuiching the convention of the nobilitie at Ruthven, and the judgement of the Assemblie anent that mater, what need is there to write? The holiest and best part of the nobilitie and estats of the realme, without anie tumult or slaughter, apprehending and putting in prisson one or two wicked men, removed a pest from the commoun weale, a sure mischeefe from the kirk, and delivered the king from present danger both of bodie and soule. The king called a conventioun of the estats; he declared the danger wherin himself, the kirk of God, and commoun wealth, was brought in by the counsell of wicked men; he commended the faithfulnesse and stoutnesse of the nobilitie who had delivered his Majestie, the kirk, and commoun weale, from so present a danger; free and grave sentences and votes are given; all with one voice commend the deid: an act is made by the Assemblie, by which the conveening of the nobilitie at Ruthven is approved as good service done for king and commoun weale. And at the same time, the Generall Assemblie of the kirk was conveened, unto which was sent from the noblemen that tooke so good a worke in hand, to purge them from the calumneis of evill willers, and from all suspicioun of privat factiouns and seditioun; and to notifie and approve the deid to the Assemblie, and all good men. There is also sent to the Assemblie one or two commissioners from the king; from the Assemblie also unto the king there is directed likewise some of the brethrein, with his Majestie's commissioners, to understand the king's owne minde in that mater, and report it again to the brethrein. In the king's owne name and words, it is reported to the Assemblie again that his Majestie acknowledged himself, the commoun weale, and the kirk of God, to be releeved of a most great and extreme danger, and for that caus thanked God heartilie; and willed the Assemblie, and everie one of the brethrein, accord-

ing to their office, diligentlie to travell, that the commoun danger being removed by the stoutnesse of the nobilitie, the worke of deliverance begunne, sould be boldlie prosecuted and perfyted, so that, both in their prayers to God, and sermons in publict to the people, they sould have in speciall recommendation so good, so holie, and so wholesome a caus of the king, kirk, and commoun weale. The Assemblie obeyed, and gave thanks to God in a singular maner for hearing the prayers of the kirk, which had beene powred out with a solemne fast and humiliatioun a little before the deliverance frome the sworne souldiour of the house of Gwise, and our Athalia, Aubigney being captan to them who had so sorelie oppressed the king's Majestie, kirk, and commoun weale, with a mistie night of captivitie and blacke darknesse of shamefull servitude. And this is that which our good bishop exagitateth, to bring the brethrein in hatred and invy; who ashameth not before you to plead the caus of the Papists, whom he can not suffer to be compted for goats by the true pastors, whose office is to feed the lambs of Jesus Christ. But the bearer preasseth us, and, peradventure, this is over muche, namelie, unto you who are acquainted with the smelling out of the craft and subtilitie of suche woolves. And, therefore, in end, we pray you, both in your privat and publict prayers, to commend to our commoun Father the kirks in both the countreis; for the greatest part is destitued of their pastors, and so exponed to the incursion of bloodie woolves; and that yee would in this great darknesse shyne before us by your faithfull counsell, who, sore against our will, are pulled away from our owne deere flockes."

Mr David Lindsey, minister at Leith, being in waird at Blacknesse at this time, dreamed the dreame following:—

THE SUMME OF THAT WHICH I DREAMED, SO NEERE AS I CAN REMEMBER, BOTH THE FIRST AND SECUND NIGHT.

"The first night there appeared unto me a personage high in the aire, the sunne verie bright above his head and cleare, a full

moone under his feete, bright starres about him; whose visage and portraicture I was not able to behold for the great light that shynned about him. From him there came one like a man of great and hideous stature, clothed all in reid, having in his right hand a reid sword, in his left hand a roll of paper rolled up, and under his feete a great fire, who appeared to me to stand above the Castell of Edinburgh, and sindrie persons looking upon him there.

"The secund night, I saw onlie this reid man with the sword and roll of paper, and fire under his feete, but after a farre greater stature than at the first time; and I thought I was in a valley, where I saw Edinburgh, Dumbar, Hadinton, Dalkeith, and sindrie other touns which I knew, with a large bounds betuixt them. And this reid man appeared to me in the aire, in the middest of them, and to crie with a loud voice, '*Metuant stulti, sapientes resipiscant; appropinquat judicium!*' Therafter, I saw a certane number gather themselves together, crying, '*Justus es, Domine, et judicia tua recta: miserere nostri, et protege nos, sub umbra alarum tuarum.*' After this, the reid man openeth up the roll of paper, speeking with a mightie voice, '*Adest judex; ubi est contemptor Dei, sacrilegus, blasphemus, adulter?*' with a great number of other vices; and having read the roll, pronounceth this sentence, '*Odistis lucem, tenebras eligistis: diu toleravi, nunc vindicabo.*' With this, he striketh a certane space with the sword, and all the streets of the touns, and feelds, appeared to me full of blood. Shortlie therafter, another sentence, '*Domi vorabit pestis, extra, vastabit gladius, undique flagrabit ignis.*' With this, I thought I saw the streets and feilds full of deid carcases, the doores of sindrie houses open, and dead persons in them, some of byles, some of plowkes, and a fire entering the toun, and a voice everie where crying, '*Dies iræ, et furoris Jehovæ!*' At the last, I heare the sound of a bell, after the which, the first companie that came together came to a kirk, where the man clothed in reid clothes spake these words unto them: '*Timeant sapientes: iniquitatem fugite, diligite justitiam et judicium, aut cito revertar, et tunc posteriora erunt pejora prioribus;*' and all the people cried, 'Amen!' With this I wakenned, and suddanlie start out of

my bed, and came to one of the windowes of my chamber, where I heard a bell ringing, ather in Culrosse or Dumfermline."

George Drummond of Blair being wairded in the Castell of Edinburgh, of purpose to try what he could learne, was within a certane space sett at libertie. Then Arran made a fashioun of apprehending him, the king being advertised by the Erle of Crawfurd, that the said George and the Proveist of Glencludden sould have taikin the Castell of Edinburgh, with consent and knowledge of the constable, and sould have slaine the Erle of Arran.

THE SUMME OF THE EXAMINATION OF GEORGE DRUMMOND OF BLAIR, IN PRESENCE OF THE LORDS OF SECREIT COUNSELL AT EDINBURGH, THE LAST OF JULIE, AND FALKLAND, THE FOURTH OF AUGUST 1584.

"George Drummond of Blair, inquired and examined, declareth, That he being in waird in the Castell of Edinburgh, and finding Mr Robert Dowglas, Proveist of Glencludden, in the same waird, they fell often times in conference upon the occasioun of their keeping in waird; talking how they may best find out the way of their owne libertie, to alter the present estat, and to cutt away the Erle of Arran, as him whom they thought the author of their trouble: and hearing of some mislyking of the Erle of Crawfurd, thought meete to tempt him to take part in their devised interprise, and to assist the noblemen and others now exiled in England. The deponer desired to know of the Proveist of Glencludden, who would deale with the Erle of Crawfurd? that he sould be a man of credit; and upon what heeds? The proveist willed the said George, to shew my lord, that the Maister of Glames sould putt a blanke in my Lord Lindseye's hand, submitting all maters debatable betuixt the Erle of Crawfurd and the said Maister, to suche as sould be nominated, or anie other good securitie he pleased. Which the said George having reported to the Erle Crawfurd, found him to mislyke of the Erle of Arran, and of the present estat of governement of the court; and reported the effect of their con-

ference again to the said Proveist of Glencludden, declaring, that the Erle of Crawfurd was, in effect, wonne to their partie. At which time, the proveist shewed an advertisement come out of England, declaring how the Hammiltons, Dowglasses, and others now banished in England, were agreed, and that they were content that the said blanke sould be subscrived, and delivered in my Lord Lindseye's hands. Further, the said George declareth, that the cutting off of the Erle of Arran sould have beene ather as he past to the borders, or in his returning therefra, but rather in his returning. It was spokin betuixt them, that the king would seeke the wracke of suche as meddled in that mater; yitt was it answered and concluded, better to wracke at libertie, nor where they were. They thought the cutting off of the Erle of Arran was eneugh to remedie all the mater, and seven or eight score speeres lighting at once in Edinburgh, was eneugh to tak the toun; and he being dispatched, they tooke little thought for the rest. The deponer mislyked als farre of the Erle of Arran as anie man did, seing he could not gett his favour; yitt my Lord Crawfurd would have knowne further, if he had biddin, and dealt with the men that sould have had the power. The deponer understood, by conference with the Proveist of Glencludden, that he had dealing with England long before the letter which he shewed to this deponer; and at his last meeting with the said proveist in the castell, declared that he was boun to write to England. The said letter and advertisement came from the Erle of Angus.

"Extract by me, Alexander Hay, Clerk of our soveran Lord's Register."

THE CASTELL OF EDINBURGH DELIVERED TO ARRAN.

The proveist being examined, denied, and offered the combat to George Drummond. Albeit nothing could be objected against the Maister of Marr, yitt it was concluded in counsell that he sould deliver the castell. Arran thought not himself sure without it. So, upon the king's charge, the Maister of Marr delivered the castell to Arran, the eight of August.

There was a meetting appointed to be keeped betweene the Lord Hounsdane, Wardane of the East Marches in England, and the Erle of Arran, drawin on by Johne Hume of Manderston, and Cuthbert Armourer, Englishman, both huntsmen to the king. The forme of the meetting, and summe of their conference, may be gathered out of the letter following, writtin by the Lord Hounsdane to Sir Francis Walsinghame, knight, principall Secretarie to the Queen of England.

"Sir,—According to my former letters tuiching my meeting with the Erle of Arran upon Wedinsday last, there came hither to me from the erle the Justice-Clerk and Sir William Stewart, Captan of Dumbartane, both of the king's Privie Counsell, to treate with me about the order of our meeting, referring whollie to me to appoint the place, the houre, and the number we sould meete with all. So, as we concluded the place to be Foulden, the houre to be ten a clocke, and the number with our selves to be thritteen of a side, and the rest of our troupes to stand eache of them a myle from the toun, the one upon the one side, the other upon the other side, so as our troupes were two myle a sunder. I was not manie horsemen, but I suppleed it with footemen, wherof I had 100 shott on horse: but they were verie neere 500 horse, weill appointed.

"According to which appointment we mett yesterday; and, after some congratulations, the erle fell in the like protestatiouns of his good will and readinesse to serve the queen's Majestie, before anie prince in the world nixt his soverane, as he hath done heeretofore by his letter, and rather more, with suche earnest vowes, as, unlesse he be worse than a devill, her Majestie may dispose of him at her pleasure. This being ended, I entered with him tuiching the caus I had to deale with him, and so neere as I could, left nothing unrehearsed that I had to charge the king or him with anie unkinde dealing towards her Majestie, according to my instructiouns; which without anie delay he answered presentlie, as yee sall perceave by the said answeres sent heerewith. But I replying unto him, he amplified them with manie moe circumstances; but to this effect. Then I dealt with him tuiching the point for her Majestie's

satisfaction, for the uttering of suche practises as have beene latelie sett on foote, for the disquietting of her Majestie and her estat; who therof made sindrie discourses, what mariages have beene offered to his Majestie by sindrie princes, and by what meanes the erle hath sought to divert them, and upon what causes: the one, for that by mareing with Spaine or France, he must also alter his religioun; which, as he is sure the king will never doe, so will he never suffer him to hearken unto it, so long as he hath anie credit with him. He denyeth not but the king hath beene dealt with all by practises, to deale against her Majestie, which he hath so farre denyed and refused to enter into, as they have left dealing with him therin; but whatsoever the king or he knoweth therin, there sall be nothing hid from her Majestie, as her Majestie sall know verie shortlie. Surelie, it seemeth by his speeches that if the king would have yeelded thereto, there had beene no small companie of Frenche in Scotland ere now to disquiett her Majestie.

"This being ended, I dealt with him earnestlie, for the stay of this parliament which now approacheth, or, at the least, there may be nothing done therin to the prejudice of these noblemen, and others now in England, for the forfaulting of their livings and goods. Heerupon he made a long discourse to me, first, of the Erle of Angus' dealing about the Erle of Morton; then of his going out, notwithstanding of sindrie gracious offers the king had made him; then of the Road of Ruthven, how that, presentlie after they had the king's Majestie in their hands, they imprissouned himself, [and] dealt with the king for putting the duke out of the realme. The king refusing so to doe, they told him plainlie, that if he would not, he sould have the Erle of Arran's head in a dish. The king asked, What offence the erle had made? and they answered, It must be so, and sould be so. Heerupon, for the safeguarde of Arran's life, the king was contented to send away the duke, and yitt Arran [was] afterward sindrie times in danger of his life.

"I alledged to him the king's letter to the queen's Majestie, and his acts in counsell, that they had done nothing but for his

service, and with his good lyking and contentment: who answered me, he durst doe no otherwise, nor could not doe anie thing, but that which pleased them; with suche a number of other their dealings with the king, whill he was in their hands, as are too long to be writtin, and too bad, if they be true. I said, the king might have lettin the queen's Majestie's ambassader have knowne his minde secreetlie, and her Majestie would have releeved him. He answered, that the king was not ignorant that his apprehensioun in that maner proceeded from Mr Bowes' practise, and thereby durst not impart so muche to him; and yitt the king was contented, and did give remissioun to als manie as would acknowledge their faults, and aske remissioun; and suche as would not, he thought fitt to banishe them for a time, to try their further loyaltie. In which time they conspired the king's secund apprehensioun, and the killing of the erle and others, and seduced the ministers to their factioun: and yitt, not satisfeid with these conspiraceis and treasonable dealings, (as he termeth them,) are entered into a thrid, being in England under her Majestie's protectioun, to dishonour her Majestie als farre as in them lyeth; or, at least, to caus the king conceave some unkindenesse in her Majestie, for harbouring of them. I wrote unto you what the conspiracie was; the taking of the king, killing of the Erle of Arran and some others, the taiking of the Castell of Edinburgh, and fetching home of the erles, to take the charge of the king; 'all which,' sayeth he, 'is by Drummond confessed, and by the Proveist of Glencludden not greatlie denyed; and the Constable of the castell therupon fled.'

"The erle brought Drummond with him als farre as Langton, where he lay, to have confessed this conspiracie before me. But having at his lighting receaved a blow on the leg with a hors, so as he could bring him no farther; I replyed, that I thoght, verilie, that they would not worke anie suche practises, in respect of the queene's Majestie abiding within her realme; and if there be anie suche practises, they have proceeded from others, and they not privie unto them; and that if it be not appearandlie proved against them, that it will be thought to be some practise, to aggravat their

fault, and to make them the more odious to the king. He answered me, that it sould be proved so sufficientlie, that they sould not be able with truthe to denie it: for their owne hands is to be shewed to part of it. And, therefore, concluded that if her Majestie sould preasse the king for them at this time, that would rather hinder this mater of the amitie nor further it; and that, since they seeke cheefelie his life, he could not, in reasoun, seeke to doe them anie good. And, besides, he assured me, that if he would, he darre not; this last mater being fallin out as it is. And, surelie, if this mater had not fallin out, I would not have doubted the restoring of the Erle of Marr, verie shortlie, if her Majestie would have imployed me therin. But for the Erle of Angus, I perceave the king is perswaded that both he and the rest of the Douglasses have conceaved so mortall an hatred against him, and the Erle of Arran, about the death of the Erle of Morton, as if they were at home to-morrow, nixt, they would not leave to practise and conspire the death of them both: and, therefore, [it were] a hard mater to doe anie thing for him. Finallie, he concluded, and required me to assure her Majestie from the king, that there sall be nothing hid from her, nor anie thing left undone, that may satisfie her Majestie with reasoun; and that the king sall never doe anie thing, nor consent to have anie thing done in her prejudice, so long as he had anie credite or authoritie with him.

"Having thus farre proceeded, he desired to show me his commissioun, which is under the great seale, to himself onlie, which is als large as may be: and yitt sindrie of the Privie Counsell there with him, but not one in commission, or present, nor neere us all this time. Having spent almost five houres in these maters, he presented unto me the Master of Gray, who delivered unto me a letter from the king, in his commendatioun, whom I perceave the king meaneth presentlie to send to her Majestie, and, therefore, requireth a safe-conduct for his passage, which I pray you procure, and so send it so soone as yee may.

"I lett him understand of the Lord Seton's negotiatioun with the Frenche king. He sware unto me that Seton is but a knave;

and that it was partlie against his will he sould be sent thither. But his commissioun and instructions being of no great importance, he yeelded the sooner; and if Seton have gone beyond his instructions, which Arran drew himself, he will make Seton smart for it.

"Tuiching William Newgeat and Mackgolgan, he protesteth he never heard of anie suche. He sayeth there was a little poore soule, with a blacke beard, come hither, in begging, who said he was an eme[1] to Desmond, to whome he gave a crowne, but never heard of him since. And for anie Scotishman going into Ireland, he sayeth there is no suche mater: if there be, they may be some few rascalls that he knoweth not of. And tuiching the comming of anie Jesuits into Scotland, he sayeth that is but the slanderous device of the king's enemeis, and suche as would have the world beleeve that the king were readie to revolt in religioun, who, the world sall weill see, will continue als constant therin as what prince soever professed it most; and the erle himself doeth protest unto me, that to his knowledge he never saw a Jesuit in his life; and did assure me that if there were anie in Scotland, they sould not doe so muche harme in Scotland as their ministers will doe, if they preache suche doctrine as they did in Scotland. And tuiching one Bellendine, of whom I wrote to you, (I heard it frome Mr Colvill,) the erle avoweth constantlie that he knoweth not, nor hath not heard of anie suche man; but he would enquire of the Justice-Clerk, and would informe me what he could learne of that.

"Thus have I made you als short a discourse as I can, of so manie maters so long discoursed upon. But these are the principall points of all our talke, so neere as I can remember it. And so, for this time, I committ you to the Almightie.

"Your assured freind,

"HUNSDEN.

"At Berwick, the 14th of August 1584.

"The king is verie desirous to have my sonne, Robert Carie, to come to him: I pray you, know her Majestie's pleasure."

[1] Relation.

ARTICLES PROPONED TO THE ERLE OF ARRAN BY THE LORD HOUNSDEN.

"1. The strait and severe persecution of all suche as have beene noted to be weill affected to the queene's Majestie.

"2. His inhibitioun by publict proclamation of suche as he hath banished, not to repaire into England, to make dislyke and unkindnesse betweene their Majesteis more open and apparent to the world.

"3. His reception and harbouring of Jesuits and other fugitives, and not delivering them, according to his promise.

"4. His agreement with his mother, tuiching the association, without her Majestie's privitie, contrarie the assurance givin by him to her Majestie.

"5. His imployment of sindrie subjects of his toward the Pope, the Kings of Spaine and France, and other inferiour princes, provoking them als muche as lyeth in him, by sinister and wrong informatioun, as though we were his capitall enemeis, to attempt some thing against us.

"6. Lastlie, The contemptuous usage of suche ministers as we have sent unto him."

ARRAN'S ANSWERES TO THE GREEVES OR ARTICLES PROPONED BY THE LORD HOUNSDEN; TOGETHER WITH THE REPLY OF AN UNCERTAN AUTHOR.

"1. As to the strait and severe persecution of all suche as have beene noted to have beene weill affected to the queen's Majestie, it cannot appeare they were ather for that caus punished or hardlie dealt with, since his Majestie of late hath beene so carefull and diligent to choose out good instruments to deale betuixt her Majestie and him, as his Majestie hath done in electing your lordship and me. Besides, that in all their accusations, their good will and affection borne to her Majestie was at no time layed to their charge, but capi-

tall actiouns of treasoun manie wayes tried, now by the whole three estats, and more than manifest to the world.

"2. As for his Majestie inhibiting, by publict proclamatioun, suche as were banished not to repaire in England, the brutes and whispering that came to his Majestie's eares of their conspiraceis and treasoun, which sensyne they accomplished, so farre as in them lay, moved his Highnesse to inhibite them to repaire to anie place so neere his Majestie's realme, least they sould have attempted these things which shortlie they did attempt, being farther off, and more distant, both by land and sea.

"3. As for receptioun of Jesuits, and other her Majestie's fugitives, and not delivering them, according to his promise, as your lordship proponeth, his Majestie would be most glade, that so that might fall out by your lordship's travells, that no fugitives of either realme sould be receaved of other. And when so sall be, it sall not faile on his Majestie's part, albeit, in verie deed, this time bygane his Majestie hath beene constrained to recept her Majestie's meane rebells and fugitives, contrarie his good naturall, since her Majestie hath recept, in effect, the whole and greatest rebells and tratours his Majestie in his owne blood ever had.

"4. As for the agreement with his Majestie's mother, tuiching their associatioun, his Majestie hath commanded me, in presence of your lordship's servant, to assure her Majestie and your lordship, in his Majestie's name, that it is altogether false and untruthe; nather yitt anie suche like mater [has been] done.

"5. His Majestie hath also commanded me to assure your lordship that it is likewise false and untrue that his Majestie hath, by anie meanes, direct or indirect, sent anie message to the Pope, or receaved anie from him; or that his Majestie hath dealt with Spaine, or anie forrane ellis, to harme her Majestie or her realme; which his Majestie would have no honour to doe, this good intelligence taking place, as I hope in God it sall.

"6. As concerning the contemptuous usage of her Majestie's ministers sent unto his Majestie, his Majestie used none of them so; and if his Majestie had, sufficient caus was givin by them, as

some their owne writts doe yitt testifie, as I more particularlie shewed your lordship at Foulden, at our late meetting."

REPLY TO THE ANSWERS GIVIN BY ARRAN TO THE ARTICLES PRESENTED BY THE LORD HOUNSDEN TO HIM.

"Two arguments are comprehended in Arran's first answere, to prove that the distressed are not persecuted for their affectioun to the queene's Majestie. In the former, it is said, that the care and diligence used by his Majestie in choosing out good instruments to deale betwixt her Majestie and him, declareth the persecution of the distressed to have proceeded upon some other occasioun nor for their affectioun to her Majestie. To which it is answered, that all the persons chosin to be good instruments (as they terme them) in that dealing betuixt their Majesteis, (the Lord Hounsden onlie excepted, whose honestie and credite hath ever beene without spott or reprehensioun,) are all in religioun obstinat Papists, or ellis in minde and actiouns past professed enemeis against her Majestie, her estate and weill-willers, as may be easilie declared in particular, if need be. And, therefore, the argument is verie frivolous to say, that the choosing of good instruments to deale betuixt their Majesteis declareth, that the distressed are not persecuted for their good affection to her Majestie, seing all the said instruments chosin for their part are knowne to be notable enemeis to her Majestie, and her favourers everie where. By which it appeareth that their affectioun to her Majestie is the onlie caus of their persecutioun, seing no man is elected to travell betwixt their Majesteis but suche as never wished her felicitie; and they onlie persecuted that are of the contrarie dispositioun.

"The other argument, where it is said that the distressed in their accusations are not charged for their affectioun to her Majestie, but for actions of treasoun, manifested to the world by the three estats: to this it is replyed, that whatsoever Arran meane, and the remanent of his societie, it were too grosse an errour to proceed from so craftie practicians as they be, if they sould openlie

accuse the distressed for their affectioun to her Majestie. But they deale more cunninglie, by punishing the said distressed for their good affectioun; and by pretending outwardlie other causes against them. But they are too simple and childish that judge of suche men's meaning rather by their words than by their actions. For the craft of all tyranns hath beene, and is, under pretence of one caus to punish for another. So the distressed presentlie of Scotland may justlie say that they are accused for actiouns of treasoun; but they are punished for their religioun, and good affectioun to England. For who is zealous in that land, ather in the one or the other, that is free from calamitie? Or who is a Papist, or enemie to the estat of England, that is not advanced, at least, in better cace, than he hath beene heeretofore at anie time since his Majestie's coronatioun? And it may appeare a strange mater, how it can be, that, without exceptioun, all they that love England of that natioun, or are recommended by her Majestie, are all noted to be rebellious; and they that hate the same, or are recommended by anie other forrane prince of the Roman religioun, are all loyall and duetifull subjects. And, therefore, I beleeve anie indifferent man will confesse, that who persecuteth Protestants onlie, whatsoever he pretend, and interteaneth Papists, cannot but be a hater of Protestants, and favourer of the contrarie religioun: and he that troubleth onlie such as are noted to be weill-affected to England, and useth most familiarlie the enemeis of their estate, must needs disdaine the one for their good affectioun to the said estat, and intreate the other for their hatred against the same.

"And for the actiouns of treasoun, manifested by the three estats to the whole world, against the said distressed, it is to be considered that the whole forme of justice used in Scotland (like as, I think, it be in other natiouns) is so subject to the inclinatioun of the prince and his familiars, that the same dependeth upon the prince's good or bad disposition, who, according as he is governed vertuouslie or contrariwise, so followeth the conclusions and acts of his Judges criminall, Lords of Sessioun, Privie Counsell, and Estats in Parliament, to be of the self-same qualitie, whensoever anie great

and weightie mater is entreatted before them, wherinto it pleaseth the prince to interpone himself. So that it is no new thing in Scotland to see the guiltie purged, and the vertuous condemned, when the estat is governed by pernicious counsell. And yitt the whole bodie of that estate is not to be thought culpable of the same, although some peculiar members may be justlie reprehended. The reasoun is, becaus the three estats conveened in Parliament to judge upon a mater of treasoun, they must judge *secundum allegata et probata.* And so, finding haynous crimes objected against a person, if the person compeere not to justifie himself, nor no other by permissioun be licensed to plead for him, then, what can the estats doe but pronounce condemnatour, albeit they sould know the person accused to be most innocent? And this same forme is also used before the Justicers in Scotland, in jureis called assises, wherof these twentie yeeres past have furnished manie exemples within that land: for during the raigne of the king's mother, when as Davie the Italian governed all, the Duke Hammiltoun, the Erles Murrey, Glencarne, Rothesse, were banished, and neere the point of forfaltour; and the best of that land, for that time, were esteemed the onlie tratours by declaratioun of the estates. And after the murther of the king her husband, when as the Erle Bothwell guided all, was not the said Erle Bothwell purged by an assise of that murther, which he actuallie executed with his owne hands; and at that time all the best freinds of that murthered king were banished, forefaulted, and cast down, even by an outward show of justice, and by declaratioun of the estats? and in D'Aubigney's tyrannicall administratioun, Morton, the cheefe avenger of the murther forsaid, condemned as criminall of the same; and now, by Captan and Colonell Stuart, the Erle of Gowrie beheaded, and the rest of the fellowship that preserved the king, after the murtherer of his father had mareid his mother, and entered in possession of his kingdome;—I say, the rest of the fellowship are banished and forefaulted, with no better forme of justice than the Italian Davie used against the noblemen forsaid; and with no lesse wresting of law nor was practised for cleering of Bothwell of the murther forsaid. Which in-

versioun of justice is nather (as appeareth) to be imputed to the king, by reasoun of his youth, nor to the bodie of his estats, by reason they can not judge but *secundum allegata et probata;* but onlie to the colonell and captan forsaid, together with some other craftie persons, dissimulat enemeis, als weill to religioun as to the state of England."

REPLY TO ARRAN'S SECUND ANSWERE.

"In the Secund answere, Arran giveth a reasoun wherefore the king restrained his subjects not to come within England, affirming that the same proceeded of love toward her Majestie, in respect he was assured they could not be faithfull to her, that were so unfaithfull to their owne soverane: an answere more meete to be givin to foolish childrein nor to men of experience; for if his Majestie restrained his subjects to repaire to princes' dominions where he hath a good affectioun, then, why were they not restrained to goe to France, Spaine, or Rome, which places appeare all to be more honoured and favoured by the estate of Scotland nor England is, by reasoun of open and honorable ambassaders sent to some of them, and privat messages to others, with continuall intelligence and testimonie of favour passing amongst them? But of this answere being ashamed, he forgeth another of no better stuffe, saying, that this restraint was becaus of whispering of brutes and conspiraceis, which since that time they have accomplished. Wherunto it is replyed, that this restraint had not beene published if there had not beene a diffidence in her Majestie; for if her Majestie's grave and weill-sattled government had beene considered, without suspicion of her sinceritie, Arran might have weill perceaved that the greatest and mightiest of all her owne subjects durst not presume anie thing at home or abroad by her privitie, muche lesse afflicted strangers, in number verie few, and evill-furnished for attempting anie interprise. For which caus, lett Arran colour as he will, he must ather confesse her Majestie is not able to compresse and bridle the appetits of suche as are arrived within her countrie for succour, or ellis he must grant that she

is disposed some time to winke and dissemble. And as the former is most false, so the other is most absurd."

REPLY TO ARRAN'S THRID ANSWERE.

"In the Thrid answere, Arran would excuse himself for moving the king to receave English Jesuits within his countrie, affirming that he would wishe that neither of them sould receave others fugitives; and that the king was constrained to receave some of her meane rebells, becaus the greatest tratours of his countrie were admitted within her dominioun. It is replyed, that there is great difference betweene the forme of her Majestie's doing on this point and the king's; for her Majestie hath receaved none but suche as are knowne to be zealous in true religioun, of whom the greatest part is the most learned and godlie of the ministrie of Scotland: his Majestie receaveth none but obstinat Papists, of whom the greatest number are seminarie preests and Jesuits, the most cruell, craftie, and perellous men living. Her Majestie hath receaved none of his subjects but suche as for no fortune, adverse or prosperous, will ever be moved to shake off their naturall subjection and obedience due to his Majestie; his Majestie receaveth none of her subjects but suche as have abjured their loyaltie and obedience to her Highnesse, and givin themselves to be slaves to the Pope; esteeming her Majestie to possesse her crowne by usurpation, becaus of her defectioun from the Roman seate, as appeareth by the confessioun of sindrie executed for that same caus. Her Majestie hath receaved none that have been knowne publict enemeis to his life and crowne in his youth, or at anie other time, howsoever they be traduced: his Majestie receaveth none of hers, but suche as frome their birth fordward ever were contrarious and repugnant to her Majestie. Finallie, her Majestie hath receaved none but suche as she knew weill to be his defenders and preservers, and suche as can have no suretie but under his governement; and yitt, becaus for his preservatioun they have both purchassed the wrath of his mother and the hous of Hammiltoun: and, on the contrare, his

Majestie receaveth none but suche as he knoweth weill to be her Majestie's ancient enemeis, and suche as can have no suretie but by her destructioun. Rebells receaved in Scotland are but meane men: it is answered, that the more meane men and ignoble they be, having so evill dispositioun, the more are they to be contemned, and the other receaved in England; the more mightie and noble they be, being persued for righteousnesse, the more leasome it is to cherish and comfort them. Heere, I omitt to declare how, after promise made for deliverie of Holt, notwithstanding therof, Arran moved the king to send a privie commandement to the captan of the Castell of Edinburgh to sett him at libertie, together with manie suche like uncomelie actiouns which I might rehearse, wherunto the said Arran hath moved his Majestie, as appeareth, farre by his owne good natural."

REPLY TO THE FERD ANSWERE.

"In this answere, Arran denyeth anie agreement to be betuixt the king and his mother concerning the associatioun. Wherunto it is answered, that he denyeth not an agreement *simpliciter* to be betuixt them; but with this addition, he denieth it concerning the associatioun, albeit it be verie dishonorable to his Majestie to have anie agreement at all with his mother, without the privitie of her Majestie of England, and suche others as seeking to defend him have offended her. And muche more is the agreement unhonest if it be (as without questioun it is) *in odium tertii*, that is to say, to the destruction of these that preserved his Majestie's life. But to come to purpose, indeid, I have never seene the indent of associatioun past amongst them; but there are forcible conjectures, proving the same rather to be nor otherwise. For the queene his mother testified to some verie worshipfull and credible in this land, that her sonne was so bound to her by his writt that he could doe no mater of importance without her consent. Wherupon, the king himself being asked by her Majestie's ambassader, resident for the time, confessed that there were certan articles presented to him by

the Duke of Lennox, sent from his mother, which he subscrived after he had reformed them in some things. Thus is our conjecture verie probable. Another I take from the effects of the king's proceedings, which is a presumptioun infallible. Who are forfaulted in Scotland? who executed? who banished, distressed, and out of favour, but onlie suche as the king's mother is offended at? Who rewarded and advanced but suche as she liketh of? Who escapeth the evill that is recommended by her; and who smarteth not whom she appointeth for calamitie? So that it may be with reasoun affirmed that no dispositioun of anie great mater passeth without her recommendation. Whereby it followeth, that if she might be personallie present to subsigne with his Majestie, that she hath a conjunct authoritie to doe the same. And, therefore, lett Arran protest as he pleaseth, they are blind that see not an agreement confirmed betuixt him and his mother; (and not onlie a generall agreement) of associatioun, tending als weill to the destructioun of these that, defending the king, offended his mother, as also to the ruine of true religioun in Scotland and elliswhere, so farre as in them lyeth.'

REPLY TO ARRAN'S FYFT ANSWERE.

"In the Fyft, it is affirmed by Arran that his Majestie hath nather, directlie nor indirectlie, sent message, or receaved anie from the Pope. To this may be weill answered, there is great appearance in the contrare when the Pope's apostles and their novices are so familiar and secreit with his Majestie. But to answere directlie, it is certan that one Bellendine came this last sommer from Parise, and spake secreitlie with the king, and therafter, with all possible haste from Parise, tooke post to Rome. Besides this, the king's ambassader, and his mother's now resident in France, frequent daylie with the Pope's nuncio, and little with the ambassader of England, and have, with the said nuncio and the ambassader of other Papistick estates, daylie consultatiouns and assemblies; which the said Scotish ambassader would not use or frequent

without commandement or permissioun, and that for some end or purpose. Which end, if it be for the advancement of their estats with whom he resorteth, the same can bring no good effects, nather for true religioun, nor for her Majestie of England."

REPLY TO THE SIXT ANSWERE.

"In the Sixt answere, Arran would excuse the hard using of some of her Majestie's ambassaders. First, denying anie suche thing to have been: nixt, pretending that if so had beene, there was sufficient caus, by reason, as he alledgeth, Mr Randulphe's hand-writt is yitt extant to prove his evill offices during his abode in Scotland, and Mr Bowes was suche a one as was verie pernicious to his Majestie; and for Maister Secretarie, if he had acknowledged the Erle of Arran, he had beene used in more familiar maner. For the first, if Arran were not shamelesse, he could not denie the hard handling used against some of them, and uncivill behaviour against others, who merited more honour than could be done unto them in that countrie. For if strait watching of their houses, that no loving or familiar freind might come at them, directing of men to confer with them, and to accompanie them that they knew to be unfreinds to their estat; querrelling with their servants upon the streets; shooting in of hacquebutts at their windowes; dispeshing of some of them, without compliments due to ambassaders; counterfooting privilie before the king in his chamber of their gestures, mocking them in maner more dishonorable to his Majestie nor offensive to them: if this was not strait and uncomelie using, I leave it to anie indifferent man to judge. And yitt the impudent denyer was cheefe deviser of all these inciviliteis. And where it is said his Majestie had sufficient caus to use them hardlie, how farre Arran in this answere is from the princelie humanitie used in all Christian and peaceable governments, is easie to be understand. And if he had beene disposed to behold her Majestie's commendable administratioun, he had found out laudable exemples to the contrare. For after that the Bishop of Rosse, agent for the king's

mother, was declared guiltie of a treasonable conspiracie against her estat and person, becaus he was a stranger he was sett at libertie. The ambassader of Spaine, found criminall in like maner, was not barbarouslie used, and that for the reverence borne to his maister, howsoever he had offended; but was suffered to depart with all compliments due to an ambassader, and provisioun made for his safe arrivall within his maister's dominions. By which exemples it is evident, that although her Majestie's ministers had transgressed, yitt two things had beene requisite upon the king's part; the one, to have tried their transgressioun before they were slandered; the other, for reverence to her Majestie to have depeshed them in princelie and liberall maner. But what sall be thought when extremitie is used against ambassaders that have not offended?

"But Arran sayeth, Mr Randulph's writt is extant to prove his evill offices. For that worshipfull and modest man's defence, it may be asked at Arran, If that letter wherof he braggeth was in his hands at that time when the said Mr Randulph was abused or not? If it was in his hands, why was it not produced? at least, some mentioun made of it to her Majestie, for justifeing the king's part? But if it was not at that time in his hands, (as I know it was not,) then why was the said Mr Randulph so barbarouslie used, no other caus being to charge him with? But it is easie to judge how this mater proceeded; for this forme of doing is not farre different from the forme of justice used by the Emperour of Russe, who first executeth the persoun, and then findeth out a processe against him.[1] So doeth Arran against the said gentleman: for Arran conceaving malice als weill against the Lord Hounsden as against Mr Randulph, becaus they were instruments sent for the safetie of Morton, he not having abilitie to offend the Lord Hounsden, (albeit he railed verie contumelouslie against his honour,) he converted his whole vengeance against the said gentleman, and caused shoot in a hacquebutt direct against that same part of the

[1] Randolph himself was well acquainted with Russian usages, having been sent thrice in embassy to Russia. On one of these occasions, the Czar nailed the hat of an Italian envoy to his head, and menaced the Englishman with a similar punishment.

chamber where the gentleman was accustomed most to sitt; and being oft accused of this, could never cleere himself till now of late, that amongst the spoiling and searching of the noblemen's houses now distressed, he hath perhaps found among their papers some writting of the said Mr Randulph's directed to them, at that time expressing how carefull he was to have the king preserved from the Erle Morton's blood. And this now he useth for a fitt excuse, and upon this small foundatioun buildeth up a mightie worke.

"But whensoever that letter sall be produced, (if he have anie suche,) it will be found to make als little against the gentleman as George Drummond's depositioun maketh against the distressed. And for Mr Bowes' part, it may justlie be said, that howsoever they traduce him, they can nather by writt nor witnesse convict him of anie evill office against the king. But contrariwise, it may weill be justified that he hath done for the benefite of the king and that estate, to his owne prejudice, so worthilie, that if he had dealt with thankfull men his benefites had never beene putt in oblivioun, muche lesse sould he have beene slandered and calumniated for his labours. And as for Maister Secretarie, who can denie but his Honnour hath beene more beneficiall to that land nor ever anie stranger was heeretofore? For who of that natioun ever addressed himself unto his Honnour that departed unsatisfied; yea, often when he could not gett their sutes dispeshed, he debursed largelie summes out of his owne purse? And yitt, notwithstanding the cold intertenement he receaved in Scotland, his Honour is nothing in minde altered to that land.

"But Arran sayeth from the king, that if Maister Secretarie had acknowledged him a nobleman whom the king so esteemed, he had beene used more courteouslie. How short a cloke this is, and how frivolous an excuse to defend the misbehaviour used against a personage of so great vertue, place, and good affectioun to the king and his estat, who, for one pleasure that Arran is able to doe to his Majestie, is able to doe a thowsand, I leave it to the discreit to consider. But if the king will take this course, to countenance none but suche as acknowledge Arran, few modest or gentle men

sall be found about his Majestie; and in the end it sall prove that Arran's violence, joynned with the flatterie of others that ever were professed enemeis to the king's father and hous, wherof he is descended, sall worke his destruction. And for the excuse of the incursioun made upon Ireland, it is not likelie that James Makoneill durst interprise anie farther thing without oversight of the king. And it is certane that this winter past the said James was sent for to court, where he remained two moneths, having no effaires except it was to this effect, which since that time he hath expressed by the incursioun forsaid.

"For the receaving of Newgeat and the other, which Arran would excuse, becaus they were persons of small degree, and recommended by the Duke of Gwise, it may be replyed, that if the Duke of Gwise's letter, writtin in their favour, had not beene openlie presented to the king, there had beene no mentioun made therof by Arran. And, moreover, seing, for a generall letter of the said duke's, men of small degree and puissance are weill receaved by his Majestie, it may be weill collected that noblemen and great forces would be muche more acceptable, if they were recommended in familiar and privat maner by the said duke. And concerning George Drummond's depositioun, howsoever the samine be inacted and registrat, yitt it is all full of leesings; speciallie in that which he sayes of appointment betuixt the Hammiltouns and Dowglases, and of the Master of Glames dealing with Crawfurd and Lindsay. And albeit all were true, yitt his depositioun can make nothing against the noblemen, in respect he is but one witnesse, and therewithall suspicious, by reasoun he never joyned in the caus with the said noblemen. And where as Arran sayes, he was ever their freind, the contrare is manifest; for he was the cheefe guider of the defunct Erle of Atholl, who was, during all the civill warres, ather neutrall or against the distressed; and after the death of the said erle, the said George had the governement of the young erle, who was weill-minded to have travelled for Gowrie, were not the said George letted him; and the present Ladie Arran was daughter to the defunct Erle of Atholl, and sister to the present erle. I leave

it, then, to indifferent men to judge, whether the said George appeareth rather freind to Arran or to the distressed."

In the meane time, that letters and conference past betuixt Arran and Hounsden, was this letter of admonitioun cast into the pulpit of Edinburgh, secreitlie :—

"Seing the course of the world hath alwayes beene, (beloved in the Lord Jesus,) that the weake sort of men have alwayes sought protectioun and defence of these that ather were in authoritie, or of suche as were able to preserve them from the violence of the proud and mightie Nimrods of the world; the sicke consulted these who were skilfull in physick, the poore sought releefe of the liberalitie of the riche, the ignorant, and suche as hang in suspense of anie doubtfulnesse of anie maters, counsell of wise and learned, and speciallie (I speeke with the Spirit of God) to seeke the preests or prophets, for counsell in maters of religioun, these have presentlie moved us, deere brethrein, to seeke to you, and write this short letter, in the malice of this corrupt time. Yee are the men (we meane the prophets) who sould be consulted. God hath placed you upon the watche-towres in these places where yee travell. To you is concredited the over watching of our soules, to forewarne us of the enemie. Wherin, if yee duetifullie discharge your calling, our blood remaineth upon our owne heads, if we heare not your voice and eshew the perrell. But if so be that yee see the enemie, and forewarne us not; yee crie not, and blow not the trumpet, for our surer intelligence of the perrell, yee worke the worke of God negligentlie; yee bring our blood upon your owne heads, to the eternall confusion of yourselves and us both. Your estat and calling (if so be yee faithfullie discharge the same) is the honourablest estat and calling in this world, yea, above the mightie monarchs; sua is it, negligentlie or fraudulentlie discharged, the miserablest estat and conditioun of anie men in the earth.

"Lett it not greave you, brethrein, that we have tane upon us to write these few lynes, as that we would teache you your duetie. Truelie we meane no suche thing, being sufficientlie assured that

yee all know your dueteis better than we can speeke. But God knoweth it is the lamentable estat wherin we are wrapped, betuixt obedience to God and our prince, and the great uncertantie we are in what we sall allow or damne, in this varietie of opinions tuiching the late acts of Parliament, sett doun anent maters of religioun and policie of the kirk, which some of your vocatioun allow, and as *pro aris et focis*, strive for defence of these acts, and their approbatioun; others damning, disapproving, disallowing, and impugning them, as fighting *ex diametro* with God's Word; others keeping suche a generalitie, and suche a difference anent all that subject, both in doctrine and communicatioun, that they darre never tuiche it, more nor it were the pest to infect them. Whills yee that be the learned, of whom we attend both counsell, and instructioun, and good exemple, be thus tossed and divided among yourselves, what, thinke yee, sould be our estate, in deliberat resolving what goldin midde course to keepe?

"Our most humble supplicatioun, therefore, in Christ, as yee will eshew that maledictioun threatned against the negligent doers of God's worke, the judgement of God upon the pastors that see the enemie coming, and warne not the flocke; and as yee would be participant of the blessing of God, which man nor angell cannot descrive, appointed for these that faithfullie discharge their calling; yea, as yee will oblishe us in bodeis and goods, and humble supplications unto God for blessing your labours in your vocations, that yee will, we say, conferre upon the acts latelie sett furth; and if yee find them suche as agree with the Word of God, resolve your conscience in pulpit, in your sermons, that we may be learned to understand and yeeld our lawfull obedience to our prince in them: and if, otherwise, they agree not with the Word, yee will plainlie speeke it, avow it, preache it, proclame it, writt it, and sett furth the evident repugnance, that we that be the unlearned may be edified, and made able to give an accompt of our disobeying, and not yeelding to the obedience of these acts, and (if possible the authors of them may be brought convicted in their owne consciences, seing their owne errours) to reforme them again. But

cheefelie, brother Johne Duncansone, our exhortation to you is, that seing yee have the cheefe place for doctrine in this realme, unto which the eyes of the greatest multitude attend for doctrine, (becaus it hath beene found there heeretofore,) that yee will no more hold in this indifferencie wherewith the hearts of manie good men are wounded, and the consciences of manie godlie offended: that yee keepe us no longer in suspense, but speeke your opinioun plainlie and evidentlie, and cry it, to the discharge of your conscience, if these acts be lawfull, or repugnant to the truthe. For now is no time of silence or simulatioun, when publict lawes are sett furth, and strait charges for reverence and obedience to them; the perrell being of God's dishonour, condemnatioun of men's soules, and disobedience to princes. In the which, if men through your negligence fall, doubt not but God will crave it at your hands, in his owne time: for we take God to witnesse, that of good minde, in the bitternesse of our hearts, and of zeale to the truthe, we write that we have writtin; mynding onlie God's glorie, our owne salvatioun, and knowledge wherin we may lawfullie obey or disobey our naturall prince. And thus we tak God to judge betuixt you and us, if we seeke not a thing lawfull and necessar. The Lord grant to you all, that, in these evill and dangerous dayes, (wherin wickednesse and corruptioun hastest to rypenesse by degrees, *nemo enim repente fit pessimus*,) yee propone to yourselves for your imitatioun the great Pastor, Jesus Christ, and faithfullie imitat him in zeale, (*quem zelus domus Dei comedit*,) in love of his flocke, that gave his life for them, whill they were his enemeis; in behaviour, who was suche as the whole world could not reproache: the Lord, we say yitt once againe, grant you earnest meditatioun, and carefull imitation. This muche shortlie in God's feare, awaiting answere of your mouths in publict doctrine, and for our better edificatioun, and memorie of your pennes, publishe in writt your judgement and opiniouns.

"Your brethrein, that incessantlie thrist the truthe to be reveeled, to God's glorie, and our and your salvations.

"The eight of August 1584.

"If this letter come in the hands of anie other than theirs to whom it is directed, we admonishe the finder, in God's name, and crave that he present it to the brethrein to whom it is directed."

THE INSTRUCTIONS OF THE BANISHED LORDS TO THEIR FAMILIAR FREIND AND SERVITOUR, MR JOHNE COLVILL, TO BE DELIVERED TO HER MAJESTIE OF ENGLAND; DATED 20TH OF AUGUST 1584.

"Our letter and salutatioun, with remembrance of our most humble duetie, being presented to her Highnesse, yee have two generall heeds wherin to deale with her Majestie. The one concerning our Greeves; the other concerning suche petitions as are to be required of her Hienesse.

"In this sort yee sall open up our greeves to her Majestie: That wheras her Majestie, by her last letter sent unto us, and credit committed unto you, acknowledged our caus to be honest, just, and lawfull, and the self-same caus which was interprised about 17 yeeres agoe, for maintenance of true religion, preservatioun of the king our soverane, and continuing of the amitie betuixt the two crowns, and the self-same caus which her Majestie had alwayes assisted, at all times before, when as the same was in danger, as having a conjunct interesse therintill: and wheras our humble petitioun was, at your last imployment toward her Majestie, that it might please her Hienesse then (as she had done of before) to assist us with some reasonable forces, for recovering and upholding of the said caus; her Majestie's answere was, albeit she would never leave us nor our cause destituted and comfortlesse, yitt her Hienesse could not at that time succour us in suche sort as we desired, for sindrie reasons conteaned in her answere givin at the time forsaid. But her Majestie, of her accustomed bountie, promised then this farre unto us, that, for so muche as the king, our soveran, offered unto her verie largelie, so being the Lord Hounsden, or ellis some other of her counsell whom he could like of, were sent to deale with him; therefore, her Majestie then desired us to have a little patience, untill the time that she had tried what effect might follow

upon the large offers forsaids; thinking that a way more honorable and certane to purchasse our soveran's benevolence to us in that sort, than by anie other moyen: and for that caus her Majestie then concluded, that both Mr William Davidsone sould be imployed to Scotland, to worke all good offices that might tend to that purpose, as also, the said Lord Hounsden sould be directed to travell to the same effect. And so, whill as her Majestie, without all questioun, formerlie beleeved that, by the dealing forsaid, some benefite sould have redounded unto us, at least, that nothing sould have succeeded to make us and our caus in worse conditioun nor it was before; and on the other part, whill we were weill satisfied with her Majestie's gracious answere, hoping for some releefe by the said mediatioun, we perceaved at lenth all things to succeed contrariouslie, and farre against her Majestie's good meaning, and our expectatioun, which we impute onlie to the craft and subtilitie of our enemeis, who have effectuat, by this delay, that which by no other way they could have performed. For by this unhappie protracting of time, and unfaithfull dealing on their part that are our enemeis, First, Our freinds in Scotland are discouraged, and likelie to fall from us, and in effect, although not in expresse words, we are restrained to make them anie intelligence, for conforting and animating them. Secundlie, The castell of Edinburgh, which was the onlie part of hope which remained, upon a frivolous and most false alledgance of a practise, is taikin out of his hands, that was both our assured freind, and verie weill affected to her Majestie. Thridlie, Upon the self-same contrived alledgance, our forfaltours are to passe fordward at the day appointed, without helpe of prorogatioun. And, last of all, Our selves are so calumniated and slandered with maters wherof we are most innocent, that there resteth now no more of all that our enemeis could have wished for our destructioun, except onlie deliverance of us in their hands. And, for that which is alledged of a practise to have beene attempted against his Majestie's person and nobilitie, yee knów how farre we ought to be free of anie suche suspicioun, and, therefore, we referre that to your owne declaratioun. You have to regrait

that forme of dealing, that, upon the naiked alledgance and affirmatioun of our enemeis, without prooffe or triell of the samine, they sould be suffered to worke all the rigour they can against us, and no travell taikin to perswade and move his Majestie, at least, to continue the executioun of the sentence against us, till the mater were tried to be so indeid as they alledge.

"Concerning the other point, conteaning our petitions to her Majestie, they are:—

"First, Humblie requeist her Majestie, that with all convenient speed, letters may be directed to the Lord Hounsden and Mr William Davidsone, but speciallie to Mr Davidsone, to seeke the prorogatioun of the parliament; or, if the samine cannot be stayed, that at least nothing passe therin prejudiciall to our caus in generall, or to our hurt in particular.

"Secundlie, Declare to her Majestie, that for so muche as we are sorie to be a continuall burthein to her Hienesse, therefore we humblie requeist her Majestie, that, by her procurement, our owne livings may be granted unto us.

"Thridlie, Forsomuche as, since this last dealing began, in effect, (although not in expresse words,) we have beene restrained from intelligence with our confortlesse and discouraged freinds, that therefore it may please her Majestie to permitt us, as occasioun may serve, by our letters and messages, to animat and confort them, that they may be the more willing, if ever God send convenient opportunitie, to joyne with us in her Majestie's service.

"Ferdlie, Make motioun for a warrant to us to remaine at Holie Iland; and if yee be asked of our mindes concerning Arran, yee have to say, that we can, nather with honestie nor upright conscience, have to doe with such a one, howsoever he floorish.

"ANGUS, MARR, MASTER OF GLAMES."

THE LETTER PRESENTED TO HER MAJESTIE.

"As the whole church within Europ hath had confort of your Majestie, so it becometh the same church, and everie member of

the same, to be carefull of your Majestie's weelefare and prosperitie, and these in speciall who most felt the benefite of your Grace's governement. Therefore, for our parts, we, as partakers of the benefites with manie others, have thought good, seing your Grace in danger, to advertise your Grace of the same, to the end that your Majestie, hearing the danger confirmed by manie others, which yourself suspecteth, yea, and perceaveth, may, with the greater assurance and consideratioun, prevent the same, as a thing more certane than that, upon anie light suspicioun, or *panicus timor*, as they call it, they have begunne to mislyke. And for certane and sure grounds in this cace, that have beene knowne, (seing to your Majestie we mind not to insist;) as, first, that all that professe Poprie are your commoun enemeis: 2. That Spaine and France are old enemeis, als weill to your Majestie in speciall, as to the whole realme in generall: 3. That they, with the counsell of the Pope, have had manie interprises to cutt yow off, and overthrow your estat. These, we say, and the like, we will passe over, as things more notour than that they need to be stood upon at this time. But we will intreat upon the evident danger that most certanlie is intended unto you, frome the court and present state of Scotland. Which, albeit we thinke it be reasonablie espied, and long since found out by your Majestie, yitt, becaus familiar dealing with them may engender some lyking, and banish distrust by little and little; (and hard is it to tuiche pick, and not be defyled thereby;) and that becaus, howbeit yee have wisdome, and wise counsellers able to encounter with advantage; yitt, true dealing may be riffled by deepe dissimulatioun and plaine falshood, and a lawfull, simple, and honest dealing may be overshott with witchecraft, wherewith that court is now governed, we thought good to helpe that in us lyeth, that at least, in our default, no harme come to your Grace; which our good will we doubt not but your Grace will take in good worth, seing it is the quietnesse of the Church of God, and your Grace's preservatioun, that we seeke. Amen.

"1. And, first, seing that court hath joynned now plainlie, as before, you and your counsell did see that mysterie in working, both

with the enemeis of religioun, (Papists I meane,) and with the mortall enemeis of your person and realme, as also, with the devisers of the conspiraceis intended often times against your Grace, yee can not but have most just caus to abhorre their freindship and familiaritie.

"2. Secundlie, The contemptuous and despitefull disdaining and railings against your person and state, sindrie times, as enemeis to them.

"3. The foule scoffing of your Grace, in not keeping anie promise made to your Majestie's ambassaders in your name, the falsifeing of plaine hand-writt; as of the reposing of Arran in speciall; and persecuting of the noblemen for the Road of Ruthven, &c., which justlie may make you suspect that they will be no truer than these have beene before.

"4. In not obeying your Majestie's reasonable requeists, at diverse times making sute for some noblemen tuiching their death, as Morton, &c.

"5. The pretended title of the crowne, and the full purpose and intent, to occupie the place of governement by force.

"6. Being privie to the late conspiracie to make your Majestie away.

Conjectures.

"1. The familiaritie with Holt and diverse others Englishmen, traffiquers, no doubt, to that end; as also, with his mother by writt, who, no doubt, is guiltie therin.

"2. The preserving of Holt from triell, and shifting his examinatioun, and letting him out of the castell of Edinburgh.

"3. The heavinesse at the court, when newes came of the reveeling the conspiracie.

"4. The lyking of the Prince of Orange his murther, with muche reasoning in defence therof, as also, of the massacre in Parise.

"5. A certane staying from prosecutioun of their purposes, and awaiting, as it were, about that time till they heard belike what sould fall out.

"6. The mainteaning of men about him that utterlie hate and mislyke your Majestie, as Montrose, Arran, the Colonell, Matlane, Melvill, Chalmer, Down.

"7. The mislyking of the best affectioned men in England to your Majestie, except this counterfoote shew toward Hounsden.

"8. The revolting from religioun and the amitie most unthankfullie, more to be feared; for tame foxes, if they waxe wilde, are most perellous.

"9. The delyting in shedding of the blood of the nobilitie of Scotland, that were addicted to your Majestie. *Nullius semel ore receptus, pollutas patitur sanguis mansuescere fauces.* Yea, the hating and persecuting of all estats that love your Majestie within that realme.

"10. The shootting at your Majestie's ambassader, and evill intreatting of the rest of them. And these unnaturall and bloodie beasts *nunquam solent deponere iram donec ulciscantur.*

"11. Last and most dangerous of all, this suddane change from extreme hatred to an excessive shew of lyking, and pretended traffiquing for continuing of peace; the accustomed practise of all their sort, when they minde greatest murthers, and are neerest to the point to performe them."

A PARLIAMENT.

After the meeting of Arran and Hounsden, the banished ministers were discharged to preache in anie part of England. After Arran's returne, the parliament held at Edinburgh, the 22d of August. The king and the lords went on foote to the Tolbuith, with the honours caried: Crawfurd caried the sword, Huntlie the scepter, the Duke of Lennox the crowne. When they were going up the street in pompe, the Ladie Gowrie satt doun on her knees, crying to the king for grace to her and her poore barnes, who never had offended his Grace. Arran would not suffer her to come neere, but thrust her doun, and hurt her backe and her hand. She fell a swowne, and lay in the streets till they were in the Tolbuith, and then was

takin in to a hous. This was the reward she receaved for saving Arran's life at the Road of Ruthven. At this parliament were forfaulted the Erle of Angus, the Erle of Marr, the Countesse of Marr, the Countesse of Gowrie, the Countesse of Cassils, the Maister of Glames, Carmichael's sonne, . . . Dowglas of Parkheid, Robert Areskine, William Cunninghame of Drumquhassill, James Murrey of Tullibairdin, the man who offered to fight against Bothwell at Carbarrie, William and Michael Elphinston. An act was made that all ministers, readers, and maisters of colledges, sould come within fortie dayes, and subscrive the act of parliament of the king's power over all estats, spirituall and temporall, and to submitt themselves to their ordinar bishops, under paine of losing their stipends; and howbeit they sould be afterwards willing to subscrive, they sould not be admitted.

MINISTERS SUMMOUNED BEFORE THE COUNSELL.

Upon Moonday the 24th of August, the king went to Falkland, and left behind him Arran, Huntlie, Crawfurd, the secretarie, and sindrie others, to examine ministers for their bold speeches, and to caus them subscrive the acts of parliament. Mr Johne Craig, Mr Andrew Blakhall, Johne Brand, Johne Hereis, and sindrie others, were called before the counsell. When they were demanded how they durst be so bold as to controll the late acts of parliament? Mr Craig answered, They would find fault with anie thing repugnant to God's Word and holie oracles. Arran start up on his feet and said, they were too peart: he sould shave their head, paire their nailes, and mak them an exemple to all that rebelled against king and counsell. They were charged to compeere before the king at Falkland, the fourth of September, to answere to suche things as the counsell sould lay to their charge. They obeyed, and compeering the fourth of September, were accused for breaking the acts of parliament, speciallie for not obeying the bishop's injunctions. It was answered, they could not obey. There was some hote conference betuixt Mr Craig and the

Bishop of Sanct Andrewes, in the king's presence. Arran uttered some rough speeches to Mr Craig. Mr Craig said to him boldlie, "There have beene men sett up higher than he, that have beene brought low." Arran, in mocking maner, bowed his knee, and said, "I sall make thee, of a false frier, a true prophet"—and so, sitting doun upon his knee, sayeth, "Now I am humbled." "Nay," sayeth Mr Craig, "mocke the servants of God as thou will; God will not be mocked, but sall make thee to find it in earnest, when thou sall be humbled, and east doun from the high hors of thy pride." This came to passe within few yeeres, when James Dowglas of Parkheid thrust him off his hors with a speere, and slue him. His carcase was layed in an open kirk beside, and was found eaten with dogges and swine, before it was buried. Mr Craig was discharged to preach, and they were commanded to compeere again before the counsell the sixteene of November. The Bishop of Sanct Andrewes was sent over to Edinburgh to preache, and a charge was sent to the counsell of Edinburgh to accept him. But the most part of the people went furth when he entered in the pulpit. During the time of his abode, sindrie libells were cast in into the pulpit, and in his chamber, painting out his falshood and knaverie; with certificatioun, if he mended not his maners, the same hand that wrote the libell sould be his deid.

MR JOHNE RUTHERFURD'S ADMISSION.

About this time the king asked at Mr Johne Rutherfurde, saying, "Would yee be minister of Sanct Andrewes?" He answered, "Yes, sir; but shame fall me, if I doe not my duetie!" The king said, "Shame fall thee, and the devill receave thee too, if thou doe it not: goe thy way." So he departed inaugurated. This was called The maner of Mr Johne Rutherfurd's admissioun.

WEOMEN TROUBLED.

About the same time, the magistrats of Edinburgh were charged to disloodge Mr James Lowsone, Mr Walter Balcalquall, and Johne Durie's wives. The honest weomen sold the movables which they could not keepe, and delivered the keyes to the magistrats. Farther, there was another charge givin to some weomen within the toun, evill affected to the late acts of Parliament, to retire them be-north the water of Tay for a space. Jonet Adamsone, Jonet Henrysone, Jonet Gilbert, were charged by name. A blanke was givin to the Ladie Arran, to putt in whom she pleased.

DAVIE THE DEVILL SLAINE.

Upon the tenth of September, the Erle of Bothwell, accompanied with fortie horse, invaded David Hume, sonne to the Goodman of Manderston, and slue him. The Lord Hume was wairded in Tamtallan, under pretence that he sould not revenge the slaughter. But the true caus was, becaus he would not give over the thrid of the lands of Dirleton to the Erle of Arran, who had now gottin Gowrie's part. About the same time Atholl was wairded in the castell of Edinburgh, under pretence of a light offence. But the true caus was, becaus he would not repudiate his wife, the Erle of Gowrie's daughter, and tailzie the living to Arran's hous.

ARRAN CHOSIN PROVEIST OF EDINBURGH.

Upon Tuisday, the sixt of October, the magistrats of Edinburgh were chosin. Arran was made Proveist; Henrie Nisbit, William Nisbit, his brother, William Harvie, and James Nicoll, Bailliffes; Thomas Rosse, Treasurer, Nicoll Udward, Deane of Gild. Arran is now Proveist of Edinburgh, Captan of the Castell of Edinburgh!

MR JAMES LOWSONE'S DEATH.

After that Mr Andrew Melvill, Mr James Lowsone, and sindrie others, had visited the Universiteis of Oxfoord and Cambridge, they returned to Londoun. Mr James, partlie through travell and change of the aire, partlie through misbehaviour of some of his flocke, who had subscrived the letter wherin they were called woolves and hyrelings, being of a melancholick constitutioun, fell in a heavie disease, which resolved in a dysenterie. He being tried, as in a fierie furnace, the space of thrittie-foure dayes, never uttered so muche as one impatient word, but most confortable and zealous sentences, more moving (with his eyes lifted up to heaven, his hands stretched out) than anie gesture or behaviour of a most zealous preacher in pulpit can expresse; not onlie preaching, as if he had beene in pulpit, but also singing psalmes, and provoking others to sing with him. Three dayes before his death, he caused sing the 103d Psalme; and again immediatlie, few houres before his death. When voice could not serve, his lippes were perceaved labouring to utter the words which were sung. The English who heard him, at all occasiouns offered, reported his sentences to their famileis and acquaintance. Great was his greefe that he had beene debarred from preaching; and desired often that the Lord would be mercifull to them that would nather enter in the kingdom of God themselves, nor suffer others to enter.

MAISTER JAMES LOWSON'S TESTAMENT.

"At Londoun, in Houie Lain of Cheapside, in Mr Antony Martin's Hous, upon Wednisday, the seventh of October 1584.

"I, Maister James Lowsone, minister of God's Word, of the flocke of Christ at Edinburgh, wishe grace, mercie, and peace,

from God the Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ, with the continuance of the Holie Spirit, to all these that feare the Lord, and love his blessed Evangell; giving to understand to whom it apperteaneth, that I, being whole in minde, but finding my God summoning me by his messinger, sicknesse, (wherewith he hath tyed me to bed,) to putt an end (as appeareth) to my course in this transitorie life, have thought good to committ my testament and latter will to writt, in forme as followeth:—

"First, I thanke my good God, through Jesus Christ my Saviour, who hath not onlie, of his unspeakable mercie, (wherof I confesse myself most unworthie, if he sould deale with me according to my deserts,) plucked me out of grosse ignorance and blindnesse of superstitioun, Papistrie, and idolatrie, especiallie since the time I did heare that notable servant of God, Mr Knox, (of blessed memorie,) impugne with great authoritie of doctrine that Antichristian tyrannie; but also, of his great goodnesse, hath moved me, from time to time, by his sacred Word and instructioun of his Holie Spirit, to dedicat my self and the small talent which his wisdome concredited unto me, to the edificatioun of his people in the holie ministrie ordeanned in his kirk; and hath blessed also the same, first in the congregatioun of Aberdeen, and last in the toun of Edinburgh; testifeing to the whole world, that as I have felt, frome time to time, the working of God's Holie Spirit kindling in my breast a bent and readie will to discharge my owne conscience, in teaching the Word of God purelie and sincerelie, without fearing the faces of men, and also to procure the establishing of that ecclesiasticall discipline reveeled and sett doun in the Holie Scripture of God, according to the measure of knowledge givin unto me; soe I doe feele of God's speciall love, a delectatioun, a zeale, and thrist sealed up into my heart, to persevere in the same, as the infallible truthe of God, and to continue in the same functioun, if it sall please God to prorogat my dayes; albeit, Lord, farre be it from me to boast, or glorie in anie thing in thy presence, (before whom the angels are not able to plead their innocencie,) but in the crosse of thy Sonne, Jesus Christ. Seing the want of sufficient

zeale, diligence, and abilitie in the said office, and the manie infirmiteis and imperfectiouns, staying me in the performance therof, as it become me, I have my refuge to the throne of thy grace, acknowledging (after all my irkesome travells wherwith I am brokin) me to be an unprofitable servant; referring the whole praise of my weake ministrie to the glorie of thy holie name, by whom I have my being and moving; craving, in the meane time, pardon of all my sinnes and offences, being now assured of remissioun therof, through the merits of the death and passioun of Jesus Christ, with whom I am conjoyned in his everlasting covenant by livelie faith, whereby I presentlie possesse his mercie.

"Attour, I rander most heartie thanks unto his gracious goodnesse, that he hath not onlie used me as a poore instrument, to communicat his heavenlie counsells unto others, but also hath called me to that honour to suffer for the constant defence of his truthe, and ecclesiasticall discipline conteanned therin; and hath, of his carefull providence, givin livelie experience of the performance of that promise which his Sonne, my Saviour, made, that whosoever sall forsake houses, father, mother, brethrein, sisters, wife, or childrein, for his name's sake or the Gospell's, sould reccave an hundreth fold more now at this present, and life everlasting in the world to come; not onlie of the most godlie learned brethrein and sisters among the strangers, and speciallie of the godlie familie wherin the Lord brought me, (where I have beene most lovinglie interteanned, at my heart's desire,) but also of so manie of my brethrein and fellow-labourers in the Evangell with me, of my owne countrie, whose kindenesse, courtesie, humanitie, and good offices shewed towards me, I wishe the Lord to requite, to the one and to the other.

"And now, turning my exhortatioun to my faithfull brethrein, whome God hath called to dispense the holie mystereis of his blessed Word and Sacraments, (whose dayes it sall please the Lord to prolong, after my departure,) I beseeke them all, in the bowells of Jesus Christ, that they take heed that they imploy their whole studeis in whatsomever time sall be granted unto them on the face of the earth, to prosecute their good course; to feed their people

committed to their cure, by preaching the glade tydings of salvatioun, in seasoun and out of seasoun, nather for lucre nor for the fashioun, but earnestlie, zealouslie, and with a readie minde, in promoving, advancing, and planting the holie ecclesiasticall discipline in the hous of God, which is established in his Word; and so muche the more valiantlie and constantlie to stand in defence therof, that Satan and his supposts, *pseudo-episcopi*, greevous woolves are entered, impyring as they were lords over God's inheritance, whom nather the apostle, Sanct Paul, nor anie part of the Word of God, did ever allow, maliciouslie doe impugne the same.

"And as concerning the flocke of Edinburgh, in the ministrie wherof, howbeit this bodie of myne hath greatlie waisted, yitt I repent me nothing of my travell there, being assured that the Lord hath a kirk there who unfainedlie feare his name, and for whose salvatioun the Lord hath made my ministrie profitable. Therefore, frome my verie heart I leave my blessing to all the faithfull thereof, who dearelie love the comming of the Lord Jesus Christ; and wishe my God, blessed for ever, to blesse them, not onlie with true and faithfull labourers in their ministrie, and to preserve them from ravenous woolves, but also with continuall increasse in all godlinesse and perseverance in that true faith and doctrine which I have taught among them; and at last with everlasting life in the heaven, where both they and I sall mutuallie rejoice.

"And as for a few others whose names, in charitie, I suppresse, who, as they greeved my heart often times whill I was present with them, by resisting the upright and godlie course, and assisting the wrong, so now, since my departure from them, through their subscriving of that false and infamous libell, sent out against us, their pastors, and other sindrie unthankfull dealings, which we nather merited nor looked for at their hands, they have done what in them lay to wound the same; for my part, I forgive them with my heart. And, seing they would colour their facts, under the shadow of obedience to their superiour power, I beseeke the Lord to forgive the king for obtruding of that letter, injuriouslie exacting their subscriptioun therof, and to give them both true repentance therefore,

and not to lay the burthein therof to their charge, nor crave at their hands my blood. The same Lord mott open the king's eyes to behold in what hazard he hath brought the true religioun, his owne person, fame, and estate, together with the best and most obedient subjects within his realme, and give him grace in time to withdraw himself from the pestilent and wicked counsellers wherewith he is environned, and leave that unhappie course wherin he hath wrapped himself most fearefullie, to the great danger of his bodie and soule, unlesse he speedilie repent. Amen. Amen.

" And now, I committ and commend my soule in the hands of my heavenlie Father, Creator therof, and of Christ Jesus, my onlie Redeemer and Saviour, by whom the ports of heaven are made patent unto me; willing my trustie and deerelie beloved brethrein, insert witnesses of this my will, to caus burie my bodie, after my deceasse, in that place, and after that maner, which sall seeme good unto them, there to sleepe untill the day of the joyfull resurrectioun to life everlasting, when my soule and bodie being joynned together, sall have the full fruitioun of His face, with the bodeis and soules of all the faithfull.

" And now, concerning the ordering of my familie, seing the possessioun of earthlie things is not able to enriche the posteritie, I desire, as God is the Father of the fatherlesse, and conforter of the widowe's cace, by the riches of his blessing to supplee their povertie. And as tuiching the portioun of goods givin unto me, I putt the same in the hands of my most speciall and loving freinds, Robert Fairlie of Braid, Mr Johne Lindsey, Senator of the Colledge of Justice, Johne Johnstoun of Elphinston, burgesse of Edinburgh, together with my loving spous, Jonet Guthrie, whom I constitut executers of this my testament; and they, with commoun consent, to choose one or moe of their number, to whose fidelitie the intromissioun sall be committed, upon sufficient securitie, that all things sall come to the use of my childrein. Which burthein I most earnestlie requeist them to accept upon them, for that love and familiar conjunctioun which hath been betuixt us in Christ: giving power to them to make and subscrive an inventar of my bookes,

houshold geir, and other movable goods left behind me in Scotland, where ever they sall be transported; and also praying my beloved brethrein, the witnesses underwritten in this my testament, to make and subscrive another inventar of my bookes, cloths, and other movables which I have in Londoun, and deliver them to be keeped by my brother, Mr Walter Balcalquall; the whole bookes, clothes, houshold geir, and other goods movable whatsomever conteaned in the saids two inventars, to be sett to reasonable prices, and to be sold at the sight and appointment of my saids executers and intrometters: and that part therof, which sall of right be judged by them to apperteane to me, sall be divided into foure equall portiouns, and parted to my wife and three childrein, to bring them up in the feare of God at the schooles, in suche companie as their wisdoms sall thinke most meete and expedient.

"And as tuiching the gold and silver presentlie in my possessioun heere, extending in the whole to the number of 76 peeces, to witt, one Portugall ducatt, elleven rose nobles, threttie crownes estimated to 72 pound, twentie-two angels and a halfe angell, three other new angells, two ducatts, a double pistolett, two unicorns, with half an unicorne, a littill Scotish peece valued to twentie-six shillings Scotish, an other little peece with 'JEHOVAH' on it: *Item*, six pund, threttin shillings, foure penneis sterline of English coine. Which peeces of gold, and summe of English silver, I have committed to the credit of my faithfull brother, Mr Walter Balcalquall, to be disposed as followeth:—

"To witt, *Imprimis*, Yee sall deliver to the Frenche kirk at London three angells, to be distributed to their poore. *Item*, To Maistresse Vannoll, who keeped me in my sicknesse, an angell. *Item*, I will that my loving brother, Mr James Carmichaell, sall bow a rose noble instantlie, and deliver it to my deere brother and loving friend, Mr Walter Balcalquall, who hath beene so carefull of me at all times, and cheefelie in time of this my present sicknesse; to remaine with him as a perpetuall tokin and remembrance of my speciall love and thankfull heart towards him. *Item*, I will that the said Mr Walter deliver, in my name, to my deere and weil-

beloved spous, Jonet Guthrie, beside other provisioun made, or that may fall unto her by my testament, the Portugall ducat, in signe of my loving kindnesse, which she hath well deserved, as a faithfull brother gave the same unto me as a pledge of his singular love towards me.

"And as tuiching the peeces of gold and English silver resting of the summe forsaid, I will that the said Mr Walter deliver the samine *bona fide* to my said executers, together with the said inventar, goods, and geare therin conteaned, by receaving sufficient discharge therof for his warrant from the said executers. Which gold and silver resting, I will that my executers bestow in maner following: *Imprimis*, To my sister, Christian Lowsone, the summe of twentie punds Scotish; and all the rest to be equallie parted in three portions among my three bairnes, providing alwise that the recompence of the physicians, apothecareis, and whatsomever expences necessar sall be made in the time of my sickenesse, or sall be auchtand by me in Londoun, when it sall please God to call me out of this valley of miserie, which is my onlie debt, and which I am auchtand presentlie, or expences in transporting of my graith home, be first payed by my brother, Mr Walter Balcalquall, at the sight of the said brethrein, of the readiest of the said summe, which sall be defalked therof by the saids executers, after the sight of the ticket therof by the said brethrein, which I will sall be a sufficient discharge to him for the samine.

"Last, I earnestlie requeist my loving brethrein, Mr Andrew Melvill, Mr Johne Davidsone, and Mr James Carmichaell, to concurre with my brother, Mr Walter Balcalquall, in revising my writts, bookes, and papers, als weill at Londoun as elliswhere, and use the samine as they thinke may serve best to the glorie of God and comfort of his kirk. And to that end, my will is, that my saids executers deliver them thankfullie in their hands, giving power also to my said executers to putt this my testament, if need be, in more exquisit and ample forme, with all clauses requisite, the substance alwayes being reserved. In witnesse and verificatioun of this my testament and constant will in the premises, and in confir-

matioun of my testament, writtin at my requeist by my brother, Mr James Carmichaell, I, the said Mr James Lowsone, have subscrived the same with my hand, and desired my good and trustie freinds, Mr Andrew Melvill, Proveist of the New Colledge of St Andrewes, Mr James Carmichaell, minister of God's Word at Hadinton, Mr Johne Davidsone, minister of God's Word at Libberton, Mr Walter Balcalquall, my college in the ministrie of Edinburgh, to testifie the same by their hand-writts; which they also did in my presence, after we had all heard the same distinctlie read, day, moneth, yeere, and place forsaid."

(*Sic subscribitur*)

J. LOWSONE—(called to the Lord.)
Mr ANDREW MELVILL, witnesse in the premisses.
Mr JAMES CARMICHAELL, witnesse in the premisses.
Mr JOHNE DAVIDSONE, witnesse in the premisses.
Mr WALTER BALCALQUALL, witnesse in the premisses.

The Bishop of St Andrewes, Mr Patrik Adamsone, forged a testament in Mr James Lowson's name, wherin he brought him in repenting of his former courses, and exhorting ministers, noble men, and others, to embrace the estat of bishops.[1]

CLAUD HAMMILTON RETURNETH HOME.

There was moyen made to bring home Claud Hammilton, and that by Seton his father-in-law, who at this time was ambassader in France, by my Lord Huntlie his sister sonne, and Sir Johne Matlane, then secretare, and that without Arran's knowledge, as was supposed. He came to Scotland the thrid of November, upon the king's simple promise, without the knowledge of the Queen and Counsell of England, or his owne brother, the Commendatar of Arbrothe. The Queen of England had bestowed upon him 500 pund sterline by yeere, and therefore his ingratitude was inexcus-

[1] For a copy of this forged testament, see Appendix.

able. Arran was not contented with his comming, and therefore he was confynned in the North with Huntlie. Sir Johne Matlane draweth Huntlie to court, to outmatche Arran in counsell; but Arran caried away the prize, becaus of Huntlie's follie.

MINISTERS URGED TO SUBSCRIVE OBEDIENCE TO THEIR ORDINAR.

Upon the secund of November, all the ministers betuixt Stirline and Beruick were summouned, by opin proclamatioun, in sindrie burrow touns, to compeere before the Archbishop of St Andrewes, or other the king's officers, in the kirk of Edinburgh, the sixteene day of the same moneth. Everie minister was particularlie certified, that if they subscrived not a certan obligatioun, the copie wherof was givin them, that their benefices and stipends sould be decerned and declared to vaike, *ipso facto*, as if they were naturallie dead. They compeered. Sir Johne Matlane assured them the king commended their modestie, and conceaved an assured trust of their obedience. He willed them to come to the Palace of Halyrudhous at two houres, and they would heare the same out of the king's owne mouth. They went doun at the time appointed. The king went to the counsell. The ministers were called in to the chappell, where they remained the space of half an houre. Then the Clerk of Register came, and desired all beneficed ministers to come in to the counsell. They thoght that, for feare of losse of their benefices, they might be easilie perswaded. They stayed not long. Then the unbeneficed ministers were called upon. The king made an harang to them, the summe wherof was this:—"I have sent for you for two causes; the one is ordinarie, the other accidentarie. The ordinarie is, becaus at this time of yeere yee are accustomed to have your stipends appointed; and I am minded that yee sall be als weill provided as before, and better. The other caus is, becaus it is come to my eares that yee speake against my lawes, and that I minde to subvert religioun. I thought good to certifie you of the contrare, and desire you not to suspect me. Beside, there are certane whisperings and mutineis among

my subjects, raised by suche as have attempted against my authoritie. Therefore, I desire you to perswade all my subjects to obedience, and to goe before them your selves in obeying my lawes." It was answered, They would obey him and his lawes so farre as they agreed with the law of God. Then his face swelled, and he said, "I trow I have made no lawes but agreeable with God's lawes; and, therefore, if anie of you find fault, tell me now." They keeped silence, but that some said they were not privie to the making of these lawes. The king answered, he thought them not worthie. After some proud words givin them, they were removed. Soone after the bishop came to the counsell doore, and bade them attend upon the Exchecker Hous. Manie of them were discontented that they had not entered in particulars, and told the king that the acts were against God's law; and minded on the morne to have givin him their minde in writt. But that night it was concluded in counsell that they sould all subscrive on the morne obedience to their ordinar. Upon the day following the ministers were called. A great number hearing wherewith they were to be urged, compeered not, and these who compeered refused to subscrive, except Mr Alexander Hume, Person of Dumbar, Mr George Hepburne, Person of Hawche, Mr Patrick Gaits, Person of Dunce, Mr George Ramsay, Deane of Restalrig, Mr Walter Hay, Proveist of the Bathans, Mr James Hammilton, minister of Rathow, Alexander Foster, minister of Tranent, Alexander Lawder, minister of Lawder, Michaell Bonkill, minister of Innerweeke, Mr Cuthbert Bonkill, minister of Spott, Thomas Dale, minister of Stenton, with diverse readers, who were all preests before. The tenor of the promise and obligation followeth:—"Wee, the beneficed men, ministers, readers, and maisters of schooles and colledges, testifie and promise by these our hand-writts, our humble and duetifull submissioun and fidelitie to our soverane lord, the king's Majestie, and to obey with all humilitie his Hienesse' acts of his late parliament holdin at Edinburgh, the 22d of May, *anno* 1584 yeeres; and that according to the same, we sall show our obedience to our ordinar bishop or commissioner appointed, or to

be appointed by his Majestie, to have the exercise of the spirituall jurisdictioun in our diocie. And incace of our inobedience in the premisses, our benefices, livings, and stipends, to vaike, *ipso facto*, and qualified and obedient persons to be provided in our rowmes, as if we were naturallie dead." Upon the 23d of November, the payment of the stipends of ministers who had refused to subscrive was dischargèd, and power givin to the Collector-Generall to intromett and tak up the same to his Majestie's use.

[Messrs Robert Pont, Adam Johnston, Nicoll Dagleish, William Powrie, Andrew Simsone, Patrik Simsone, his sonne, Johne Clapperton, Johne Craig, and Patrik Kinloquhy, were charged to compeere the seventh of December. They compeered all, except Mr Robert Pont, Mr Adam Johnstoun, and Mr Nicoll Dagleish, who a littlc before were putt in waird. The king enquired why they would not subscrive his statuts? They answered, they had reasons, otherwise they would not have disobeyed. They desired two or three dayes' delay to gather their reasons, and to give them in with one consent, subscrived with their owne hands. The king, by advice of the bishop, refused. Therefore, as manie as had them in writt, gave them in that same day. The bishop penned an answere and resolutioun, which was read by Mr Patrick Kinloquhy, Mr Andrew Simsone, and his sonne, Mr Patrik. He desired a copie, which was refused. The king at lenth assured them that would not subscrive, they sould not onlie lose their livings, but also be banished the countrie.[1]]

"To our soverane, the king's Majestie, and his weill-advised counsell, Messrs Johne Craig, Robert Pont, Andrew Simsone, Patrik Kinloquhy, Nicoll Dagleish, Adam Johnestoun, Johne Clapperton, William Powrie, Patrick Simsone, ministers of the Evangell of Jesus Christ, and your Hienesse' subjects.

[1] In the original a pen has been drawn through these sentences enclosed within brackets, which, however, we have retained, as necessary to explain and illustrate the succeeding address of the ministers.

"The Lord our God, for his mercies' sake, grant that we may discharge our consciences faithfullie, and that your Majestie may heare us with clemencie and patience, and follow the rule of equitie, according to his Word, in all your Hienesse' proceedings, to the glorie of his name, satisfeing of the hearts of the godlie, and advancement of the kingdome of his Sonne, Jesus Christ, our onlie Lord and Saviour. Amen.

"We rander thankes unto our God alwayes in our prayers, that it hath pleased him to move your Hienesse' heart with clemencie to heare us our reasons and alledgances, whereby we are moved to make scruple and doubt to subscrive a certan letter and obligatioun offered to some of our brethrein to be subscrived, concerning obedience to be givin to Patrik, Archbishop of Sanct Andrewes, their alledged ordinar, and obedience to your Hienesse' lawes, as at more lenth is conteaned in that writting. For we are perswaded by this your Majestie's gentle dealing, your Hienesse' minde to be allwayes to yeeld and give place to the truthe, and to have respect unto the equitie of our caus, and not to the persons amongst whom this controversie is moved. In the which minde, we pray the Lord to continue your Majestie to the end. But we mervell not a little, and can not passe it over with silence, that we, and our brethrein who meane truelie, are traduced and blazoned in publict places, and at mercat croces, as seditious persons, restlesse spirits, troublers of your Hienesse' commoun wealth, and disobeyers of your Majestie's lawes. Farre be it from us to commit anie suche thing, whereby we may be justlie so accused. But seing your Majestie's good minde toward us in the same, willing us to have place to putt our minde in writt, and wishing us to be resolved of all scruple of this weightie mater of our consciences, we will suppose these evill-favoured and slanderous termes to come rather of the penner of the letter, or some sinistruous informations givin to him by suche as love us not, nor the glorie of our God, (whose name we professe, and whose servants, although unworthie, we avow our selves to be,) than of your Majestie and weill-advised counsell. We will leave that mater to the righteous Judge, who knoweth the secreits

of all our hearts. And, as concerning our duetifull obedience to your Hienesse, we trust there is none of us but, after our small power, we have givin prooffe and declaratioun therof to the world at all times, and purpose to continue.

"Now to the mater wherefore we are called. First, we protest, in so farre as we, onlie a few number of the ministrie, are charged to mak answere in this weightie mater, that whatsoever we sall answere therin be not prejudiciall to our brethrein. And we would desire your Majestie most earnestlie, in the feare of our God, to give licence to all the whole Assemblie of the kirk within your Hienesse' realme, that by commoun consent this caus concerning the whole policie and order of the kirk may be treatted and reasouned; and that libertie may be granted to all these of the ministrie who are not heere now, to reasoun in this mater, and can not otherwise be justlie accused, but in so farre as they resist the new brought in tyrannie of the bishops, and labour for the maintenance of the true discipline of the kirk, that they may be present at suche a day as your Majestie pleaseth appoint to that effect. But if we all wayes sall be constrained to answere instantlie, for our owne parts, although we be most willing to satisfie your Majestie so farre as lyeth in us, yitt we thinke it verie strange that we sould be charged with subscriptiouns of the lawes and acts of parliament, seing that was never required of before of no subject within this realme. And we being lieges unto your Majestie, if we offend against the lawes, we may be punished according to the lawes. And manie lawes there be, and statuts of parliament, that never passe in practise, becaus they are not thought expedient for the commoun weale, and are revocable at the will of the prince and estats. And, therefore, to urge us with this newe forme of subscriptioun, we suppose it not to be your Majestie's will, being weill advised.

"Secundarilie, If so be your Majestie will urge us to subscrive your lawes, we offer with obedience, also most humblie in that part by a generall obligatioun, adding alwise this one claus, '*agreeable to God's Word*;' which obedience was offered unto your Majestie

when the ministers were called last before your Hienesse, by some of our number, in name of the rest, and your Majestie promised to seeke no farther of us.

"Thridlie, As tuiching the entituled Archbishop of St Andrewes, called in the letter our ordinar, we answere, that we can not, with good conscience, obey him in suche an office as he pretendeth, for these causes following:—First, nather the titles of Archbishop nor Ordinar can we find agreeable to the Word of God. For that word Archbishop, by the interpretatioun therof, importeth a name of superioritie and lordship amongst the servants of God, which the Scriptures denie to be givin to anie man in the spirituall regiment of the kirk, as though they sould usurpe ambitioun and superioritie over their brethrein's faith and consciences, who are ministers with them of the true Word of God, seing that office apperteaneth to Christ alone. And concerning the appellatioun and name of Ordinar, we can not find it in the Scriptures, nor in anie godlie writters, but onlie in the Pop's decrees and canon law. Which papisticall constitutiouns and jurisdictiouns are utterlie abrogated furth of this realme by the acts of parliaments, holdin als weill in your Majestie's mother's, as in the first yeere of your Hienesse' owne raigne. And becaus these monstruous titles of superioritie in the kirk of God engendred the Popedome, and is like to engender a new little Popedome in your Hienesse' realme, being once reformed according to the Word of God and sinceritie therof, we cannot of good conscience yeeld, nor give place to suche ambitious titles, pretended by men that seeke their owne ambitioun and greedie gaines.

"But to leave the names, and come to the substance of the mater it self, we say and affirme, holding us upon the ground of God's Word and eternall truthe, that it is against the Scripture to a man to claime superioritie above his brether, who are yocke fellowes with him in the ministrie, and office of teaching. For this name Επισκοπος, which we call Bishop, is interpreted an Overseer of the flocke of God. And this office is all one with the office of the ministers, who are all overseers of the flocke of God likewise.'

This is proved by the admonitioun of St Paul made to the elders of the Kirk of Ephesus, whome he called all επισκοπους, in the 20th of the Acts. And, in the salutatioun of the Epistle to the Philippians, [he] saluteth the bishops, all the pastors of that kirk; and unto Titus he writteth, that he sould constitute elders throughout the citeis of Creta, whom, immediatlie therafter, he calleth bishops. Sua that it is plaine by the Scriptures, elders and bishops are synonyma, and the office all one. So if these bishops that now would move your Majestie to alter the order of the kirk, of before alreadie established within your Hienesse' realme, and increassing with great fruict of good discipline, would contend with us, and make the Word of God judge, (as it sould be in maters of religioun,) we doubt not but our cause sould be easilie winne. But becaus they leave the Scriptures, and flee to consuetude, alledging it to be an old custome that bishops have beene superiours to the rest of these who are called *Presbyteri*, we denie not but this hath beene an old errour. But we deny that therefore it sould be now reteanned in the kirk of God; for an evill consuetude, the older it be, it is the worse. And, seing it is not agreeable to the Scripture, it ought to be abrogated, as is plaine by the authoriteis cited in the eight distinctioun of the decrees of Gratian.

"And when as these men would have your Majestie to follow the custome of other countreis, in that behalfe, in placing bishops above the rest of the ministrie, although the argument and exemple seeme plausible at the first face, yitt, if the mater be rightlie considered, they labour to derogat a great part of your Hienesse' honour in that point, and to staine that notable fame, which your Majestie and your realme hath had hitherto embraced and receaved with more puritie and sinceritie in Scotland than manie other realmes. And seing the order of discipline, which was putt in practice with so great fruict these yeeres bypast amongst us, was most agreeable to God's Word, and the kirk thereby reteaned in quietnesse and good order, without anie schisme, these men who ambitiouslie and seditiouslie would bring in a new order, or rather misorder, not being agreeable nor avowable, according to God's

Word, ought not to be heard; nather, climming to suche pre-eminencie above their brethrein, to be receaved nor admitted. For is it not a great honour and prerogative to your Hienesse, that other countreis sould receave from your realme and the practise therof, the paterne and exemple of good governement, and weill reformed order in the kirk? And, by the contrare, is it not a great mislyking to all godlie hearts, to heare tell that your Majestie, being so brought up in the feare of God, even from your infancie, sould now declyne to the corruption of other countreis, and from the better to the worse; altering that good order of discipline and ecclesiasticall governement which hath beene receaved and used of before, according to God's Word; and bring in place therof (at the appetite of some ambitious and greedie men) a new forme of ecclesiasticall governement, taikin from the puddells of men's traditions, and corruptiouns of other countreis? For all that these men can say, for maintenance of this kinde of tyrannie over the kirk of God, is, that that sort had beene observed in manie countreis for a long time; that bishops have had the governement of the kirk in suche sort as they would have them to be; and produce certan old writters for proving of the same, as Epiphanius, and others. To the which we answere, that the authoritie of men cannot be of so great a weight to diminishe the truthe of the Word of God: and the reasons which Epiphanius bringeth in (although we reverence him otherwise, as an ancient doctor of the kirk) are of so little weight in that point, that verie babes may easilie refute the samine.

"And where as they alledge out of Jerome, that to take away schismes and confusiouns out of the kirk, these kinde of bishops were brought in, to have superioritie in the same—giving it so was, we denie that they were suche kinde of bishops as these men desire to be, that in Jerom's dayes were placed in the kirk. For it is manifest by the ancient writters, that the bishops which then were used no office in the kirk them alone, but did all things by advice of their presbytereis, as Cyprian testifieth of himself in his Epistles; and it was for caus of order onlie (as he speeketh) that one was

constituted out of the presbyterie, to gather the votes, and moderat the whole actioun and course of discipline and ecclesiastical governement: which thing, hitherto, hath beene observed also in our Assembleis. And if, for removing of schismes, suche bishops were first constituted, as they affirme, for the same caus, now they ought to be discharged: for there were no schismes nor divisioun of mindes in the kirk reformed within this countrie, till these, by claiming to themselves the cheefe places, and superioritie above others, had brought it in. And yitt, if it will please your Majestie to suffer the former order and policie which was in our kirks, agreeable to the Word of God, and practise of the primitive kirk, to stand, all schisme and divisioun among us would be easilie taikin away. And, farther, we have to say in speciall, against the person of Patrik, called Bishop or Archbishop of Sanct Andrewes, that though it were lawfull to us to rander obedience to such bishops, we can not submitt our selves to him, nor to his injunctiouns; for he is, for just causes, lawfullie suspended from all functioun and office in the kirk, by decreit of the Generall Assemblie, which then by the lawes of the realme had place, the which decreit hitherto he hath never sought to be retreated.

"And as to your Majestie's other commissioners to be deputed in ecclesiasticall causes, we can say nothing to them till we know what they are to be deputed by your Majestie. For if it be concerning temporall effaires, and rents of the kirk, we regarde not muche who be deputed therin. But if it be concerning maters of conscience, and these things that properlie perteane to the kirk, *et ad spiritualem jurisdictionem ecclesiæ*, we can not by the Word of God acknowledge others judges, but those who have the spirituall sword of the Word of God committed unto them by the samine Word, who are ministers therof, and constituted in ecclesiasticall functioun. For the keyes of the kingdome of heaven, with power to bind and loose in maters of conscience, are not givin by our Maister, Jesus Christ, to civill magistrats nor their deputs, but to the apostles and their lawfull successors, as is manifest by the Scripturs.

"Sir, it will please your Majestie to consider, and take in good part, these our few reasons which, for the shortnesse of time, we offer most humblie with this our writting, leaving to amplifie the samine farther at this time, least we sould fashe your Grace and counsell; hoping alwise, that after the diligent weyghing of our caus, your Grace and all good hearts sall be satisfied. For there is nothing unto us so deere under that obedience which we ought to our God, (who of necessitie must have the first place,) nixt to rander all obedience to your Majestie and to your Hienesse' good lawes. And we will presume in your Hienesse' clemencie to find the like favour, as the Christians found of Constantius, the father of Constantine the Great, who, being but halfe a Christian, and who never publictlie by the law receaved true religioun, sett furth an edict, commanding all Christians, that bare anie publict office under him, to refuse their religioun, or ellis to give over their honours and offices, and stipends perteaning thereto. But, finallie, he reteanned them in office who would rather yeeld the temporall commoditie willinglie, than give over their religioun; and deposed the other sort, saying this notable sentence, that 'They who were not true unto God, would never be true unto men.' Sir, your Majestie knoweth what we meane. The Lord, for his merceis' sake, direct your Hienesse' heart unto the best, as we hope assuredlie He will: to whome be all praise and glorie for ever. Amen."

Mr Patrik Galloway came from London to Newcastell, to the lords, about the end of August, and celebrated the Communioun the last Sabboth of August, after the exercise of fasting preceeding the whole weeke before. In the moneth of November, Mr James Melvill was desired by the lords to remaine a while at Berwicke, becaus the halfe of their companie was there, and his wife great with childe, and they had Mr Patrik with them to supplee his place. The Abbots of Cambuskenneth, Dryburgh, and Paisley, George Dowglas of Parkheid, and diverse others gentlemen, were then resident at Berwick. Mr James went to Berwick, and was exercised in privat, becaus he was discharged by the Lord Hounsden, governour, to preache publictlie, at the instigatioun of Captan

James, Erle of Arran, Chanceller of Scotland, and great guider of the court. Whill Mr James is at Berwick, and in time of modificatioun of stipends, was sett doun the forme of a band, which it behoved the ministers to subscrive, as is above specified. A great number of the ministrie kythed verie weak. A number refused and withstood, of whom some advertised Mr James, then resident at Berwick, and sent him the band, with informatioun of all other proceedings. Mr James being muche moved, sent the letter following, together with a letter in Latine, and the controverseis gathered to a few conclusions, confirmed with manifold reasons and places of Scripture, to the archbishop's mewche,[1] Mr Alexander Hume, minister of Dumbar, provoking him to answere if he could; or, if not, to desire his ordinar, the archbishop, to doe it himself.

"To the brethrein of the ministrie of Scotland, who have latelie subscrived to the Popish supremacie of the king, and ambitious tyrannie of the bishops over their brethrein, J. M. wisheth unfained repentance.

"There are strange newes latelie reported to us, (my brethrein,) that yee sould have altogether without strokes yeelded to the adversarie; and not onlie by word consented, but also by the subscriptioun of your hands confirmed, that horrible boundage and slaverie, wherinto our Kirk of Scotland is brought by the late Acts of Parliament, and this present intolerable tyrannie of the false bishops. The which (undoubtedlie brought upon you by Satan, the adversar of Christ's kingdome) hath beene wrought by the meanes, ather of malice and hatred against the truthe knowne, or of ignorance, or then, of great weaknesse.

"Truelie, my brethrein, albeit I know that of them who were Satan's instruments, by feare and flatterie to bring you to so feare-full a fall and greevous slaunder, some be now Julians, who, although they confesse they know the truthe of the sincere religioun of Christ, yitt, for malice and hatred conceaved against it, and the

[1] Maggot—a contemptuous term for a parasite.

ministers therof, they had rather beene of the Turke's faith than of the faith of ministers; and, therefore, following the footesteps of Julian, they persecute the same maliciouslie, taiking the livings from the ministers, casting them in prisson, banishing them the countrie, overthrowing the schooles and seminareis appointed for the continuance therof, and would undoubtedlie, with fire and sword, persue the samine, if force and power answered to their incensed ire and bloodie appetite. Some are more leing, flattering, and ambitious, than was Amaziah, the preest of the king's chappell at Bethell, who, perceaving the prophets of the Lord to prophecie against King Jeroboam's new forged religioun, (by serving of which his ambitioun and gluttonie was mainteaned,) he ceassed not to invent treasoun, seditioun, and all sort of lees against them, and make the king to banish, imprisson, and persecute them with all kinde of rigour: more avaritious and worse minded against God's childrein than Balaam, the false prophet, cursing, and devising all meanes to make the people of the Lord to fall in the hands of their eneneis; and furnishing to Balack wicked and devilish counsell, to entise them to defectioun from the true worshipping, and so to sinne against God, to mak the fire of his wrathe kindle against them: and, finallie, more rashe and voide of good conscience, in maters of religioun, than was Uriah the preest, who thought idolatrous King Achaz's command a warrant good eneugh for him to displace the altar of the Lord, and sett in the rowme therof one new dressed according to the forme of the altar of Damascus: some, worse nor the godlesse athiest, Machiavell, who, careing in their sleeves most cunning court craft, make nothing of God, Christ, and religioun, with the ministers therof, but paidges and slaves to serve their turnes. For, if they may make for their course, and suche an estat of governement as they would have, then they will speeke weill, and greatlie esteeme of them. But if they can doe nothing for their purpose, or cannot suffer their wicked attempts, or will not change and alter opinions when they will, then can they not be suffered in a commoun weale; they are enemeis to princes and lawfull authoriteis; they are seditious, proud,

and treasonable, and therefore must to exile, banishment, prisson, and scaffold. To these, hell is but a boggill to fley bairns, and heaven but a conceate to make fooles faine: and last, more ethnick nor Numa Pompilius, esteeming religioun and worshipping of God but a superstitious terrour to the consciences of people, to hold them in aw, and under obedience.

"This, I say, although they be that worke in this mater by malice and hatred, judged and damned of themselves, and whose portioun sall be with the fore-named workers of iniquitie, to whom they are like in life and doing, yitt can yee not be purged from communicating with their fearefull sinnes, in so farre as ye have consented therunto by word and writt: wheras, yee sould rather have obeyed the Word of God, commanding by his prophet, 'Say not, a confederacie with this people; nather feare yee their feare, nor be affrayed of them, but sanctifie the Lord of Hosts, and lett Him be your dread.' (Is. viii.) Surelie, he sould have beene unto you as a sanctuarie, and unto them a stumbling-blocke, and a rocke to fall upon.

"Gladelie would I purge you, my brethrein, of this first meane of malice and hatred against the truthe, and the mainteaners therof. And, alace! that anie occasioun sould ever have beene offered, once to thinke this of anie of that number. But what shall I say, when I heare that some of you have not onlie subscrived your selves, but also like desperat pest folkes, destituted of Christian charitie, travell to seduce and infect suche as are whole, and would keepe the right way; and betray the constancie of the best, by delating them to the persecuter, and that not onlie by telling the truthe, but by trattles, lees, and forged tales, like worldlie pykethanks, to make your godlie brethrein ather to make defectioun with you, or then to suffer extremitie in their bodeis? Alace for sorrow! Where are the fruicts of that doctrine of love and charitie? Where is the hatred of malice and homicide? Alace! these are rather the markes of bloodie burrioes, and cruell butchers of Satan, the leer and murtherer, than of the disciples of Christ; the tokins of Turkes, Pagans, and Papists, than of Christian people, to lett be

preachers and instructers of others. Woe is me for you, unlesse these things be repented in time! Behold what it is to slide but a little from the truthe, and make a schisme in opinioun from the brethrein. When Satan getteth once entreis, to make untruthe and falshood seeme to be borne withall, and yeelded unto but a little, he goeth fordward incontinent, and begetteth in the heart an hatred and malice against the truthe and professors therof. Beware, beware, my brethrein; marke Satan's craftie dealing: caste out with him, and resist him in time, least he gett the advantage, and prevaile, and make the last worse nor the first. 'For if we sinne willinglie, after we have receaved the knowledge of the truthe, there remaineth no more sacrifice for sinne, but a fearefull looking for of judgement and violent fire, to devoure the adversareis.' (Heb. x.)

"Alwise, my brethrein, I would willinglie heare you all purged of malice. But I know some will say, 'I knew no better, and understood never throughlie the maters of the discipline; and if I have failed, it is of ignorance, and not of malice.' Certainlie, albeit I feare that to be true in over manie of you, yitt it is a shamefull thing to be heard told in your owne countrie, and abroad in other natiouns, that yee who have beene brought up in so notablie constituted a kirk these twentie-six yeeres, (in which some of you also have beene pastors and teachers,) or not muche lesse, and all have borne functioun and charge, not onlie in preaching the Word, but in discharging that other als necessar point of your ministrie, in ruling and governing of the kirk, with your fellow-brethrein, these manie yeeres bypast; to say, that yee are yitt ignorant of the ecclesiasticall jurisdictioun and spirituall authoritie of the kingdom of Christ, and how it differeth from the temporall, bodilie, and civill policie; what is the part and duetie of the Christian magistrat in the kirk; and namelie, whether he ought to be made a new Pope, to use tyrannie over the kirk and consciences of men of the ecclesiastical functiouns; and if that Satanicall presumptioun and pride of false bishops may be tolerated in the kirk of Jesus Christ, which, from the dayes of Constantine,

(by whose more zealous affectioun than considerate wisdome they got worldlie riches and honour,) hath infected the kirk, not onlie with all kind of vices against the Secund Table, but also hath rent and divided the samine with sects, schisms, hereseis, and dissensiouns, by their ambitious debates, ever striving for state, who might be highest and greatest. After that once that command and law of equalitie givin by Christ was transgressed and violated, they never ceased untill the time they had hoised up that Man of Sinne into the throne and rowme of that onlie Supreme Ruler and Head, the Lord Jesus: for bishops would be archbishops, and they metropolitans, and they patriarchs, and so Popes. Yee conveened yourselves in Generall and Provinciall Assembleis, and Presbytereis, to which, yeerelie, half yeerelie, and weeklie, yee resorted, as ordinar members and charge bearers within the same; and yitt can not tell what ground, warrant, or authoritie, yee did the same upon, as though yee sould plainlie say, yee did it not in faith; and so often yee sinned and abused these holie conventiouns of the kirk of Christ!

"To your great reprooffe I must call to minde the notable occasiouns of atteaning to knowledge in these maters that God offered unto you; but in love, (as of God his glorie, so of your soules,) as God mot love myne. For by and attour your privat studeis in reading of the Scriptures, and so manie learned men's writtings on these points, agreeing all in effect in most sweet harmonie, (wherinto, if yee had beene als diligentlie occupied as God gave time and occasioun, yee needed not to alledge ignorance for an excuse,) how were these heads handled publictlie in the Assembleis? Was not the Generall Assemblie, by the space of six or seven yeeres almost, hotelie occupied in these questions? Were not the ministers, in all the quarters of the countrie, earnestlie exhorted, and by publict authoritie commanded, to search and seeke the Scriptures diligentlie, and all kinde of writters, old and new, for finding furth of the solide and undoubted truthe? Were there not conferences appointed to be had in all parts among the brethrein, in their weeklie exercise and provinciall assembleis, from which, men weill in-

structed with reasons, and the judgement of the rest, were sent from time to time to the Generall Assemblie, where, both by privat and open reasoning, the opiniouns and sentences of all men were examined and tried, through everie heed of the discipline of the kirk; and after long and often reasoning, all put on voting, and, by whole and uniforme consent and agreement of the whole kirk in a Generall Assemblie, concluded, and digested in conclusions, and inregistrated in the bookes of the said Assemblie, and extract therof ordeaned to be givin to everie presbyterie throughout the realme? Whether if this, joyned with the continuall practise of the self-same discipline these diverse yeeres bypast, may make us inexcusable before God, his kirk, and angels, the verie blind world may judge.

"Alas! deere brethrein, yee may weill, for a short time, thinke you in good estat that learned not; becaus, as yee thinke, with lesse pricke of conscience, and dangers of bodeis and geir, yee may passe over these evill dayes. But, O foolishnesse! putt the cace, yee might putt off in this maner manie thowsand yeeres; once sall come the day, when yee sall be forced to compeere before that great Judge, and give accompt of discharging of that most high calling, when accompt sall be craved of all the idle houres, words, and doings, that yee have spent. Sall yee not be then ashamed of that wherinto yee now take pleasure? Sall not this sillie ease be turned in wanrest? Sall ignorance then be an excuse before Him, who sall shew himself from heaven, with the angels of his might, in flamming fire, to take vengeance on them that have not knowne him; namelie, on suche as havë neglected and despised so manie good occasions of knowledge ministred unto them? What sall the flatterie and authoritie of your king and bishop then availl? Nothing, but to be partakers of judgement as of sinne, except repentance interveene

"Oh, my brethrein! yee are farther in the mist with this ignorance than yee suppose. For what hope sall Satan have now, (of whose force, craft, and bussinesse, yee so oft warne your hearers,) to make you to yeeld, in the verie points of the doctrine of salva-

tion, seing he hath found you so easie to be overcome in the cace of the discipline, wherof yee have no lesse sure warrant and ground referring to the mater in the Word of God, if you had list to have learned! What encouragement sall it be to Papists, who have not beene negligent in learning the untruthe, and studeing the controverseis in their seminareis, and who now daylie provoke us to the combat; when they see but a little threatning of the prince, not of life, but living, and a small peece of flatterie of a false bishop is able to shake you from your grounds, and make you to fall for laike of knowledge, yea, to suffer the wall and block-house of your discipline to be demolished and dung doun; thinking (as, indeid, they may) it will be easie to make the breache, and winne the hold of your citie, doctrine, and kirk! Sall they not, I say, have gobd caus to hope weill of the victorie and conqueist? Sall they not have reasoun to affirme that which they have so often spokin and writtin, that the ministers of Scotland are but a sort of ignorant and feeble beasts, who nather dow abide reasoning nor threatning? My brethrein, the devill hath made a great breache amongst you, and with small forces and few strokes gottin a great victorie over you; and yitt yee will find, that he will not content nor stay there, but, as a victor puffed up, will presse fordward. And, therefore, in the tender merceis of God, for the care I have of your salvatioun, extremelie endangered, now when fame is lost and gone, I must apply unto you an extreme and hard remedie, to plucke you, if possible, out of the clawes of Satan; to witt, that fearefull comminatioun of the apostle to the Hebrewes: 'It is impossible that they who were once lightened, and have tasted of the heavenlie gift, and were made partakers of the Holie Ghost, and have tasted of the good Word of God, and of the power of the world to come; if they fall away, sall be renewed again by repentance, seing they crucifie again to themselves the Sonne of God, and make a mocke of him. The earth, which drinketh up the rain that cometh upon it, and bringeth furth herbs meete for them by whom it is dressed, receaveth a blessing of God; but that which beareth thornes and brears is reprobat, and neere cursing, the end wherof is to be burnt.' Yitt, brethrein weilbeloved,

we are perswaded of better things, and meete for salvatioun, of you, howbeit, with the apostle, we thus write to terrifie you, and reclaime and raise you from this fall, and keepe you backe from farther and worse.

"Alace! what a face sall yee have to come before the godlie and faithfull brethrein in the countrie, when it sall please God to deliver his owne kirk, and restore it again to the former, or better estate? Or rather, what a conscience or mind sall yee have, when yee remember, or read, or heare that woe pronounced by Christ upon them by whom slander and offence cometh? And O, how manie godlie hearts, both in Scotland and England, yea in France, and all reformed kirks, are cruellie wounded with this fact of yours, and that not without great caus! For, als long as the whole ministrie stood constant, there was good hope of a happie redresse of maters; but now, by this fact, yee have givin the devill entreis within the walls of Jerusalem, to spoile and destroy all the good and constant citicens therof, who will not defile themselves, bow their knees to Baal, and eate swine's flesh with you. What will yee thinke, when yee come to that verse of the 51st Psalme, 'Unto the wicked, (sayeth God,) what hath thou to doe to declare my ordinances, that thou sould tak my covenant in thy mouth, seing thou hateth discipline, and hath cast my words behind thee?' Would to God ye sould be so moved thereby, as was the learned Origene, who, after he had beene induced, through weaknesse, to sacrifice to idols, therafter comming to the kirk to preache, casting up the booke, he fell by God's providence on the same place of the psalme, and bursting out in teares before the people, he made a most dolorous and bitter lamentatioun and invectioun against himself; as ye may read in his life, recorded by Suidas. And, finallie, what a dart to your poor consciences sall that sentence of Christ be, 'He that denieth me before men, I will denie him before my heavenlie Father?' for ye know, that whosoever heareth the Word of God, and doeth it not, namelie, in the time of triell, sheweth not that he is solidelie grounded in the same; denyeth Christ, as he himself teacheth, in the seventh of Mathew. Otherwise, manie sall come unto him in that day, and say, 'Lord, did we not prophecie in thy

name? Did we not worke miracles, and cast out devills?' But he will answere, 'I know you not: depart from me, ye workers of iniquitie.'

"But it may be that some of you, your unhappie complices and counsellers in this course, thinke, and will say, 'What needeth all this adoe? Why are yee so hote in threatning? the mater is not of so great weight,' &c. Alas, my brethrein! miserable and lamentable experience, (except God of his mercie prevent it,) I feare, sall teache you, and the poore Kirk of Scotland, what yee have done; and how great and sore are the consequents that ensue upon your fact. For, first, by the approving of that act of parliament tuiching the king's supremacie in all causes, als weill ecclesiasticall as civill, and no appellatioun to be made from him, yee have not onlie sett up a new Pope, and so become tratours to Christ, and condescended to the cheefe errour of Papistrie, wherupon all the rest dependeth, (which, if it be not to denie and refuse Christ, I know not what it is so to doe;) but farther, yee have, in so doing, granted more to the king than ever the Pops of Rome peaceablie obteaned, how tyrannouslie and ambitiouslie so ever they sought the same. For the Councels of Constance and Basile decreed in the Pop's face, and by infinite arguments of reasoun and Scripture evicted, that it was not onlie a veritie, but a point of faith, the councell to be above the Pope, and appellations to be most lawfull from the Pope to the councell. And so, from the Pope there were ever appellations to the councels ruled by the Word of God and his Spirit, wherin the true bishops, pastors, and doctors of the kirk sat, as Christ's officers, to judge and decerne in maters ecclesiasticall, according to the Word of God. In the which, the best Christian emperours that ever were, Constantine and Theodosius, satt in higher degree nor the pastors, as obedient members of the kirk, humblie to be ruled and governed with the rest, by the scepter of the Word of God; and not as heads and lords, to command and rule over it, knowing the Lord Jesus was onlie King and Emperour there. But yee have subscrived, that whosoever, in anie mater ecclesiasticall, declynneth the king and counsell's judgement, sall be reputed and

punished as a tratour. What, I pray you, if these professed Papists and Jesuits, that flocke home out of France, Spaine, and Italie, and find greater favour and credit in court than all the ministers; what if they sall challenge you for the doctrine of Justificatioun, Free Will, Real Presence, and the rest of the heads of religioun? (for these are cheefe maters ecclesiasticall.) Sall the king and his counsell be judge unto you, and no appellatioun be made, under paine of treasoun? What sall then, I pray you, become of religioun and the professors therof? Sall they not be ather forced to denie Christ, or be made to dispute with the torments appointed for tratours? and syne this for a cloke to be cast over it: 'It is not for religioun, but for high treasoun, that suche are so handled.' Doe yee not heere espy the craft of the cruell feind, who darre not, in this age of knowledge and light of the Gospell, oppone himself against the truthe, as the Scribes and Pharisees durst not gainstand the doctrine of Christ; but seeketh, under pretence of lawes and cloke of justice, to make the godlie and true professors and preachers to be shamefull spectacles, that thereby men may be ashamed of the veritie of the Evangell, even as Christ was putt to death under the name of seditioun and treasoun.

"Secundlie, Yee have taikin away, by your subscriptiouns, the lawfull power of the pastors, doctors, and elders of the kirk, to conveene themselves, in the name of no earthlie prince, nor temporall authoritie of king, nor for no earthlie nor temporall effaires; but in the name and authoritie of Jesus Christ, King of Kings, Lord of Lords, the onlie Soverane Ruler and Commander within the kirk, which is his kingdome spirituall, and not of this world, to intreate of things heavenlie and eternall, which directlie concerne the soules and consciences of men. The which power they have of Christ plainlie in his latter will, joyning a most confortable promise against suche great difficulteis that behoved to arise in the discharge of so high an office, 'Wheresoever two or three are conveened together in my name, I sall be in the middest of you.' Leaning upon the which power and promise, the apostles and disciples conveened themselves sindrie times, after the resurrectioun

of Christ, and after his ascensioun, to choose one in the rowme of Judas, (Acts i.) They assembled the whole congregatioun to the electioun of the deacons, (Acts vi.) And now, after a great manie kirks were planted, not onlie among the Jewes, but also among the Gentiles, the apostles and elders assembled themselves in a generall councell at Jerusalem, to determine about the questioun moved about circumcisioun, and so furth. For when the command by Christ is givin, ather to the hearers to heare, or to the pastors to feed, or the doctors to teache, or the elders to governe or rule, surelie, by necessitie of relatioun it must be that He giveth them also authoritie and power, in his name, to conveene together, and with their flockes, to that effect. So that, by that act of parliament which dischargeth the assemblies and conventiouns of ecclesiasticall office-bearers, is restrained that freedome which Christ Jesus hath givin to the officers of his kingdome to conveene, for discharging the dueteis and callings which he hath layed on them, to be used for his service, and salvatioun of his people.

"And truelie, als weill might they have discharged the conventions for hearing of the Word, and ministratioun of the Sacraments, as for the exercise of discipline and governement of the kirk; seing the one is no lesse layed on the backe of the officers of Christ's kingdome, as a speciall part of their duetie and charge, nor the former, and hath the command and power givin to use it, no lesse than the other, without tareing for anie authoritie or command of men. For that which Christ so earnestlie repeateth to Peter, (which also is commoun to all pastors,) FEEDE, FEEDE, FEEDE, is not onlie by Word and Sacraments, but also by discipline, ruling, and governement, as the mater it self declareth the word signifieth, and the similitude it self proveth. And what, I pray you, meaneth that command of Christ's, 'Tell the kirk,' (that is, the ecclesiasticall senat, or assemblie of the office-bearers, as the learned expone it;) 'and if he refuse to heare the kirk, lett him be unto thee as an ethnick and publican,' if the kirk hath no power and authoritie of judgement givin to it by Christ? And that, 'I give you the keyes of the kingdom of heaven. Whatsoever yee loose on earth,

sall be loosed in heaven; and whatsoever yee bind on earth, sall be bound in heaven.' Were these keyes givin to anie king or magistrat? or floweth the power therof from humane ordinatioun? And, finallie, what meaneth the apostle to the Romans, (Cap. xii.,) when he so earnestlie exhorteth everie officer in the kirk to discharge their calling diligentlie? Willeth he them to abide the commandement of anie earthlie king or prince? Na; als freelie as the king hath his power and authoritie of God, the Creator, to discharge his office in things civill and temporall, als freelie have the pastors, elders, doctors, and deacons of the kirk, power and authoritie of Jesus Christ, the Redeemer, to doe their office, in things heavenlie and spirituall.

"But I purpose not, my brethrein, to insist with you in proving maters at this time; but taiking things to be sufficientlie tried and concluded, untill I heare anie reasons alledged by you or anie other, in the contrare; I would discover unto you the fearefull consequents of this your yeelding, tending to the wracke of Christ's kirk, and the libertie therof. It was onlie the Assembleis and Presbytereis (as all that feare God, yea, and the enemeis themselves know) that was the ordinarie meane to keepe the Kirk of Scotland frome the pollutioun of vices, hereseis, and schismes. The which now being taikin away, vice and wickednesse sall overflow; for who sall take order therewith? The court and bishops? als weill as Martin Elliot and Will of Kinmonth, with stealing in the Borders! Heresie, atheisme, and Papistrie, sall breake in; for who sall resist it?—the bishops! Putt the cace, that suche who have sold God, religioun, and heaven, for this present world and the things therof, could have the grace to gainstand, the Atheists and Papists, and cheefe mainteaners of Atheisme and Papistrie, will be greater in court (for the which the bishops have their power and authoritie, and can, nor darre doe nothing, without speciall command or leave therof) nor the beggerlie bishops, and all their clergie can be. And, last, the schismes and controverseis that arise, and are sowin by Satan, sall be no wise componned nor extinguished by the brotherlie and humble conventiouns in equali-

tie, (as the happie experience of twentie-six yeeres bypast hath proved our Assembleis to have done;) but contrariwise, by the proud ambitioun and vanitie of the bishops, they sall be daylie fostered, increassed, and augmented. The prooffe and experience wherof yee may read after the first 300 yeeres of Christ's kirk, when the persecutions were ended, and the bishops beganne, under Christian emperours, to gett ease, honour, and riches; and breaking the commandement of Christ, beganne to usurpe lordlie authoritie and pre-eminence over their brethrein. From that time (as never of before) miserablie hath the kirk been cutt and divided by controverseis, schismes, and hereseis; so pernicious hath it beene to lay aside the Word of God, and right rules of governing his kirk, by equalitie among his pastors.

"Thridlie, Yee have consented and subscrived that these bishops sall have the oversight and ruling of all the kirks, according to the power which they reccave of their Pope and head. Which office hath no warrant in the Scripture of God, but is an inventioun of Satan, brought in by ambitioun and avarice: yea, that presumptuous and lordlie authoritie over the rest of the brethrein is flatt contrarie to the Word and commandement of Christ, Matt. xx. 29, and xxvi. 24, 28; and Luc xxii. 24, 25, 26, 27; and Peter v. 1, &c. And that mangrell medling with civill and worldlie maters, exercising judicatour in civill and criminall causes, loudlie cryeth, that they were never of Christ, whose kingdome is not of this world: who refused to be made king by the people, yea, would not so muche as divide the inheritance amongst brethrein, albeit a charitable turne, and all for eshewing that encumbrance in earthlie maters which might hinder him from the spirituall and heavenlie worke of his Father, for the which he was sent. And by and attour the unlawfulnesse of the office, which the Scripture and nature of the kingdome of Christ can not beare withall, the persons that presentlie yee have subscrived obedience unto are infamous and vile men; not onlie of the base and cursedest sort among the people, as were the preests of profane Jeroboam, but most dissolute and slanderous in all their life, by whose carefulnesse in gathering up

the wooll and milke, and carelessnesse in feeding of their flockes, and evill exemple in all kinde of vice, no mervell is it if innumerable soules drowne in ignorance, perish in their sinnes, and live without God or religioun.

"Therefore, now, I beseeche you, my brethrein, rightlie to consider, and deepelie to ponder this mater, whether it had beene better to refuse, and undertake the displeasure of an earthlie prince, who onlie hath power over the bodie, (and that no more nather nor it pleaseth God,) and have esteemed all this world but dirt and draffe under your feete, in respect of his love and obedience, who could have givin you again an hundreth fold in this life, and the life eternall to the good; or to have consented, and incurred the high displeasure of Christ Jesus, the great heavenly King, who, after the bodie is slaine, may cast both it and the soule in the fire of hell; and the offence and detestatioun of all the godlie and faithfull, for the shamefull denying of so good a Maister, betraying the freedome of his kingdome, slaundering of his kirk, and offering occasioun to the adversareis to triumphe, and be encouraged. Again, I say, for God's caus and your owne salvatioun, enter in deepelie to weygh and consider what yee have done, that the haynousnesse of the fact may make you to abhorre your selves, and be unfainedlie cast doun therefor. For, have yee not by your hand-writt (the seale of your truthe) bound your selves as slaves to the wicked appetite and affectioun of a blind godlesse court, overflowing with all kinde of sinne and impietie, and to a bishop, to whom I can not give a vitious epithet more then another, and I am sure a thowsand would not expresse his vices, as yourselves and all the world is witnesse? And that which is worst of all, have yee not brought the libertie of the Spirit, and preaching of the Word of God, (the dispensatioun wherof is concredited unto you,) in most abominable thraldome? So that yee darre not reprove vice without exception of persons, nor preache the truthe freelie, as your God, your booke, and your conscience, teacheth you and commandeth. For darre yee now rebooke the contemner of God, and religioun, and faithfull ministers therof: the blasphemer of God's name and his truthe;

devilish dissimulatioun, yea, open devilrie; perjurie, persecutioun, tyrannie, crueltie, oppressioun, drunkennesse, whoordome, scorning of God and man, ambitioun, avarice, flatterie, leing, breaking of promise, tricking, taunting, deceaving, profanatioun of the Word of God, sacriledge, simonie, witchecraft, shamelesse obscenitie, villaine apostasie; and manswearing of that which the mouth hath professed, and publictlie spokin and taught, the hand hath often subscrived, with the great oath of the Lord made and interpouned therein; seing your new erected Poprie, and, namelie, your famous ordinar, the archbishop, (to whom yee have bound your obedience,) is altogether feastered and overcome with them?

"Now, as to that name of obedience, which is craved, in a faire and honest maner, to cloke a most filthie and unhonest mater, mister I to write anie thing to you theranent? For can yee understand or teache anie other thing theranent nor this: obedience, except it be in God, and according to his command, is no obedience, but sinne, rebellioun, and disobedience, the which is as the sinne of witchecraft, wickednesse, and idolatrie before God, as Samuel taught King Saul, in his owne face. That which man, following his own judgement and evill affectioun, calleth rebellioun, treasoun, and disobedience, is allowed before God, as duetifull duetie, good obedience and service. And, contrare, were not Sadrach, Misach, and Abednego, cast in the furnace by Nebuchadnezar, King of Babylon, for their disobedience, in not falling doun to worship his erected image? Was not Daniel cast in the denne of lyons for disobedience, becaus he brake King Darius' godlesse law, in making his prayer thrise a day toward Jerusalem, and would not give so muche as a secreit consent to sett up the king in God's stead? The guarde of King Saul disobeyed him, commanding by his owne mouth to slay the preests of the Lord. So did his owne sonne, good Jonathan, and would not bring in David, but conforted him, and sett him on his journey: the midwives, King Pharaoh; Joiadah, and the whole estats of Juda, bloodie Athaliah; Lebnah, a citie of the Levit preests, the apostat king, Amaziah; and innumerable moe in holie Scripture, whose doings,

neverthelesse, the Spirit of God commendeth; and, as due obedience to God and their superiour, hath left them registred in his holie Booke, to be followed. In greatest humilitie and duetifull reverence of that lawfull authoritie givin by God to kings and magistrats, and yitt, in courage and boldnesse of spirit, for the glorie of my God and libertie of the kingdome of Christ, defaced, alas! and brought under vile slaverie by the pernicious flatterers of princes, who, deifeing them in their conceats, make them to take to them absolute power to doe what they list, and trampe the kirk of Christ under foote, I will take this propositioun to defend, against the best and most learned of their courteours, court bishops, and ministers, providing they dispute by the Scripture and good reason, and not by the Blacknesse, Spey, toun-gibbet, and maidden; that, 'To obey the King of Scotland, as he craveth presentlie obedience, according to his late acts of Parliament, is treason against Christ, and disobedience, yea, rebellion to his Word and command; and, therefore, whosoever may stay and withstand Him, by refusall of obedience, or otherwise by ordinar and lawfull meanes of their calling, and doeth it not, is a tratour to his Majestie, countrie, and kirk of Christ within the samine.' And least yee, my brethrein, or anie other, sould take this my plaine speeking of the truthe in an evill part, the Lord God of heaven is witnesse to my conscience, that I meane no contempt or disdaine to his Grace, ather persoun or lawfull authoritie, nather doeth this proceed of anie evill will, or desire of revenge for anie wrong done to us; but the Lord knoweth, before whom we walke, that the sighes and sobs of our dolorous and most affectioned heart toward his weale and amendiment, is with teares powred out daylie for that effect; and whom I know assuredlie, that all the godlie in Scotland and England would obey, love, and reverence, above all flesh, as their owne naturall and borne prince, if leaving these godlesse counsellers and courses, he would rule in the feare of God, and establishe the kingdome of Jesus Christ, according to his Word. Therefore, alas! my brethrein, yee have, under the name of obedience, defiled your selves with these crimes that Samuel convicted King Saul of, for

not obeying the Word of the Lord. And the exemples of God's servants, in their feare of his great Majestie, and constantlie standing in his truthe and obedience stoutlie, notwithstanding danger of life, yea, terrible torments, may be fearefull judges sett before your conscience, to condemne you, except yee repent. Peter and Johne are, both by word and exemple, crying unto you, that it had beene better to obey God nor man.

"But, methinketh I heare some of you lamenting, and saying, it was weakenesse and feeblenesse of this fraile nature that moved you to doe this thing. Truelie, brethrein, weaknesse and infirmitie is naturall to flesh, and hath often times made the childrein of God to slide and fall: for so did David in adulterie and murther, Peter in threefold denyall of his Maister, and the zealous Origene, of whose fall I spake before." Wherefore, in that cace onlie the remedie, incontinent, without delay is to be sought; for it is manlie,[1] and of weakenesse to fall. But to ly still and sleepe in sinne, without remorse or amendiment, it is the rod of reprobatioun. It is a thing most fearefull to denie Christ, but farre more not to confesse him againe constantlie unto the death. It is a horrible mater so to slander the kirk of God; but farre more to continue therein, and not to repaire and remove the same. And, therefore, I exhort you, deere brethrein, most earnestlie and tenderlie, in the bowells of the Lord Jesus, and admonishe you before God, his angels, and whole kirk, that yee preasse with speedie repentance to amend this miserable misse, and repaire, so muche as can ly in you, this bealefull breache; that yee meditat and crie with David, that is, with the contrite spirit and brokin heart of David, in that 51st Psalme; yee goe aside with Peter; yee lamentablie crie out, and inveygh against yourselves, with Origene; and make the streames of your bitter teares delete and washe away that subscriptioun, and the wound of your sighes, and sound of your sobs, blow abroad your repentance for that denyall of Christ; and, therafter, constantlie confesse him with Peter, unto the death, and that speedilie, before he come in judgement, and denie you before his heavenlie Father.

[1] Human.

"And, finallie, in conclusioun, to remove both the publict slander and woe pronounced against suche whereby it cometh, I see not how it can be done otherwise, than if yee come boldlie to the king and Lords of Excheker again, and show them how yee have fallen through weakenesse, but by God his power are risin again; and there, by publict note and witnesse taiken, free yourselves frome that subscriptioun, and will the same to be deleted, renouncing and detesting it plainlie; and therafter publictlie, in your sermouns, and by your declaratioun and retractatioun in writt, presented to the whole kirk and faithfull, manifest the same. Lett them doe with stipend, benefice, and life itself, what they list. Yee will sticke by Christ, who knoweth what yee have need of, and will provide for you sufficientlie, yee serving him in this life, and bring you heerafter to his glorie, in the life everlasting. The which that yee may doe, and therafter constantlie stand unto the end, I sall earnestlie call to God for you, to assist you with his strong and Almightie Spirit, for the glorie of his owne name, the reparatioun of the great offence and slander of his kirk, and your joyfull receaving againe in the number of Christ's warriours, and citicens of his kingdome, and captans of his armie, with whom, fighting lawfullie in suffering heere with him, we sall be crowned with immortall glorie in the heavens, where he liveth and raigneth with his Father for ever."

This letter, with the conclusiouns and arguments before mentiouned, did muche confort suche as stood constant. Two students of theologie, Mr James Robertsone, afterward minister of Dundie, and Mr Johne Caldcleugh, were forced to flee out of the countrie, for the copeing of it.

WILLIAM AIRD'S CALLING.

William Aird, minister of the West Kirk, beside Edinburgh, otherwise called Sanct Cuthbert's Kirk, fled at the same time to England. His fellow-labourer, Mr Nicoll Dagleish, was apprehended, keeped in closse prisson, and putt to an assise, of purpose

to be executed as a tratour, onlie for the sight of a letter which was sent from Mr Walter Balcalquall to his wife, of which more afterward. William Aird, before his calling to the ministrie, was a maisson, and mareid. He learned first of his wife to read English, and therafter, by himself, he studied to Latine, Greeke, and Hebrewe languages, attended upon the colledge and the exercise, and studied Divinitie. He profited so weill in few yeeres, that he was called to the ministrie, and proved a notable instrument in the kirk of God.

THE REASONS FOR NOT CONSENTING TO THE GENERALL CHARGE, "OBEY THEIR ORDINAR," CURRANT IN THE HANDS OF THE MINISTRIE AT THESE TIMES.

"Under this generall (obey your ordinar) may be conteaned manie specialls contrare to good conscience, as it sall please men to command for the time. Therefore, the specialls would be expressed and proved by the Word, that men may know what they approve.

"Before that anie innovatioun be made in the policie of the kirk alreadie concluded by commoun consent, the Generall Assemblie of the ministrie would be gathered, where things in controversie may be openlie and freelie debated, and decerned to be followed or refused in time comming. To beginne at particular men (before the Generall Assemblie be charged) with suche a weightie mater, it is able to hurt the consciences of the ignorant, and give occasioun of schisme in the kirk; to open a doore to hypocrits, and close the mouths of the godlie.

"These men who crave obedience of us in ecclesiasticall maters have no spirituall jurisdictioun in the kirk at this present, nor ever had, in our time, suche obedience as they appearandlie crave of us. The Confessioun of our Faith, which we have ratified, and the Confessioun of Helvetia, damned this estate, to the which we and manie other kirks in Europe have subscrived, for the manifold errors found in that estate. The name Archbishop and Bishop,

givin to them onlie, agreeth not with the Word of God. Their whole estate was devised by man, taikin from the profane idolaters, and was the foundation of the Roman Primacie. They clame authoritie and jurisdictioun over ministers, and use worldlie and ambitious titles, and confound two jurisdictions without the warrant of the Word of God. They are pastors without a flocke, and exeemed from the discipline of the kirk. In the primitive kirk one toun had manie bishops; but now ambitiousnesse and greedinesse hath givin one to the whole province, and manie to the archbishop. For what causes? Surelie not for to confort the kirk, but to make these men riche, honorable, and great in the world. They would appearandlie usurpe unto themselves the electioun, examinatioun, institutioun, depositioun of ministers, which things apperteane onlie to the eldership of the kirk, and not to one of them, or anie others made by man's device. How can these men excuse themselves in God's presence, who with us subscrived the former discipline, and promised obedience to the kirk; and now they will breake their promise, and impyre above the kirk before they discharge themselves of the same?

"It is not reasonable that we follow their defectioun without the knowledge of the kirk, and discharge of our promise made to the same; otherwise who sall credit us in time comming, or beleeve our preachings, seeing we damne our twentie yeeres preachings made before? In what estat sall we be also if this policie sall be changed afterwards? Sall we not change then again with men? We are falslie bruted that we will have a popular confusioun, and grant no cure of religioun to the prince; and would take his authoritie, raise seditioun in the countrie, to helpe his rebels, and live without lawes. We protest before God and man we never meant suche things, and sall be readie at all times to purge ourselves of all these calumneis. But if our purgatiouns cannot be heard, then we remitt our caus to the eternall God, whose judgement can not erre."

THE EXAMINATION OF JOCK GRAHAME OF PEERTREE, BEFORE THE LORD SCROOPE, LORD WARDEN OF THE WEST MARCHES, ETC., AT CARLILL, THE 25TH OF NOVEMBER 1584.

"The said examinat sayeth, That in August last, one Monse, a Scotish boy, was sent unto him from the Laird of Clowghe, being servant to the Erle of Montrose, and a Grahame of his owne surname, desiring the examinat to come to him at Edinburgh. And this examinat went furth with the boy, and come to Edinburgh to him, and there he remained, making mirrie by the space of twentie dayes or therabout. In which meane season, the Erle of Montrose and Arran were sindrie times jesting with him concerning the fead that was between him and the Erle of Angus, for the hanging of Robert Grahame, called Laverock, being his neere kinsman, and asked him, whether that fead was agreed or not? and he answered, that he was no wise agreed withall for that fead. Wherupon they entered in farther with the Laird of Cloughe to bring him to Falkland to the king, which he did shortlie after. Comming thither late at night, and about elleven of the clocke of the same night, the said Laird of Cloughe brought him in to an utter chamber, where was Montrose and Arran, who then both did move him to kill the Erle of Angus, alwayes alledging what good occasioun he might take for revenge of the fead for his freind; wherunto, in the end, he was by them perswaded, and granted and promised to doe that. They farther preassed him to tak on hand to kill the Erle of Marr and the Abbot of Cambuskenneth, which thing he refused to doe, saying, he had nought to doe with them. And then they two brought him in into the king's galrie, where he was alone by himself; and onlie he, Montrose, and Arran, and this examinat being together, the king himself did move him, as the other two had before done, for the killing of Angus, Marr, and Cambuskenneth. To whom he answered, that for Marr and Cambuskenneth, he would not meddle with them; but for Angus, he would weill be contented to doe that, so as the king would weill rewarde him for

that. And the king said, he would presentlie give him sixtie Frenche crowns, and twentie Scotish pund land to him and his for ever, lying in Stratherne, neere Montrose. And so immediatlie, for that night, he took his leave at the king, looking to have receaved the said crowns. But the Erle of Montrose, being Treasurer, told this examinat, when he was come from the king, that he could not pay him the crowns presentlie, but delivered him tenne pund Scotish to be doing with all in rewaird, and the crowns he would send him at Michaelmesse or Martimesse following, by the Laird of Cloughe. And he delivered more[over] to this examinat a gunne, being a short ryding peece for that purpose, which he brought home with him, and he promised further to send him a dag with the crowns by the Laird of Cloughe; but nather come the one nor the other as yitt.

"Being demanded in what maner it was devised, or that he thought to execute this actioun against the Erle of Angus? he sayeth, that the Erle of Arran told him that he heard that the banished lords sould come to Carlill, and there he might take good time both for the fact, and to escape himself. But this examinat utterlie refused to attempt anie suche thing there; and then said Arran, that he thought he might weill doe that ather at Durhame or at Newcastell. And this examinat said, that he could weill wishe to doe it there if he might come convenientlie to it. And the said erle said, he might easilie doe it at either of these places, ather going to church or some chappell, or sitting at table, to shoot him at some window, or in at a doore; or best of all, walking upon the shore or key-side at Newcastell. As tuiching Mr Johne Colvill, he sayeth he was never moved to hurt him, nather had he ever anie intention to doe him harme.

"H. SCROOPE.

"*Exam. per me*, WILLIAM BOWMAN, &c."

The Maister of Gray, whill he was in England ambassader, offered to prove that the banished ministers taught in the pulpits

that no ecclesiasticall persoun was subject to the king or prince, and would make the Lord Leicester and Secretar Walsinghame judges, when they sould be confronted. But by no meanes could the ministers gett the ambassader and themselves confronted. He continued still traducing to whomsoever he pleased. Mr Archibald Dowglas repaired unto him by night and by day, howbeit he was at the murther of the king's father. The ambassader his traffique and proceedings may be gathered out of the letter following:—

MR JAMES CARMICHAEL'S LETTER TO THE ERLE OF ANGUS, THE FOURTH OF DECEMBER 1584.

"I mett Mr Secretarie the 16th of October, the 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 21st, 28th of November. Which times I had sindrie conferences of Dease and Harbertson's letters brought to the bishops, of the ambassader, and Mr Archibald Dowglas of our countrie, men that have borne patientlie the burthein of bishops, of commoun or privat maters belonging to the whole caus, of the setting out of generall apologeis and particular; and speciallie, how to obviat the present calumniator in suche things as he would lay to our charge, desiring that ather he would sett them doun in writt, or ellis, by their Honours, we might be confronted to answere by word. But he answered, his words were nather so weightie, nor his accusatioun so trusted, that we needed be carefull of that mater; for they were not ignorant of his impudencie, and custome to lee.

"His owne gravitie is more respected than his companie weill lyked since his coming thither the 29th of October, the day of Thomas Pullison's entrie, as Majoi of Londoun, with great solemnitie. He is loodged in Alderman Herveis hous. The last of October he road to Kingstoun, where the minister descended so neere the descriptioun of the state of our countrie in pulpit, in his presence, that he called him to dinner, and said that he had particularized him on that day, and had beene sinistrouslie informed of the seditious declared tratours that had fled from justice, for there was nather restraint in doctrine nor discipline in Scotland more

than was before, and no man was better affected to religioun than the king, his maister; and so made Thomas Murrey floute him till he oft tymes blushed, and at last compleaned to the queen's Majestie of him. This sawce had he to his dinner. But God and the grandie have done justice to both; and that minister who had never seene us before came and shew us the maner, and hath evident informatioun of more than he knew of before. His text was of the re-entring of the devill, once cast out of a cleene sweeped hous, who brought seven devills worse with him. He had presence, after noone, that Sunday, first of November. In specking evill of the distressed which are come in this countrie, he was taikin up hardlie that he needed not to come with suche a message: they were not ignorant who were enemeis to the peace, and who were not; as they had beene the most obedient subjects the king had, so were they the most loving freinds and favourers of the peace. It was asked at Hounsden's sonne if he had no other office but to be his paidge; for he held up the tapestrie at his entrie, as he had convoyed him all the journey. He returned upon Wedinsday the fourth with small contentment, (albeit he pretended the contrarie,) and receaved the commendatioun of a young, insolent, scornfull boy. Nather could his commissioun be in better recommendatioun than himself, for all the quarter of yeere's studie to adorne it with eloquence. He querrelled with Mr Davidsone for disgracing and discrediting him, with some hard reports, wherof he would not show the particulars, and, therefore, receaved no particular answere of him.

"As Mr Davidsone, immediatlie before his comming, and after, and likewise Mr Bowes, since his comming to London the 9th of November, hath lett him be knowne, so did I paint him out by letter, as I knew, to the secretar, at lenth, which he called "a prettie descriptioun." How oft he had changed his religioun since his educatioun in the minister's hous of Perth and Dundie, and in St Leonard's, where he did communicat; of his going and returning to France twise; his behaviour there and since; his credite with our queene; familiaritie with the Bishops of Glasgow and Rosse,

the Duke of Gwise, by the means of a Friar Gray in Parise, and the Jesuits there; his liberalitie in buying papisticall bookes and vestments to infect our countrie; his deepe practising with them and their agents in France and Scotland, conducting frome place to place Gwise's agent; his interteaning Frier Leitche, Sir Thomas Gray, and other excommunicated preests in Fowles, where masse was said; his evill affectioun to this countrie, and inclinatioun to France; his marching with Monbirne, Mr Ogilvie, Lindores, and Seton's two sonnes, on the musters of the vaine or headlesse band on the calsey of Edinburgh, 23 Martij 1581; Captane Bruce, captane of one of the king's bands, his removing from the king's hous for Papistrie, 15 September 1582; his traffiquing heere with the Frenche ambassader, by Mr Archibald, since his comming. Wherof they had great caus to suspect his earand heere to be another purpose than they see; that unlesse they will willinglie and wittinglie be blinded, they can not be ather abused with him nor the colour of his message, wherewith they would spend time after that maner.

"He is become a verie franke Protestant heere, and professeth it after the puritie that is in Scotland; and can not away with the ceremoneis of England, that smell of Papistrie, and is but a patched religioun. He hanteth the sermons when his dolours will lett him, and will have an English lecture in his hous. I wote not when he will beginne. But none in Scotland knoweth his religioun in Scotland but the king, nor in England but the Lord Leicester, so that he will be sure not to have two witnesses against him in one realme."

SETON'S DEATH.

Upon the elleventh of December, the Lord Seton came home, who had beene sent in ambassadge to France, where he went publictlie to the masse. His message was to advise with the Gwisians and the Bishop of Glasgow, how the project layed doun by the

Duke of Lennox might be prosecuted. Soone after his returne he departed out of this life.

David Hume of Argettie was apprehended and taikin in the beginning of December, and condemned upon the eight of December. There was a thowsand crowns offered for his life, but no grace could be obteaned.

About the 15th of December, there were sindrie ministers accused before the king, for disobeying the king's acts, and not subscriving the band. Mr Nicoll Dagleish, minister at the West Kirk, beside Edinburgh, commounlie called St Cuthbert's Kirk, was accused for praying for the afflicted brethrein that were banished. He was called before the counsell. The king enquired by whom he meant? He answered, he meant speciallie of the ministrie. "Then," said the king, "if they be afflicted, I am the afflicter, and so am a persecuter." They were rebels that were fled. He said, they were true subjects, and were fled for a time, to eschew trouble. The king said to the lords, "My Lords, consider yee this man's dealing." The lords urged him to come in the king's will, and confesse a fault. He said he could not confesse a fault, where he was not perswaded that he had committed one. He was put to an assise, was cleanged of all crimes layed to his charge, except the reading of a letter, which Mr Walter Balcalquall had sent to his wife out of England. The assise prayed him to come in the king's will. At their requeist he came in will for that alledged offence, it being a mater of no great moment. The king will have him to come in will, for praying for his rebels, and insinuating that he was a persecuter, when he prayed for them as afflicted brethrein. But he absolutelie refused; and as for reading of the letter, he alledged Mr Walter was not putt to the horne, nor denounced rebell. He was deteaned in the Tolbuith, or yron-hous, five or six weekes, all which time, the scaffold, which was sett up for his executioun, stood, and a long time after. Thereafter, he was transported to waird in the Castell of St Andrewes, where he was not weill interteanned by the godlesse bishop and his dame.

MR PATRIK GALLOWAY'S LETTER TO MR JAMES CARMICHAELL, FROM NEWCASTELL, 21ST DECEMBRIS 1584.

"As for newes, David Hume, who was left by the lords captan in Stirline, is hanged for reading of a letter sent by one of this companie to his tennents. His head is putt upon the Neather Bow, to the great wrathe and out-crying of the people. My Lord Hume is tane out of Tamtallan; and, to see his head, was convoyed by the Neather Bow to the Castell of Edinburgh, where presentlie he is Nickneven's prisoner. Mr Nicoll Dagleish was (for praying for his distressed brethrein in England, and excommunicating of Edinburgh subscribers against their ministers) putt to an assise, and cleanged. Julian[1] being raging and angrie, made him be convicted by another assise, *de novo*, under all high pains. A scaffold was sett up for his executioun. Neverthelesse, he is yitt delayed, the scaffold standing. Pontanus[2] is fugitive, *vel latet*. The brethrein are wonderfullie troubled. The triell is great, but God granteth great courage to his owne. Few yeeld, whose names I sould have writtin, if I think Mr Melvill had not advertised you. Mr James Melvill is presentlie in Berwick, his wife being neere to her birth. He is used by the Lord a notable instrument to threatten the yeelding brethrein, to confort the weake, and encourage the strong. There are come to him some fugitives, being summouned to compeere *super inquirendis*; Mrs Johne Caldcleuche, James Robertsone. Our adversars are presentlie als cruell and raiging as ever they were, which proceedeth from their beastlie securitie in sinne. God hath offered good occasioun. Lord, encourage his Cyrus to apprehend in the slumber, drunken and sacrilegious Baltasar, with his princes Haman, Sobnah, Achitophell, and Judas."

THE LORDS CHARGED TO REMOVE SOUTH.

Mr Johne Colvill came to Newcastell the last of December, with

[1] Archbishop Adamson, who was considered a second Julian the Apostate.

[2] Robert Pont.

her Majestie's letter to the Lords, wherein they were willed to addresse themselves to Cambridge. So farre had the ambassader prevailed, that they might be drawin farther from their freinds.

SUBSCRIVING MINISTERS.

About the end of December, Mr Craig and Johne Duncansone, preachers to the king's domesticks, and Johne Brand, minister at Halyrudhous, subscrived the band above mentioned, adding this claus, "according to the Word of God." They perswaded also others to subscrive; and Mr Craig wrote this letter following, to that effect:—

"Brethrein, after my verie heartilie commendatiouns, I doubt not but ather yee have heard, or will heare shortlie, how Johne Duncansone and I have subscrived the obligatioun of obedience unto the king's Majestie and commissioners, according to the Act of Parliament. Wherof, becaus sinister reports may passe, both of the king's Majestie commanding, and us obeying, I thought good to make you privie to the samine. It hath pleased his Majestie to grant to Johne Duncansone and me, to confer with himself privilie, and therafter with my lords the Erle of Arran and Secretarie, his Majestie being present in the cabinet. Where, after reasouns heard and propouned on every side, in end, two heeds were agreed upon: First, that our subscriptioun was nather sought to be allowance, ather of the Acts of Parliament, nor of the state of the bishops, but to be a testimonie of our obedience to his Majestie: Nixt, it was not craved, but according to the Word of God, and, therefore, our obligatioun conteaneth nothing but our obedience to the king's Majestie his lawes and commissioners, according to the Word of God. Which two heeds are so reasonable, that no man can refuse the samine, who loveth God, or the quietnesse of the kirk or commoun weale. Therefore, I pray you to shew this to the brethrein, whom yee may advertise, ather by word or by writt; that they, being informed of the good meaning of his Majestie, may be conformable to the samine, to the end that the Evangell, having free passage

with quietnesse and peace, evill affected persons, who of the schisme of the kirk or commoun wealth make their advantage, may be frustrated of their expectatioun."

"REX.

"Wee declare by these presents, that this letter within conteaned was writtin with our knowledge, and directed at our command, to certifie all men of our good meaning, that none sould have occasioun to doubt of the same."

Some were deluded by simplicitie, not taking up the sophistrie of the claus which was added; others were content of anie colour to blind the eyes of the people. The claus added to sophisticat the band, was repugnant to the mater and argument of it. It was all one as if they would have said, they will obey the Pope and his prelats, according to God's Word. Mr George Hepburne, Mr Alexander Hume, Patrik Gaits, Alexander Lawder, Alexander Hay, Patrik Kinloquhy, Mr William Powrie, and sindrie others, subscrived. Mr Andrew Simsone subscrived the forme following: "I, Mr Andrew Simsone, minister at Dalkeith, sweare by the name of the great God, that I sall not preache anie heresie or seditious doctrine, nor sall privatlie or publictlie stirre up the king's Majestie's subjects to anie rebellioun; and sall obey all his lawes and Acts of Parliament, so farre as they agree with the Word of God."

Mr Walter Balcalquall preached once or twise before Mr Lowson's death; and after, beganne a lecture upon the Epistle to the Ephesians, and so continued till the first of Januar, that he was sent for by the Bishop of Londoun, and was discharged of farther teaching. Mr Johne Davidsone was likewise taikin notice of. He was called at court and among the bishops a thunderer. I conclude this yeere with a discourse made at the same time, the tenor wherof followeth:—

A DISCOURSE OF THE INJUREIS AND WRONGS USED AGAINST THE NOBLEMEN DISTRESSED, SINCE THE ALTERATION AT SANCT ANDREWES.

"*Imprimis*, Upon the nixt day after the said alteratioun proclamatioun was made, declaring, that albeit his Majestie had sufficient contentment in the companie that was about him the yeere preceeding, yitt, forasmuche as some forrane princes, not weill informed of his Majestie's estate, tooke opinioun, that his Majestie was captive and subject to the appetite of a factioun, and race of noblemen, to witt, of Angus and Marr, with their freinds; therefore, his Majestie, to remove all suche suspicioun, commanded the said two erles, with their complices, to voide and remove themselves from court; like as he did also, on the other part, command the Erles of Huntlie and Crawfurd to doe the samine, appointing an indifferent number of noblemen to attend upon his Majestie for the time. Which commandement the said Erles of Angus and Marr most willinglie obeyed, retiring them home to their owne houses; as also, the said Huntlie and Crawfurd seemed to doe the like. But, indeid, they onlie removed from court for the space of two dayes, and immediatlie therafter returned to the same. During this time, the better to colour the practise since that time manifested, the secund proclamatioun was published, wherin his Majestie assured his lieges, that he would have no remembrance to remaine, of anie querrell fallin out in the late civill warres among them; and that, for himself, he would never persue anie of his subjects for the Road of Ruthven, nor no other actioun past, (the murtherers of his father and regents onlie excepted,) providing they would endeavoure themselves to live loyallie in time comming. This proclamatioun putt all men in great securitie, notwithstanding manifest presumptiouns appearing in the contrare. After this, his Majestie passeth to St Johnstoun, where the thrid proclamatioun was made, discharging, that forasmuche as his Majestie was sumwhat greeved with the fact at Ruthven, therefore his Grace commanded, under

paine of death, all and whatsomever suspected therewith, to absteane from his presence, or to come neere his residence by tenne myles; inhibiting also all and sindrie their freinds or weill willers to speake or requeist for them, till farder order were taikin. Immediatlie therafter, the ferd proclamatioun came out, commanding the persons guiltie of the said Road of Ruthven, under paine of rebellioun, within a certane space to come in, and receave pardoun for the same, notwithstanding anie ratification therof by acts of Secreit Counsell, and of the Estats, or anie other letter or messinger sent by his Majestie to the Queen of England to that effect.

"Heere, men were mervellouslie perplexed; for the Secund proclamatioun declared, that his Majestie would never impute or lay that Road of Ruthven to anie man's charge; the Thrid inhibited the actors therof to come in his Majestie's presence, or their freinds to sue for them; and the Ferd commandeth them all to come and receave pardoun, under paine of rebellioun. So, whill as men remained verie doubtfull of his Majestie's meaning, by so contrarious and ambiguous edicts, craftie meanes were wrought to make the Erle of Gowrie receave remissioun for the said fact, which, in conscience, he knew to be one of the most honest and most profitable interprises that ever was done for his Majestie. The like also was practised with the Erle of Marr, to whom great kindenesse was offered, if he would, for his Majestie's pleasure, receave the said pardoun. In fine, when he had satisfied his Majestie's desire in that point, a place and time was assigned to reconciliat the said erle with Arran; which assignatioun the said Arran refused to keepe; and immediatlie therafter the said Marr was charged to retire himself to Argile, where he remained in great miserie about the space of two moneths. And nixt, he was commanded to voide himself off the realme, which he also obeyed. And yitt, in his absence, was he not free from their injureis. For, first, his ancient offices and heretable services were taikin from him, and givin to the said Arran, viz. the captanrie of the Castell of Stirline, and sheriffship of that shyre; the erledome of Marr, by a false sentence, converted to another competitor; his best freinds and servants all

ather imprissouned or ellis banished; and James Maconeill of the Iles, (a declared enemie to the estat of England,) upon promise to kill the said erle, was richelie rewarded with an hundred pund land, of old extent. Nather was the remnant, that served his Majestie most worthilie in his minoritie, free from this calamitie: for the Erle of Angus was confynned to remaine in a barbarous part of the countrie, distant neere an hundreth myles from anie of his owne houses, and among his greatest enemeis; the Lord Boyd, Lochlevin, Maister of Glames, and sindrie other of the worthiest of that land, all commanded to depart off the realme; the Abbot of Dumfermline, Laird of Drumquhassill, and sindrie others, imprissouned; the provestrie of Dundie taikin from Mr James Halyburton, and givin to Crawfurd; a signature of Lieutenantrie granted to the Erle of Huntlie, to the prejudice of the Erle Marshall, Lord Forbesse, Laird of Drum, and all others there that mainteaned his Majestie's authoritie, when as the said Huntlie's father and whole freinds oppugned the same.

"After all these oppressiouns, which were insufferable, a small number of the said oppressed (according to the ancient lawes of Scotland, used when young kings are misgoverned by evil counsell) intended to conveene at Stirline, meaning nothing, but with all humilitie to have presented a supplicatioun to his Majestie, for redresse of the disorders forsaids. But the said abusers being informed heerof, prevented the mater, by apprehending Gowrie, and using him in suche fraudfull and cruell maner, as no Christian heart can remember without sorrow. Therafter, the said Erles of Angus, Marr, and Maister of Glames, thinking it could not be offensive to his Majestie to present their humble supplicatioun in maner forsaid, accompanied with a verie small number, not exceeding two hundreth men, purposed to lay open their greeves before his Majestie. But they were so hotelie persued by the violence of their enemeis, assembled to the number of 6000 or 7000 men, that for preservatioun of their lives, they were compelled to abandoun their native countrie, and to enter in England for their refuge, careing no more with them of all their goods, saving so muche as they had

upon their owne persons. And after their comming in England, not onlie were there large promises of fidelitie offered to her Majestie for their redeliverie, but alsò, finding her Majestie no wise inclynned to satisfie a requeist so unlawfull, they sought unhonest meanes, by treasonable practises, to murther some of the said noble men and their servants; a forme of doing abhorred in most barbarous natiouns. And yitt, they are not ashamed to brag and ostent themselves of gentle dealing, and manifold benefites bestowed upon the said distressed, since the said alteratioun; wheras, by the premisses, it is evident that no historie of time past can furnish an exemple of greater dissimulatioun, tyrannie, and unthankfulnesse, than hath beene used against them. This muche shortlie for the forme and processe used against the distressed.

"And for the accusatioun objected against the ministrie, where it is said that they denie all civill jurisdictioun of magistrats, as though they were not subject thereto, to this no better answere can be givin than is comprehended in the act of parliament made at the instance of the said ministers, concerning the obedience due to civill magistrats. Moreover, who is ignorant that the Pope vindicateth the immunitie from civill magistrats to himself and his shavelings, taking to him power to depose and erect princes? Which erroneous doctrine none hath more worthilie impugned nor the ministrie of Scotland, as their auditors can witnesse. And yitt, the effronted Papists are so impudent as to traduce the ministrie with this antichristian heresie, invented and mainteanned in Rome. As for the calumnie alledged against Mr Andrew Melvill, where it is said, that he appealled from the king's judgement and his counsell's, denying their jurisdictioun above him, that objectioun is so frivolous, that it meriteth no answere. Yitt, the more to declare his innocencie, to the confusioun of his enemeis, this muche is affirmed on his part, that he never made appellatioun from his Majestie, nor alledged the Secreit Counsell to be an uncompetent judge for him. He onlie protested in this sort, (as the record therof registred will testifie,) that forasmuche as his Majestie, with advice of the three estats in parliament, had inacted, that no minister sould be ac-

cused or tryed of his doctrine, but before the Provinciall or Generall Assemblie, as judges ordinar appointed for suche maters, (which he proved by sindrie exemples past of before, in the persons of his fellow brethrein accused in the like sort as he then was, to have beene admitted and practised;) therefore he most humblie desired, that albeit he, for declaratioun of his obedience, would not for his part declyne that judgement of the Secreit Counsell, yitt that his requeist might be admitted. Wherin he protested, that this preparative used in him sould not be prejudiciall unto his brethrein, nor unto the priviledge granted to them.

"And albeit the said Mr Andrew had alledged the Secreit Counsell not to have beene his judges ordinar in the mater of doctrine wherupon he was accused, yitt can it not be justlie inferred that he, so doing, denied the king, his soverane, to be his judge? For they that know anie thing of their forme used in the Secreit Counsell of that land, are not ignorant, that when anie man is cited before them, to answere in *causa alterius fori*, it is leasome to the defender to alledge the incompetencie of the judgement, and so the mater is straight referred to the decisioun of the Judge Ordinar, as ather unto the Lords of Sessioun, sheriffs of shires, stewarts of regalities, or to some commissars or inferiour judges, according to the nature and qualitie of the mater propouned. Moreover, all societeis and fellowships within that land are privilegiated to trie and cognosce upon maters of their owne professioun among themselves; yea, even the merchant and poore artizan is not exeemed therefra. For, if a merchant be accused *de mensura et ponderibus injustis*, or *de mercibus corruptis*, his appearance is before his fellow merchants; or ellis, if the mater be first called before anie other superiour judge, it is straight remitted again to the ordinar. The artisan, in like maner, in everie manuall occupatioun, for complaints resulting upon their crafts, is judged by the deacons and maisters of their crafts respective. Wherefore, if the said Mr Andrew had, according to the laudable custome before named, desired his actioun to be pleaded before the Assemblie, the judges competent to the doctrine and maners of the ministrie, as indeid he made no

suche desire therin, he had done nothing but justlie and lawfullie.

"And for the Master of Gray, till he was fyfteene or sixteene yeeres old, he was nourished in the Universitie of Sanct Andrewes, where he professed the true religioun, and communicated with the faithfull at the Table of the Lord. Therafter, he was mareid to a young gentlewoman of good parentage and fame, whom he hath now repudiated, lyke as his father also hath cast away his mother. So, about a yeere after his mariage, he passeth to France, and entering in companie with one Frier Gray, a man of good credit among the Papists, by the frier's moyen he was recommended to the Bishop of Glasgow, and Scotish Jesuits, and Papists of the Seminarie of Parise; and by them again he was putt in credite with the Duke of Gwise, by whose recommendatioun the Queene of Scotland thought weill of him, and gave him liberallie. And so, returning to Scotland, the first time after some reasouning with the ministers, he promised to renounce Papistrie, and to embrace the true Christian religioun, appointing a day to subscrive the articles of the said religioun. But, within short space, he returned again to France, without fulfilling of his promise to the ministers, where he remained about a yeere; and therafter, in companie with the young Duke of Lennox, he arrived again to Scotland, careing with him sindrie messe clothes and Papisticall bookes, slanderous als weill to the estat of religioun of Scotland as of England. And, being cited again to fulfill his promise, in subscriving the articles forsaid, he affirmed that he was a Papist, and that the Roman ceremoneis were lawfull, evin to the beeds and holie water. So, upon this obstinacie, the ministers of Edinburgh intended the processe of excommunicatioun against him, according to the act of parliament; which they had pronounced, were not their expulsion. And now, the said Master giveth himself out for a Protestant. What probabilitie there is therof, I referre to their judgement, that will consider his life past, and resort daylie in his companie; or what truthe in maters of policie is to be expected at the hands of suche

a one as can so cunninglie dissemble his religioun, I leave it to the wise to judge therupon."

M.D.LXXXV.

The acts of parliament holdin the last May were so tossed through men's mouthes, so mislyked by all good men, that the court was forced to sett Mr Patrik Adamsone, a cheefe deviser of them, on worke, to make a declaratioun of their meaning, and that in the king's name. This declaratioun came to light in Januar 1585, and was after so greedilie embraced in England, that, after the printing of it heere, it was reprinted, with an odious preface of alledged treasons prefixed unto it. And, to preserve the memorie of it, it was insert in the Chronicle of England compiled by Holinshed, and continued by Francis Thinne. Our kirk deserved no suche indignitie at their hands; for our kirk was ever carefull, and at the same time speciallie, to interteane amitie betuixt the two countreis. The English prelats, no doubt, were not idle in furthering of this bussinesse. But lett suche a leing libell ly there, as a blurre, to blot the chronicles of England. I have heere inserted it in this Register, together with a censure and confutatioun of the same, for the right informatioun of the reader.

A DECLARATION OF THE KING'S MAJESTIE'S INTENTION AND MEANING TOWARD THE LATE ACTS OF PARLIAMENT.

"Forasmuche as there are some evill affected men that goe about, so farre as in them lyeth, to invent lees and calumneis, to staine and impaire the king's Majestie's fame and honour, and raise bruites, as if his Majestie had declynned to Papistrie, and had made manie acts to derogat the free passage of the Gospell, good order, and discipline in the kirk; which bruites are nourished and interteaned by rebellious subjects, who would gladelie cover their seditious interprises under

pretext of religioun; albeit there can be no godlie religioun in suche as raise armour, and disquiett the estate of their native soverane, and perjuredlie have contraveened the oath and obligatioun of their faith, wherunto they have sworne and subscrived: Therefore, that his Majestie's faithfull subjects be not abused with suche slanderous reports, and his Hienesse' good affectioned freinds in other countreis may understand the veritie of his upright intention, his Hienesse hath commanded this breefe declaratioun of certane of his Majestie's Acts of Parliament, holdin in May 1584, to be published and imprinted; to the effect, that the indirect practises of suche as slander his Majestie and his lawes may be detected and discovered.

"In the First act, his Majestie ratifieth and approveth the true professioun of the Gospell, sincere preaching of the Word, and administratioun of the sacraments, presentlie, by the goodnesse of God, established within this realme; and alloweth of the Confessiouns of Faith sett down by Act of Parliament, the first yeere of his Majestie's raigne, lyke as his Hienesse not onlie professeth the same in all sinceritie, but, praised be God, is come to suche maturitie of judgment, by reading and hearing of the Word of God, that his Hienesse is able to convince and overthrow, by the doctrine of the prophets and apostles, the most learned of the contrarie sect of the adversareis. So that, as Plato affirmeth that commoun wealth to be most happie wherin a philosopher raigneth, or he that raigneth is a philosopher, we may much more esteeme this countrie of Scotland to be fortunat, wherin our king is a theologue, and his heart replenished with the knowledge of the heavenlie philosophie, for the confort not onlie of his good subjects and freinds in other countreis, but of them that professe the Gospell everie where; he being a king of great expectatioun, to whom his birth right hath not onlie destinated and provided great kingdomes, but muche more his Hienesse' vertue, godlinesse, and learning, and daylie increasse of all heavenlie sciences, doe promise and assure him of the mightie protectioun of God, and favour of all these that feare his holie name.

"In the Secund act, his Majestie's royall authoritie over all estats, both spirituall and temporall, is confirmed. Which act, some of malice, and others of ignorance, doe traduce, as if his Majestie pretended to be called the Head of the Kirk; a name which his Majestie acknowledgeth to be proper and peculiar to the Sonne of God, the Saviour of the world, who is the Head, and bestoweth life spirituall upon the members of his mysticall bodie; and He, having received the Holie Spirit in all abundance, maketh everie one of the faithfull partakers therof, according to the measure of faith bestowed upon them. Of the which number of the faithfull, under the Head, Christ, his Majestie acknowledgeth himself to be a member, baptized in his name, partaker of the mysterie of the crosse and the holie communioun, and attending with the faithfull for the comming of the Lord, and the finall restitutioun of God's elect. And notwithstanding his Majestie surelie understandeth by the Scriptures, that he is the cheefe and principall member appointed by the law of God, to see God glorified, vice punished, and vertue mainteanned within his realme, and the soverane judgment for a godlie quietnesse and order in the commoun wealth to apperteane to his Hienesse' care and solicitude; which power and authoritie of his Hienesse, certane ministers being called before his Majestie for their seditious and factious sermons, and stirring up of the people to rebellioun against their native king, by the instigatioun of sindrie unquiett spirits, would in no wise acknowledge, but disclaimed his Majestie's authoritie as a competent judge. And speciallie one, called Mr Andrew Melvill, an ambitious man, of a salt and fierie humour, usurping the pulpit of St Andrewes without a lawfull calling, and privie at that time to certane conspiraceis attempted against his Majestie and crowne, went about in his sermon, upon a Sunday, to inflamme the hearts of the people, by odious comparisons of his Majestie's progenitors and counsell; albeit the duetie of a faithfull preacher of the Gospell be rather to exhort the people to the obedience of their native king, nor by popular sermons (which have beene the eversioun and decay of great citeis and commoun wealths, and have greatlie in times by-

gane disquietted this estat) to trouble and perturbe the countrie. The said Mr Andrew, called before his Hienesse, presumptuouslie answered, that he would not be judged by the king and counsell, becaus he had spokin the same in pulpit; which pulpit, in effect, he alledged to be exeemed from the judgement and correctioun of princes: as if that holie place, sanctified to the Word of God, and to the breaking of the bread of life, might be a colour to anie seditioun, in word or deid, against the lawfull authoritie, without punishment. Alwise, his Majestie (being of himself a most gracious prince) was not willing to have used anie rigour against the said Mr Andrew, if he had humblie submitted himself, acknowledged his offence, and craved pardoun; who, notwithstanding, affrayed of his owne guiltinesse, being privie to diverse conspiraceis of before, fled into the realme of England.

"Whose naughtie and presumptuous refusing of his Hienesse' judgment was the occasioun of the making of the Secund act, that none sould declyne his Hienesse' authoritie, in respect that the commoun proverb beareth, '*Ex malis moribus bonæ leges natæ sunt*,' that is, Of evill maners good lawes proceed. And, in verie deed, it laiketh not a right intolerable arrogancie in anie subject called before his prince, professing and authorizing the same truthe, to disclaime his authoritie. Nather doe the prophets, apostles, nor others conducted by the Spirit of God, minister the like exemple: for it is a great errour to affirme, as manie doe, that princes and magistrats have onlie power to tak order in civill effaires, and that ecclesiasticall maters doe onlie belong to the ministrie. By which meanes, the Pope of Rome hath exeemed himself and his cleargie from all judgement of princes; and hath made himself to be judge of judges, and to be judged of no man. Where as the contrare is evident, not onlie by the exemples of godlie governours, judges, and kings of the Ancient Testament, but also by the New Testament, and the whole historie of the primitive kirk, in the which the Emperours judged over the Bishops of Rome, deposed them from their seates; appointed judges to cognosce and decide in causes ecclesiasticall, vindicat innocent men, as Athanasius, from the de-

terminatioun of the councell holdin at Tyrus; and by infinite good reasons, which sall be sett doun, by the grace of God, in a severall work, sall be sufficientlie proved and verified.

"But this appeareth, at this present, to be an unprofitable and untymelie questioun, which hath no ground upon their part, but of the preposterous imitatioun of the pretended jurisdictioun of the Pope of Rome. For if there were anie questioun in this land of heresie, whereby the profound mystereis of the Scriptures behoved to be searched furth, his Majestie would use the samine remedie (as most expedient) which the most godlie emperours have used; and his Majestie, following their exemple, would conveene the counsell of learned pastors, that, by conference of Scriptures, the veritie might be opened, and heresie repressed. But, praised be God, we have not such controverseis in this land, nather hath there anie heresie taikin anie deepe roote in the countrie. But certane of the ministrie, joyning themselves to rebels, have travelled to disquiett the state with such questions, that the people might embrace a sinister opinioun of his Majestie's upright proceedings, and factions might be nourished and interteanned in the countrie. Nather is it his Majestie's meaning nor intentioun, in anie sort, to take away the lawfull and ordinarie judgement in the kirk, whereby discipline and good order might decay; but rather to preserve, mainteane, and increasse the same. And, as there are in the realme justicers, constables, shireffs, proveists, bailiffes, and other judges in temporall maters, so his Majestie alloweth, that all things might be done in order, and a godlie harmonie may be preserved in the whole estate, the synodall assembleis by the bishops, or commissioners where the place vaiketh, to be conveened twise in the yeere, to have the ordinar triell of maters belonging to the ministrie and their estate: alwise reserving to his Hienesse, that if they, or anie of them, doe amisse, neglect their duetie, disquiett the estate, or offend in suche maner and sort, that they in no wise pretend that immunitie, priviledge, and exemptioun, which onlie was invented by the Pops of Rome, to trode under foote the sceptres of princes, and to establishe an ecclesiasticall tyrannie within this countrie,

under pretexte of new invented presbytereis, which nather sould answere to the king, nor bishop, under his Majestie, but sould have an infinite jurisdictioun, as nather the law of God nor man can tolerat. Which is onlie his Majestie's intentioun to represse, and not to tak away anie godlie or solide order in the kirk, as heerafter sall appeare.

"The Ferd act of his Majestie's foresaid parliament dischargeth all judgements ecclesiasticall, and all assembleis which are not allowed by his Majestie in parliament; which act speciallie concerneth the removing and discharging of that forme latelie invented in this land, called the Presbyterie, wherin a number of ministers of a certane precinct and bounds, accompting themselves all to be equall, without anie difference, and gathering unto them certane gentlemen, and others of his Majestie's subjects, usurped all the whole ecclesiasticall jurisdictioun, and altered the lawes at their owne appetite, without the knowledge and approbatioun of the king or the estate—a forme of doing without anie exemple of anie natioun subject to a Christian prince. The perrell wherof did so increasse, that incace in due time it had not beene repressed and forbiddin by his Majestie's lawes, the samine had troubled the whole countrie. And it being tried by his Hienesse to be the overthrow of his Majestie's estate, the decay of his crowne, and a readie introduction to Anabaptistrie, and popular confusioun in all estats, his Majestie hath contramanded the same. And, that the reader may understand the danger therof, by manie inconvenients which thereby ensued in this land, I will onlie sett doun one, whereby yee may understand what perrell was in the rest. The ambassader of France returning home to his owne countrie, the king's Majestie commanded the proveist, bailiffes, and counsell of Edinburgh, to give him the bankett, that he might be dimissed honorablie, according to the amitie of ancient times betuixt the two natiouns. This command was givin on Saturday by his Hienesse, and the bankett appointed to be upon the Sunday.[1] A number of the foresaid pretended presbyterie understanding therof, conveened them-

[1] A mistake for Monday.

selves upon Sunday, in the morning, and presumptuouslie determined and agreed, that the ministers of Edinburgh sould proclame a fast upon the samine Moonday, where three severall ministers, one after another, made three diverse sermons, invectives against the proveist, bailliffes, and counsell for the time, and the noblemen in the countrie who assisted the bankett, at his Majestie's command. The foresaid presbyterie called and persued them, and skarslie by his Majestie's authoritie could be withholdin from excommunicating the said magistrats and noblemen, for obeying onlie his Hienesse' lawfull command, which the law of countreis, called *jus gentium*, requireth toward ambassaders of forrane countreis; and not onlie in this, but innumerable other things, their commandement was oppouned directlie, under the paine of excommunicatioun, to the king's Majestie and his lawes. Which forme of doing engendred nothing but disquietnesse, seditioun, and trouble, as may manifestlie appeare in that, the speciall authors of the inventing, promoting, and assisting of the foresaid pretended presbytereis, have joyned themselves with his Majestie's rebels; and, fleing furth of the realme, in respect of their guiltinesse, have discovered what malicious practises were devised among them, if God had not in time provided remedie.

"The other forme of judgement which his Majestie hath discharged is the Generall Assemblie of the whole cleargie of the realme, under pretence wherof, a number of ministers from some presbytereis did assemble, with some gentlemen of the countrie; wherof some, for that time malcontents of the estat, sought that colour, as favourers of the ministrie, by the which they have practised manie interprises in the realme, where there was no certane law in ecclesiasticall effaires, but all depended upon the said generall conventioun; where the lawes of the kirk were alterable after the pluralitie of votes, which, for the most part, succeeded unto the most unlearned of the multitude. This Generall Assemblie, among other things, did appoint and agree with his Majestie's regents in his Hienesse' minoritie, that the estat of bishops (which is one of the estats in Parliament) sould be mainteaned and author-

ized, as it is registred in the bookes of counsell, and subscrived by the commissioners for the time. Which order was observed manie yeeres, and bishops, by their consents, appointed to the dioceis; whill within this late time, in Assembleis holden at Dundie and Glasgow, respective, the foresaid ministers and Assembleis tooke upon them, contrare to their owne hand-writt, to discharge the estate, and to declare the samine to be unlawfull, in their pretended maner. And there [they] commanded the bishops of the countrie to dimitt and leave their offices and jurisdictiouns; and that in no wise they sould passe to the king's Majestie's counsell or parliament, without commissioun obteaned from their Assemblie; that they sould vote nothing in parliament and counsell but according to their acts and injunctions. And, farther, they directed their commissioners to the king's Majestie, commanding him and the counsell, under the paine of the censures of the kirk, (whereby they understand excommunicatioun,) to appoint no bishop in times to come, becaus they had concluded that estat to be unlawfull. And, notwithstanding that which they would have dejected in the bishops, they contended to have erected in themselves; desiring that suche commissioners as they sould send to parliament and counsell might be authorised in place of the estate. Whereby it sould come to passe, that where as now his Majestie may select the most godlie, learned, wise, and experimented of the ministrie, to be upon his Majestie's estate, his Hienesse sould have beene by that meanes compelled to accept suche as the multitude, by an od vote of the most unlearned, sould have appointed: which could not tend but to the overthrow of the realme, wherof that estate hath beene a speciall stowpe. After they had discharged the bishops, they agreed to have superintendents, commissioners, and visiters. But in the end they decerned, that there sould be no difference amongst the ministers, and imagined that new forme of Presbyterie, wherof we have spokin before. Nather was there anie other appearance, that they sould have stayed frome suche daylie alterations in the commoun wealth; which could not but continuallie be disquietted, where the law of conscience, which

they mainteaned by the sword of cursing, was subject to suche mutations, at the arbitrement of a number, wherof the most part had not greatlie taisted of learning. Attour, the foresaid Assemblie was accustomed not onlie to prescrive the law to the king and estate, but also did, at certane times, appoint generall fastings throughout the realme, speciallie when some factioners in the countrie were to move anie great interprise: for, at the fast, all the ministers were commanded by the said Assemblie to sing one song, and to cry out upon the abuses (as they termed it) of the court and estate for the time. Whereby, it is most certane great alteratioun to have ensued in this land, whill, at the good pleasure of God, and his blessing toward his Majestie, the pretext of the last fast was discovered, and his Hienesse delivered from suche attemptats. Whereby his Majestie hath beene justlie moved to discharge suche conventiouns which might import so prejudiciallie to his estat. But, speciallie, his Majestie had no small occasioun, where, as the samine Assemblie being convcened at Edinburgh, the day of did authorize and avow the fact perpetrated at Ruthven, in the taking of his Hienesse' most noble person. The which deid, notwithstanding his Majestie, with advice of his estats in parliament, hath accompted to be treasonable, the said Assemblie, esteeming their judgement to be the soverane judgement of the realme, hath not onlie approved the same, but ordeanned all them to be excommunicated who would not subscrive and allow the samine. So the acts of this Assemblie, and the lawes of the estat, directlie fighting in civill maters, with the which the Assemblie sould not have medled, it behoved his Hienesse ather to discharge himself of the crowne, or the ministrie, or that forme of Assemblie; which, in verie deed in the self, without the king's Majestie's licence and approbatioun, could not be lawfull, like as generall councels at no time could goodlie assemble but by the commandement of the emperour for the time; and our king hath no lesse power within his owne realme than anie of them had in their impyre. Yea, the Bishop of Sanct Andrewes had not, in time of Poprie, power to conveene the bishops and clergie out of his owne diocie, without licence im-

petrated before his Hienesse' most noble progenitors of good memorie, and the causes therof intimated and allowed.

"Notwithstanding, that his Majestie's intention and meaning may be fullie understand, it is his Hienesse' will, that the bishop or commissioner of anie diocie or province, or part therof, sall, at their visitation, appoint in everie parish, according to the greatnesse therof, some honest, vertuous, and discreit men, to concurre and assist the minister, and to have the oversight and censure of the maners and behaviour of the people of the parish. And, if there be anie notable offence worthy of punishment, that the bishop and commissioner be advertised therof, who sall have an officer of armes to concurre with his decreet, for punishment of vice and executions to follow therupon; that they who contemne the godlie and lawfull order of the kirk may finde, by experience, his Majestie's displeasure, and be punished according to their deservings. And farther, his Majestie, upon necessar occasiouns, which may fall furth by diverse maner of wayes among the clergie, upon humble supplicatioun made unto his Hienesse, will not refuse to grant them licence to conveene; to witt, the bishops, commissioners, and some of the most vertuous, learned, and godlie of their diocie; where suche ecclesiasticall maters as apperteane to the uniformitie of doctrine, and conservatioun of a godlie order in the kirk, may be intreated and concluded in his Majestie's owne presence, or some of his Majestie's honourable counsell, who sall assist for the time. Where, if necessitie so require, a publict fast throughout the whole realme may be decerned, and by his Majestie's authoritie proclamed, to avoide the imminent displeasure and danger of the wrathe of the Lord's judgements; which is the right end of publict humiliation, and not, under pretext therof, to cover suche interprises as have heeretofore greatlie disquietted and troubled the peace of this commoun wealth.

"The Twentie act ratifieth, approveth, and re-establisheth the estat of bishops within the realme to have the oversight and jurisdictioun, everie one in their owne dioceis. Which forme of governement and rule in ecclesiasticall effaires hath not onlie con-

tinued in the kirk from the dayes of the apostles by continuall successioun of time, and manie martyrs in that calling shed their blood for the truthe; but also since this realme receaved and embraced the Christian religioun, the same estate hath beene mainteaned to the weelefare of the kirk and quietnesse of the realme, without anie interruptioun; whill, within these few yeeres, some curious and bussie men have practised to enduce in the ministrie an equalitie and paritie in all things, als weill concerning the preaching of the Word, ministratioun of the sacraments, as likewise in discipline, order, and policie. The which confusioun his Majestie finding, by most dangerous experience, to have beene the mother and nurce of great factiouns, seditions, and troubles, within this realme, hath, with advice of his Hienesse' estats, maturelie and advisedlie concluded the said pretended paritie in discipline, orders, and policie in the kirk, to be no longer tolerated in this countrie; but the solicitude and care of moe kirks of one diocie to apperteane to the bishop and commissioner therof, who sall be answerable to God, his Majestie, and estats, for the right administratioun and discharge of the office of particular ministers within the bounds of their jurisdictioun. For, as it becometh his Majestie (as Eusebius writeth of Constantinus the Great) to be a bishop of bishops, and universall bishop within his realme, in so farre as his Majestie sould appoint everie one to discharge their duetie, so his Hienesse can not, his countrie being large and great, take him to everie minister that sall offend or transgresse against duetie, or querell with the whole number of the ministrie; but it behoveth his Majestie to have bishops and overseers under him, that may be answerable for suche bounds as the law and order of the countrie hath limited and appointed unto everie one of them; and that they having accesse to his Majestie's parliament and counsell, may interceed for the rest of the brethrein of the ministrie, propone their greeves unto his Hienesse and estats, and receave his Majestie's favourable answere therin. The which forme doeth preserve a godlie harmonie, unitie, concord, and peace, in the estat, and a solide order in the kirk; as contrariwise, the pretended equalitie

divideth the samine; and, under pretext of equalitie, maketh some of the most craftie and subtile dealers to be advanced and inriched, and, in pretending of paritie, to seek nothing but their owne ambitioun and advancement above the rest of the simple sort.

"And notwithstanding that his Majestie hath re-established the said estat, it is not his Hienesse' intentioun that the forsaid bishop sall have suche full power as to doe within his diocie what he pleaseth. For, as his Majestie can not allow of a popular confusioun, wherin, (as the proverb witnesseth,) '*Nulla tyrannis æquiparanda est tyrannidi multitudinis*,' that is, No tyrannie can be compared to the tyrannie of a multitude having commandement and power in their hands, so, upon the other part, his Majestie's will is, that the bishop's authoritie in anie grave mater be limited and circumscrived to the counsell of thritteene of the most ancient, wise, and godlie pastors of his diocie, selected furth of the whole synodall assemblie of the province, by whose advice, or, at the least, the most part therof, the grave and weightie effaires of the kirk may be conducted and governed to the glorie of God and quietnesse of the realme.

"Farther, it is his Hienesse' will and expresse commandement that these bishops or commissioners, twise in the yeere, to witt, ten dayes after the Pasche time, and the sixt of September, hold their synodall assembleis in everie diocie, for the keeping of good order therin. And if anie be refractor or contemner within their bounds of the good order of the kirk, they may be declared unto his Majestie, and punished, in the exemple of others, according to their deservings. Nather is it his Majestie's meaning or intentioun that suche bishops or commissioners as sall be appointed, sall receave their onlie and full commissioun of his Majestie, without admissioun ordinar, by suche as are appointed to that effect in the kirk; but having his Hienesse' nominatioun, presentatioun, and commendatioun, as lawfull and onlie patron, they to be tried and examined that their qualities are suche, as they are able and sufficient to discharge their cure and office. And if it sall happin anie of the saids bishops or commissioners to be negligent in their office, or to be

slanderous and offensive in their behaviour, life, and maners, in anie time comming, it is not his Hienesse' will that they sall be exeemed from correctioun, notwithstanding of anie priviledge of his Hienesse' estat, counsell, or parliament; but their labours, travells, diligence, and behaviour, to be tried in the Generall Assemblie, not consisting of a confused multitude, as it was of before, but of suche worshipfull persons as are heeretofore prescrived in his Hienesse' owne presence, or his Majestie's deputeis to that effect.

"Last, his Majestie giveth commissioun to the said bishops or commissioners, at their visitatiouns, to consider in what part of the countrie the exercise or interpretatioun of the Scripture (by conference of a certan number of the ministrie within that bounds) may be most commodiouslie once in the fifteene dayes. For, as his Majestie inhibiteth all unlawfull conventiouns which may ingender trouble and contentioun in the countrie, so his Majestie is weill-affected to see the ministrie increasse in knowledge and understanding, and by all meanes to fortifie and advance the same. Wherin his Hienesse' commandement is, that a grave, wise, and sage man, sall be appointed president, who may have the oversight of that bounds, and be answerable therefore to the bishop, his counsell, and synod; and he to be respected reasonablie for his paines, at the modificatioun of stipends, that all things may be orderlie done in the kirk, peace and quietnesse mainteaned in the realme, and we delivered from the appearand plagues, and the blessing of God continued to the confort of our posteritie. And, in the meane time, his Hienesse exhibiteth, and expresslie contramandeth, under the paines conteaned in his Majestie's acts of Parliament, and all other paines arbitrall at his Majestie's sight and counsell, that no ministers take upon hand to conveene themselves for the forsaid caus, without the appointment and order taikin by the saids bishops or commissioners, whereby his Hienesse may be certainlie informed that the forsaids ministers conveene not to meddle with anie civill maters or effaires of estate, as was accustomed before; but onlie to profite in the knowledge of the Word, and to be conforted one by another in the administration of their spirituall

office. Which his Hienesse wisheth them faithfullie to discharge; and them to call to God that his Majestie, in a prosperous raigne, enjoy good and long life, and continue and increasse into the feare of the Almightie God."

THE KING'S MAJESTIE'S INTENTIONS.

"1. His Majestie's intention is, by the grace of God, to mainteane the true and sincere professioun of the Gospell, and preaching therof, within this realme.

"2. His Majestie's intentioun is to correct and punishe suche as seditiouslie abuse the chaire of truthe, and factiouslie apply, or rather bewray, the text of the Scripture, to the disquietting of the estat and disturbing of the commoun wealth, or impairing of his Hienesse' or counsell's honour.

"3. His Majestie's intentioun is, if anie questioun of faith or doctrine arise, to convocat the most learned, godlie, wise, and experimented pastors, that, by conference of Scriptures, the veritie may be tried, and all hereseis and schismes by that meanes repressed.

"4. His Majestie's intentioun is, for keeping of good order in everie parish, certane to be censors of maners of the rest be appointed at the visitatioun of the bishop or visiter, who sall have his Majestie's authoritie, and officers of armes concurring for the punishment of vice.

"5. His Majestie's intentioun is to mainteane the exercise of prophecie, for the increasse and continuing of knowledge among the ministrie. In the which a wise and grave man, selected by the bishop or commissioner at the Synodall Assemblie, sall preside, and rander a compt of the administratioun of that bounds where the exercise is holdin. For the which caus some respect of living sall be had unto him who susteaneth that burthen.

"6. His Majestie's intention is not to derogat unto the ordinar judgement of maters of the kirk, by the ordinar bishops, their councels and synods; but, if anie of them doe amisse, and abuse their

calling, to tak order for correcting, amending, and punishing therof.

"7. His Majestie's intention is not to hinder or stay anie godlie or solide order grounded upon the Word of God, and order of the primitive kirk; but that the ministers of the Word meddle themselves onlie with their owne calling, and judge temeariouslie of the estat.

"8. It is his Majestie's intentioun that the presbytereis, consisting of manie ministers and gentlemen at landwart, or otherwise, be no farther tolerated in this realme; but the exercise of the jurisdictioun of moe kirks to be in the hands of the bishop or commissioner, and their councels and synods.

"9. It is his Majestie's intentioun that the bishops or commissioners conveene not a Generall Assemblie out of the whole realme, without his Majestie's knowledge and licence obteaned therunto; which, upon supplicatioun, his Hienesse will not denie, that an uniforme order may be conserved in the whole realme, and the bishops and their diligences there tried and examined, and the complaints of everie particular heard and discussed.

"10. It is his Majestie's intentioun to assist this Assemblie himself, or by a nobleman of his counsell, his Hienesse' depute.

"11. It is his Majestie's intention that when anie parish findeth necessitie of a fast, they intimie the occasioun to the bishop or commissioner their counsell, that they may understand that the caus is lawfull; as likewise, the bishop of the diocie, finding lawfull occasioun, may, within the same, with his owne counsell, prescrive a publict humiliation.

"12. It is his Majestie's intentioun that a generall fast, throughout the whole realme, sall not be proclamed but by his Majestie's commandement, or by that generall councell wherin his Majestie or his Hienesse' deputie is present.

"13. It is his Hienesse' intentioun that the bishops in the realme, in everie diocie, with their counsell, preside into the ecclesiasticall governement; but, as said is, with a councell, that both tyrannie and confusioun may be evited in the kirk.

"14. It is his Hienesse' intentioun that commissioners be directed, universallie through the whole realme, to establish a godlie order, and that his Majestie's commissioners take order presentlie for the translatioun of suche ministers, whose travells they esteeme may more convenientlie and profitablie serve in another place."

THE CENSURE.

"This declaration, inglossing upon the secund act, maketh mentioun heere and there of the king's authoritie, some time as though it were absolute, and some time as though it were limited and bounded. So that the declaratioun itself had need of a new declaratioun in that point.

"Wheras he alledgeth, that his Majestie will follow the exemple of godlie emperours, in convocating learned men to conferre upon maters of heresie, his declaratioun hath not the strenth of an act; nather can he assure us that his Majestie, his heyres, and successours, will convocat learned men, and stand at their decisioun. But what is this to the ordinar judgement of a nationall assemblie? If professed Papists and Jesuits flocke home frome forrane natiouns, and find greater favour and credit at court, at anie time heerafter, than all the ministers of the Ile, and challenge them for anie heed of religioun, sall the king and counsell be judge, and no appellatioun be made, under the paine of treasoun? What sall then become of religioun and the professors therof? The learned and sounder sort of the Romanists themselves place a generall councell above the Pope.

"As for his alledgance, that Mr Andrew Melvill his protestatioun was the occasioun of the making of this act; putt the cace, he had offended in so doing: if the act in it self be not justifiable, the pretended occasioun cannot excuse the making of it. But the truthe is, he protested onlie for that same libertie which was granted to others, to answere, *in prima instantia*, before his ordinar, the presbyterie, provinciall or nationall assemblie, according to the agreement concluded betuixt certan of the counsell and commissioners of the kirk, and practise ensuing therupon; or, that he might injoy

the liberteis of the universitie, seing his Hienesse' noble progenitors granted to maisters and students of the Universitie of Sanct Andrewes a speciall priviledge, latelie confirmed by his Majestie's self and three estats in parliament, that when anie maister or student is accused of anie offence, speciallie committed within the universitie, that the rector and his assessors sould be judges *prima instantia*. The great hatred of cheefe courteours seeking his ruine, moved him to flee to all lawfull remedeis, beside their purpose to make the king and counsell judges of the ministers' doctrine, as this act hath made manifest. As for the mater of his accusatioun, both his owne declaratioun, by word and by writt, and the depositioun of the witnesses, cleered him. Wheras he maketh him privie unto diverse conspiraceis of before, he nor all his adversareis could not make good that he understood anie thing ather of the Road of Ruthven or of the Road of Stirline; for these are the two conspiraceis he meaneth.

"In his discourse upon the fourth act, he maketh it concerne speciallie the Generall Assembleis and the Presbytereis, the walls and bulwarkes of our discipline, the two greatest ey-sores that bishops can behold. As for our Generall Assembleis, they were frequented by men of all estats, and speciallie men of credit about the king and his regents. Some were authorized, by commissioun frome them, to repaire thither frome time to time. The king and his regents held hand to them; and so, by their actioun, allowed them, which is more than a tacite consent; yea, and by their verball lawes and expresse consent approved them; for executioun of acts against Papists is referred to the Assemblie; commissioners directed from parliament, to conferre with the commissioners appointed by the Assemblie; the appellations of laick patrons are ordeanned to end, and take decisioun of the Generall Assemblie; superintendents, possessours, or titulars of prelacies, are ordeanned to be called before the Generall Assemblie, and to be deprived, incace they be found hereticall in doctrine. The acts ratifeing the jurisdictioun of the kirk, by consequence also ratified the Generall Assembleis, where all ecclesiasticall jurisdictioun was ordered, and some time exercised. The letter directed by the Generall Assemblie, holdin

at Edinburgh, sixth of Marche, maketh mentioun of an act of parliament allowing a Generall Assemblie twise in the yeere. Putt the caice the Generall Assembleis had not hitherto allowance, yitt they ought to have had allowance, and not to have beene discharged; for they have their warrant and institutioun from Christ. They need no more of Christian princes, but their approbatioun and assistance to their better being. He pretendeth some inconveniences to flow from the Assembleis: first, that they approved the Road of Ruthven, which was declared treasonable. But it was not declared treasonable in the meane time, but good service. They would not have medled with it, were not they were induced thereto by good reasons, as I have above rehearsed.

"Farther, he inveygheth like a bellie-god against the solemne fasts indicted by the Assembleis, as if rebellioun had beene intended under pretext of fasts; when as fasting could not be joyned with the purpose of rebellioun, except the purpose had beene intimated, or ellis their fasting was celebrated with blind obedience to the privie conspiracie of a few; for ellis, how could the Assemblie, consisting of persons of all estats, and often times his Majestie's owne commissioners present, indict a fast, or men of all estats obey the indictioun, and the rebellioun not to be discovered? The Kirk of Scotland hath reaped great confort and fruicts of their solemne fasts; and the enemeis have beene more affrayed of them nor of great armeis of men, as they have themselves confessed. So that, in the dayes of her solemne fastings, she was like an armie terrible with banners.

"That the Assemblie was accustomed to prescribe lawes to the king; that they sould command the king and counsell, under paine of excommunicatioun, to appoint no bishops in time to come, and suche other calumneis, are not worthie to be answered; for, to draw out of the pure fountans of God's Word an ecclesiasticall canon agreeable to the same, and to sute, like humble supplicants, the approbatioun of the same, is the duetie of the kirk. But this is not to prescrive lawes to the king and the estat; yea, farther, I say, it is the duetie of the kirk to admonishe and reprove princes

and all estats, incace they will, for no supplicatioun, assist and putt to their helping hand to the godlie constitutiouns of the kirk. As for the presbytereis, they were approved, with the universall consent of all men, yea, even of this adversarie himself. The king likewise, by his commissioners and authoritie, confirmed the same, in an Assemblie holdin at Glasgow in Aprile 1581; and, farther, by his commissioun in writt, subscrived with his owne hand, and directed to the ministers, barons, and gentlemen, in sindrie parts of the land, for the erectioun of the said presbytereis according to the forme agreed upon. Which commissioun of his Majestie was reverentlie obeyed, and suddanlie, as became, putt in executioun.

"When he hath searched all that he can to disgrace the presbytereis with alledged inconveniences flowing from them, he alledgeth but onlie one, to witt, that the Presbyterie of Edinburgh appointed a fast to be keeped upon the day that the French ambassader, De la Mott, was banketted by the toun of Edinburgh. This is a false alledgance: for not the toun, but some French factioners of the toun, banketted the ambassader. Three bailliffes, the greatest part of the counsell, were in the kirk in the time of the banket, and some also of the king's Privie Counsell. Nixt, there was no fast indicted, but a voluntarie abstinence. Thridlie, the presbyterie, becaus of the suddantie and secrecie of the mater, could not conveene ather to indict a fast, or ellis proclame a voluntarie abstinence. The particular sessioun of the kirk of Edinburgh, with advice of so manie magistrats and counsellers as were not contrivers of the bankett, appointed a voluntarie abstinence. What, if the presbyterie had done as he alledgeth? Sall all presbytereis be discharged for the fault of one? Then lett all bishops be hanged as tratours, becaus not onlie one, but manie bishops have beene tratours. If there be anie thing worthie of blame, it is to be imputed to the sessioun of one kirk onlie. Sall, therefore, all sessiouns and parish consistoreis be abolished? But that sessioun is not to be blamed, if yee will looke backe to the historie which I have alreadie rehearsed. But the penner of the declaratioun declareth himself to be partiall; for if he had pleased, he might have pub-

lished in this his pamphlet, how the Christian ambassaders, comming from a Christian princesse, acknowledging our king as sole king, and traffiquing betuixt the two nighbour kingdoms for firme confederacie, which tended to the establishment of religioun among us, were, notwithstanding, uncourteouslie used by the Frenche factioun. One sent in ambassadge from our nighbours of England, of good accompt among all Christians, and a speciall freind to the professors of Scotland, some of the nobilitie minding to interteane him by freindlie courtesie at meate, durst not, for the malice of great courteours for the time. Another railed upon in the streets by Kait the witche, and other the like bairds[1] and naughtie packes, who, by the forsaid courteours, were hyred for that purpose; and a libell was made in the name of Kait the witche, to disgrace the queene, his mastresse. The thrid, to witt, Mr Randulph, had receaved a bullet instead of a banket, if God had not provided for his safetie. A vile railing letter against the Queene of England, his soverane, and her governement, was clapped to the doore of his loodging, to cheare him withall. But, belike, this man cared not muche what become of them, so that his knight of the Councell of Trent were made to make good cheare. Isaias reproved Ezekias for his too familiar interteanment of the Babylonish ambassader. Necessar interteanment and commoun courtesie, allowed by the law of natiouns, no man denyeth. But what just reasons the sessioun and ministrie of the kirk of Edinburgh had to be moved at the extraordinarie banketting of the Babylonish ambassader, I have declared in the owne place. Lett the judicious reader consider everie circumstance.

"As to the twentie act, he defendoth the estat of bishops, as most agreable to God's Word, which, before, he damned and abjured. He coloureth their monarchie with a counsell, which sall assist them in their dioceis. But this counsell sall be at the bishop's choice. So, yee may be sure, they sall be als corrupt as himself. And then, forsooth! yee sall have a knott of good fellowes, or rather a packe of Placeboes, to bridle the bishop's tyrannie. But what suppose they had beene chosen to his hand? is the

[1] Railers.

Holie Ghost gone from the rest, and tyed to the places or persons of a few chapterlie men?

"The keyes of the kingdome of heavin, givin to all pastors, must be putt in the hands of the bishop's counsellers. Manie moe things may be said against this bastard declaratioun. But he himself was minded afterward to confute it, as we sall see, in his recantatioun. What I have not presentlie answered is answered before, or is to be answered yitt farther, in the answere to the intentiouns, and the dialogue following."

AN ANSWERE TO THE DECLARATION OF CERTAN INTENTIONS SETT OUT IN THE KING'S NAME, TUICHING HIS MEANING TOWARD THE LATE ACTS OF PARLIAMENT, FOR DISCLOSING OF THE IMPIETIE OF A PART OF GOD'S ENEMEIS IN SCOTLAND. 7TH FEB. 1585.

"Omitting things spokin particularlie against certan persons in this declaratioun, incace I sould prejudge them of their owne rights, in answering for themselves, I minde but verie shortlie to tuiche the preface, and fourteen intentiouns, in the end that godlie men be not deceaved by the hypocrisie of the enemeis of God's kirk in our countrie, but may suspend their judgements: or then, considering their proceedings, may know them by their doings, till the full and exact answere be sett doun by them to whom it speciallie belongeth; and who will take in hand so to doe, to the singular confort of the distressed Church of Scotland, and more ample manifesting of the bloodie and cruell hypocrisie of our enemeis.

As to the Preface.

"Wheras it is said that some evill-affected men goe about, so farre as in them lyeth, to invent lees, to staine the king's fame and honour, etc.—It cannot be denied, but there are manie suche like men that not onlie have done so, but also, have so farre proceeded in the same, that the hearts of all that feare God are wounded with the remembrance therof. For wheras, from his birth God did provide, by the

governement and instructioun of good men, that he sould be brought up in the sincere knowledge of the truthe, and in all good and godlie exercises consonant therunto; wherupon he not onlie became a miracle, as it were, of godlinesse, wisdome, learning, and virtue, among the rest of the kings of the earth; but also, his kingdome was a mirrour of sinceritie in religioun to others round about. It floorished in great peace and tranquillitie; his subjects lived therin in true godlinesse, under his obedience; his name was made notorious and knowne to natiouns farre and neere, and a good expectatioun was planted in the hearts of all men, hoping for good effects of so godlie educatioun.

"But now the wheele is turned almost, as it were, upside doun, and his good fame daylie decreasseth, and is impaired. And no mervell: for if an Achitophel inverted the kingdome of godlie David, (Sam. xvii.) a Sobnah infected the kingdom of zealous Ezekias, (Isai. xxii. 18,) an Haman troubled the kingdom of Ahashuerus, (Ester iii.) and Judas, betraying his Maister, scattered the whole flocke, (Matt. xxvi. 45, 56,) what inversioun, infectioun, trouble, and dissipatioun must ensue in that kingdom, where Achitophel, Sobnah, Haman, and Judas, joyned together, with manifest sorcerers, witches, Atheists, and professed Papists, have seazed upon his young person, and ceasse not both day and night to corrupt his godlie educatioun; alluring him to all kinde of impietie and ungodlinesse, which from his heart he deteasted of before, and drawing him so farre fordward in assenting unto their unhappie purposes, that by that meane, once feltered[1] and embrued, as it were, in impietie, he hath no power to turne backe againe. So, these pernicious pests and monsters of men have made him to consent to the murther and martyrdome of his neerest kinsmen, governours, counsellers, and defenders of his royall authoritie in his youth. These have sett before his eyes, and daylie ding in his eares, that devillish opinioun of absolute power, whereby they have made him to consent to make lawes for binding of the consciences of men, for wracke of religioun, and

[1] Entangled.

everting of ecclesiasticall discipline, and to spoile Christ Jesus, the King of kings, of his scepter, and to throw his power out of his hand. These have made him to consent to the banishment of sindrie of his nobilitie, favourers of God's good caus, and speciall lovers of himself, and to waird [in] prisson sindrie others. These have made him to persecute extremelie the true pastors of Christ's church, by banishment, imprissonment, spoiling of their livings, and shoring[1] of them with instant death, becaus they thought that they sould, as the Lord's true watchemen, have spokin against their monstrouous proceedings. These have broght in about his Majestie, and to his companie, enemeis to God, like themselves, enemeis to religioun, professers of Papistrie, plaine avowers of idolatrie, and approvers of the bloodie massacres executed upon the sancts of God. By these, and suche like open doings, they have preassed, not onlie to derogat the free passage of the Gospell and discipline ecclesiasticall, but also to evert the whole doctrine and discipline flowing out of the pure fountans of the Word of God. Wherupon, of necessitie, must flow wracke of religioun, eversioun of policie ecclesiasticall, and establishing of Papistrie and Atheisme in all estats.

"And yitt, suppose these things be als cleere as the sunne to manie, their bold hypocrisie is suche, that by the coloured cloke of good INTENTION, they would perswade men that falshood is truthe, darkenesse light, and hell were heaven. But that no man be deceaved, lett everie good man use that rule that Jesus Christ hath left in the Evangell—By their workes yee sall know them; and he sall find, lyke as Satan most diligentlie hath travelled in all ages, sometimes by opin force, sometimes by hid falshood and hypocrisie, to overthrow the Gospell and zealous professers therof, so, speciallie now, in the latter dayes, seing the truthe invincible, and his kingdome of lees discovered, he hath, as a desperat chiftane, enflammed these his childrein of darkenesse, and coupled in their person both the one and the other, that with might and slight invading the same, and giving the last assault, he may appeare to

[1] Menacing.

leave nothing undone that an old craftie and cruell experimented divell can or may doe. Open thyne eyes, therefore, good Christian reader, and thou sall see that these are enemeis to religioun, tratours to his Majestie, in effect subtile serpents in his bosome, wounding them daylie more and more in conscience and fame, craftie and cruell woolves under pretext of religioun, wrackers of religioun, disquietters of the estat, and perjured controveeners of the oath, band, and obligatioun of faith, wherunto, by the great oath of the Lord, they subscrived with his Majestie not long since, the day of

"Moreover, that thou, who is God's true worshipper, and his Majestie's faithfull subject, be not abused with the coloured cloke of their intentiouns, sett out in his name, I heartilie desire thee to read this their declaratioun; and I promise thee that if thou weill and advisedlie consider it, thou sall find the mervellous power of God declared thereby, who hath made them by suche a declaration to open wide to the whole world their irreconcilable hatred against the truthe, and their malice hid before, mervellouslie, at their owne commands, detected. And to the end that thou, good reader, may the more easilie understand it, I come to the forteene intentions subjoynned in the end, that thou, comparing this answere with them, may see their open impietie.

"*The inscription is*—

"THE KING'S MAJESTIE'S INTENTIONS.

"God blesse his Majestie, and open his eyes to see and behold how, under his name and authoritie, himself, God's church, his true subjects, and whole kingdome, is abused, that he may follow the blessed exemple of holie King David, sett out in the hundreth and one Psalme. As for the word INTENTIOUN, it is found in the Booke of God, taikin in sindrie significations, but cheefelie in two. One for that which is good; another for that which is evill. A good intentioun is that which, proceeding from the inward dytement of God's Spirit, rightlie meaneth his glorie, and is consonant in all

points to that perfyte rule of all righteousnesse; that is, the will of God reveeled in his Word. Which intentioun is laudable, approved, commanded, and blessed of God, as may be seene in the Booke of Deuteronomie, (Deuter. xl v.,) when he commanded his law so to be followed in all our intentiouns and actiouns, that it onlie be our wisdome and understanding; from which also it is not leasome to declyne, ather to the right or to the left hand. This same is also renewed to us under the Evangell, wherin we are commanded not to fashioun our selves like unto the world; but to be changed by the renewing of our mindes, that we may prove what is the good will of God, acceptable and perfyte before him. Evill intentioun is that which, proceeding from man's wisdome, (what end soever it be directed to,) is ather God's Word, or hath warrant therinto, speciallie in maters of conscience and religioun. This intentioun is disallowed, forbiddin, damned, and accursed of God, as is evidentlie expressed, not onlie in the Bookes of Numbers and Isay, (Numb. xv. 12; Isay lv. 8,) where God sayeth, 'Seeke not after your owne heart, and your owne ease; for my thoughts are not as your thoughts, nather my wayes as your wayes, sayeth the Lord. But as the heavens are higher than the earth, so are my wayes higher than your wayes, and my thoughts are above your thoughts;' but also in that most fearefull exemple of Uzzah, who putting but his hand unto the arke of God, to hold it, of a preposterous intentioun, when the oxen did shake it, was slaine in that place, and destroyed without mercie, (2 Sam. v. 6.)

"Now, if these intentiouns be good that are sett doun in this declaratioun, and if they be found, according to this rule, suche as have proceeded from the dytement of God's Spirit, rightlie meaning his glorie, and so are according to God's Word, surelie they are praiseworthie; and they are unhappie that doe not allow or subscrive them. But on the contrare, if they be found to have proceeded of man's wisdom, to deface the glorie of God, and are ather plainlie repugning to the Word, or have no warrant therunto, surelie we must say with God's Spirit, they are damnable, and they are accursed that have invented them, or allow or subscrive them,

considering that fearefull threatning of the prophet plainlie pronouncing, 'Woe be to them that speeke good of evill, and evill of good; that putt darknesse for light, and light for darknesse; and that putt sweite for sowre, and sowre for sweite.'

"Now, therefore, I come to the examinatioun of the intentiouns particularlie, everie one by themselves, wherin, by the grace of God, I trust we sall see, by the true tuichestone of the Word, and their owne daylie dealing, that all their intentiouns are ather manifestlie evill, or, if they have anie shadow of goodnesse in the generall, their daylie practises sall accuse them of untruthe before the whole world."

AS TO THE FIRST INTENTION.

"Where they affirme his Majestie's intentioun to be, to mainteane the true and sincere professioun of the Gospell, and preaching therof within this realme, indeid, his duetie so requireth, and in office and conscience he is bound so to doe, seing kings are appointed to be nourishers of the church, (Isay xlix. 23.) And surelie, one day he will be called, and his counsellers, to appeare before that great God and righteous Judge of the world, to answere for their doings; where the bookes of men's consciences being layed open and naked, no cloake of coloured intentioun will be found to cover it with. Therefore, in this point, his Majestie ought to be verie wise and circumspect, to witt, that he presume to doe nothing but according to his writtin Word, incace he mainteane errors for truthe: for the which caus, he is also charged to have the Booke of God continuallie with him; to read theron all the dayes of his life, that he may learne to feare God, and keepe all the words of his law and his ordinances to doe them; that his heart be not lifted up, and that he turne not from the commandement to the right hand nor to the left, (Deuter. xvii. 19.) Which, with all our heart, we wishe and pray that his Majestie sould doe. But anie man that will not be wilfullie blind, may easilie see by the effects and doings, this intentioun to be manifest untruthe; becaus, first,

the acts of parliament made in May last, directlie repugne unto the writtin Word. So that the positioun of them importeth the eversioun of the Gospell, and sincere preaching therof. Nixt, sindrie proclamations have beene made since, and suche rigorous handling hath proceeded therupon against sindrie of the ministrie, that some of them have beene pulled doun from the pulpit, some of them imprissouned, others banished, some putt to silence, and some spoiled of their livings, (and that without citatioun, accusatioun, or lawfull convictioun,) for the preaching of the Word sincerelie, as their office required. And moreover, lawfull pastors are fleed from their flockes, bellie-gods and mercenareis are planted in their rowmes, and the poore people are compelled, with dolour of heart and greefe of conscience, to heare them. Now, therefore, lett all good men but of small judgement see whether or not these effects proceed from suche an intentioun as would mainteane the Gospell, and sincere preaching therof. Alas! rather, these are the last dayes and perellous times (wherof the apostle speaketh) in which we are fallin; where suche men rule, that are lovers of themselves, and having a shew of godlinesse have denyed the power therof; from which all good men are commanded to turne away."

AS TO THE SECUND INTENTION.

"Where it is said it is his Majestie's intention to correct and punishe suche as seditiouslie abuse the chaire of truthe, and factiouslie apply or bewray the Scripture, to the disquietting of the estat, disturbing of the commoun wealth, and impairing of his Hienesse' and counsell's honour, surelie his Majestie's intention is good, providing true triell past before, and lawfull correction followed after, according to God's Word. But who seeth not in the one and the other the Word neglected, and lawfull meanes tramped under foote? Who seeth not the cleane contrarie course to the intention prosecuted? Are not apostats, schismaticks, bellie-gods, excommunicats, and men both suspended and cast from their ministrie for just causes, admitted to the chaire of truthe?

Are not these who, being all their dayes notorious blotts in the church, and suche as confessed themselves they never had the spirit of true applicatioun of the Scripture, preferred to high rowmes? And who seeth not the chief end of their preferment to be to defame the holie ministrie in their brutish persons, for the eversioun of that blessed light of the truthe in our countrie, and disturbing of the commoun wealth; and for the flattering of princes and people, king and counsell, in their impietie, that sleeping, they may perish in their sinnes? For why? Are not Amaziah's speeches and boastings daylie uttered of the true pastors? 'O seers, goe, flee away in the land of Judah; eate there your bread, and prophesie no more at Bethel; for it is the king's place and chappell, and the king's court.' Do not the rebellious children say unto their pastors, 'See not; and unto the prophets, Prophesie not unto us right things; but specke flattering things unto us, and prophesie errours?' (Isa. xxx. 10.) Is not, then, the time come, spokin of by Paul, wherin they will suffer no wholesome doctrine; 'but having their eares itching, after their owne lusts gett them a heape of teachers, and, turning their eares frome the truthe, give themselves unto fables?' (2 Tim. iv. 3.) Where, then, is this intentioun prosequuted? It appeareth, it was never meanned. O poore Scotland! miserable now is thy estat, spoiled of thy greatest ornament, and burthened with unsavourie salt, (I meane, the apostaticall bishops, and all their young birds that beare their marke;) which is profitable for nothing, but to be cast out, and trod under the feet of men, (Mat. v. 13.) And yitt, more miserable is thy estate, that thy princes seing suche like unsavourie salt in thee, (which privilie in their consciences, also, they confesse,) as wilfullie blind men, they take pleasure therin."

AS TO THE THRID INTENTION.

"Whereas they say it is his Majestie's intentioun, if anie questioun in faith or doctrine arise, to convocat the most godlie, learned, wise, and experimented pastors, that by conference of Scrip-

tures, the veritie may be tried, schismes repressed; this surelie is a laudable intentioun, if it be rightlie, according to the Word, done as it is spokin. But, alas! these are words onlie; for who, looking discreitlie upon the estat of Scotland, and the tyrannous course and dealing presentlie used, will not find heerin a manifest untruthe? Is not the whole ministrie cast loose? Are they not all esteemed, ather railers, sophists, or idiots, by the cheefe courteours? Is not all craft and crueltie used against them, to subdue them unto the phantaseis of men, that being men-pleasers, they might ceasse to be servants to Christ? (Galat. i. 10.) Moreover, are not sindrie of the best learned, godlie, wise, and experimented, ather violentlie abandouned their countrie, ather banished from their flockes, ather imprissouned, or then, by extreme boasting, so buried as it were, that when questions sall arise, ather in faith, doctrine, or discipline, none darre or may be present, to conferre Scripture with Scripture, that the truthe may be tried; but contrarie, that all hereseis and schismes may spring and floorish haistilie, as the seed is alreadie sowin in sindrie places? And, finallie, if this intentioun be in them, I would speare why they have, contrarie thereto, so rashlie, without admitting of reasouning, (offered by the ministrie, at their late parliament,) condemned the doctrine and discipline established in the Kirk of Scotland by manie laudable acts before; and in place therof brought in a plaine confusioun, forged of man's braine? But lett good men espie their said intentioun, and conferre their doing therewith, and blind sall they be that see them not enter in the course of the Jewes' captans and people, who, comming to Jeremie, desired him to aske counsell of the Lord for them; and tooke God to be witnesse that they would follow all things, good or evill, that the Lord commanded them by his prophet; and yitt, not the lesse, had settled in their hearts firmelie to follow their owne course, concluded among themselves, (Jerem. xlii. 43.) And, therefore, when the prophet shew them God's will, proudlie they said, the prophet spake falselie: the Lord had not sent him, but all that he had spokin, he had it of their enemeis, who meanned to slay and carie them captives. This is your inten-

tioun most wicked; and, therefore, as they perished in God's wrathe, assure yourselves, the like destructioun is prepared in his righteous judgements for you, incace yee repent not haistilie."

AS TO THE FOURTH INTENTION.

"Where they say his Majestie's intentioun is, that, for keeping of good order in everie parish, certan sould be appointed censors of the maners of the rest, at the visitations of the bishop or visiter, who sall have his Majestie's authoritie, and officers of armes concurring, for punishment, this intentioun is damnable and accursed; becaus it overthroweth that lawfull and ordinarie policie of elderships and presbytereis, allowed and authorized by God in his Word, and preferreth thereto man's wisdome and authoritie, which, in all ages, hath ever beene declared accursed in that point. Also, in this intentioun there lurketh more hid poysoun than at the first view can be perceaved, as is more plainlie exponed in the sixt, eight, and thrid intentiouns, where, by parts, as it were by a commentarie, they explane themselves. For, in all these, although these Tulchan and bastard bishops be made a skugge,[1] under the which these vipers may evome more covertlie their poysoun, yitt their cheefe intentioun is to confound the ecclesiasticall and civill jurisdictions, which Christ, the Sonne of God, hath separated, (Matt. xxiii. 21,) and to re-establishe a new Popedome in the person of the king, that he, being cheefe judge in all causes and controverseis, and having an absolute power to determinat, he may putt up and cast doun religioun at his pleasure, without contradictioun. For why? First, The ecclesiasticall jurisdictioun, givin immediatlie by God unto his church, is transferred, by the usurped commissioun and authoritie of the prince, on the person of bishops, who are his owne creatures. Nixt, This jurisdictioun granted to bishops is not granted to them as to the church, but as to the king's counsellers or commissioners, the king being the head wherefra this power floweth. Thridlie, This jurisdictioun granted is so limited, that

[1] Shelter, covert.

from them appellatiouns may be made to the king and his counsell, as cheef judge, to give definitive sentence in the same at his pleasure, and to correct the bishops as he thinketh good. Which is no other thing but plaine tyrannie and Popdome in his person, accursed of God, which incace our courteours will denie, it will be but vaine labour, seing, by the same papall authoritie, the cheef parts of discipline ecclesiasticall are usurped; as the making of ecclesiasticall persons, depositioun of ministers, and absolving of sindrie excommunicats from the sentence of excommunicatioun. Remember, remember in time, I counsell you, how hard a thing it is to spoile the kirk of Christ of the authoritie and jurisdictioun which is granted thereto immediatlie of God himself, and not of man, (Matt. xviii. 18; John xx. 21; Matt. x.) Remember that fearefull wrathe of God that fell on Saul and his posteritie, (1 Sam. xiii. 10,) and the plague of leprosie that came upon Uzziah, for usurping these functions wherunto they were not called of God; preassing to conjoyne the two functions in one person. Remember that none ought to take themselves an honour or functioun, but that wherunto they are called of God, as was Aaron. Otherwise, if yee amend not, dolorous experience sall make you to lament, where there sall be no hope of amends."

AS TO THE FYFT INTENTION.

"Where they say it is his Majestie's intentioun to mainteane the exercise of prophecie, for the increasse and continuance of knowledge amongst the ministrie, O, impudent mouths! who will beleeve you that looketh upon your doings, except he be mere senselesse? For, First, Yee have, by acts of counsell and publict proclamations, discharged at the mercat croces all conventiouns and assembleis amongst the ministrie, and speciallie, by letters, commanded the magistrats in everie place to stay, hinder, and abolishe the same altogether, under all highest paine; so flatlie your ordinance repugneth to the apostolicall institutioun. Secundlie, Yee have banished, imprissouned, wracked, and dashed these of the mi-

nistrie who were esteemed best learned; and yee have sett up in their places ather dumb dogges that cannot barke, or hyrelings that will not suppose they could; or then, blotts, that are ashamed to reprove others, being culpable themselves, and that in no weill reformed church would be tolerated. Thridlie, Yee have everted and abolished the college of Theologie, the only seminarie in the whole countrie of learning for pastors; yee have banished the cheefe teachers and maisters therof, and scattered the whole students: in this point, resembling the fact of Julian the Apostat, who purposing to extinguishe whole Christianisme, beganne at the discharging of schooles and colledges, the seminareis of learning. Who now, considering these your doings, will thinke that your intentioun is to mainteane learning in the ministers? Is darknesse so farre different from light, and falshood from truthe, as your doings from your said intentioun? O good intentioners! remember also, that of everie idle word that men sall speeke they sall give an accompt at the day of judgement; muche more, you, of impudent lees. Feare, then: try and judge your selves in time, that yee be not judged and condemned with the leing world, for it is a fearefull thing to fall in the hands of the living God, (John viii. 44; Matt. xii. 36; 1 Cor. xi. 31; Heb. x. 31.")

AS TO THE SIXTH INTENTION.

"Wheras you say his Majestie's intentioun is, not to derogat to the ordinarie judgement of maters of the church, by the ordinarie bishops, their counsels and synods; but if anie of them doe amisse, and abuse their calling, to tak order for correcting and punishing them, I answere, this intentioun is altogether wicked, and conteaneth within it three monstrouous errors. First, A manifest untruthe: for by the acts of parliament, the ordinarie judgement of kirk maters, and forme therof, prescrived by God in his Word, is plainlie everted and overthrowne, as sall be seene in the Eight intentioun. Secundlie, An intolerable confusioun of the ecclesiasticall and civill jurisdictioun, which God, by his owne mouth, hath separated in the persoun of the prince, is allowed, wherof we have spokin in the

Fourth Intentioun. And, thridlie, A spirituall tyrannie, damned by the expresse Word of God, is renewed, to witt, the estat of bishops, which, as it is heere sett doun, is nothing ellis but the ordinance of man, to colour the Papall confusioun with, whereby to one man is givin power and jurisdictioun over the brethrein of the ministrie to place and displace them at his pleasure, and to exerce the discipline ecclesiasticall as he thinketh good. Therefore, as concerning bishops, that yee may know your errour, and not be ignorantlie blind, yee sall find the name, office, and power of bishops over pastors, to apperteane to none but onlie to Jesus Christ, that great Bishop and Prince of pastors, who being God and man, will have no vicar or vicegerent in the earth, as he needeth none, (1 Pet. ii. 25.) Nixt, That none hath presumed to take this stile, office, and power, but the Antichrist, (1 Pet. v. 4.) And, moreover, that none have sought to re-establishe that sacrilegious usurpatioun, or anie part therof, again in a weill reformed kirk, but they that would animat and give life to the deid limmes of the Antichrist, that by that meanes a doore may be opened, and a way prepared to the Antichrist himself, so farre feebled in our countrie by the breath of the Lord's mouth, and ruined by the sword of his Word.

" As concerning the ordinarie office of a bishop, allowed and authorized by the Word of God, yee sall find that it is all one with a minister, pastor, or elder, that laboureth in the Word, without anie farther difference ather in office or power. Becaus, first, The name of bishop, pastor, minister, and elder; and elder, minister, pastor, and bishop, are promiscuouslie and alike used by the Spirit of the living God, in the writtin veritie, (Acts xx. 17, 18; 1 Tit. i. 5, 6, 7; 1 Pet. v. 12, 13, 14.) So that it is a plaine profanatioun of the Scriptures of God, and perverting of the simple speeche and language of God's Spirit, to induce a tyrannie in the voice or name BISHOP, that signifieth one, and to tak it in diverse sense from which God's Spirit hath used it unto. Nixt, Wheresoever the properteis, qualiteis, office, and functioun, is described and spokin off, throughout the whole Word, there, as the names are commoun

to the office-bearers, so are the whole properteis, qualiteis, office, and function. Thridlie, When ever mentioun is made of power ecclesiasticall or spirituall jurisdictioun, there none, ather bishop, pastor, minister, or elder, is preferred in one jote to another, wherby one may claime jurisdictioun, or the shadow of jurisdictioun, over the rest of his brethrein, (1 Tim. iii. 4, 5, 6; Tit. i. 6, 7.) And, Ferdlie, To ding doun the inventioun of man, and this tyrannie spirituall, the Wisdom of God, Christ Jesus, hath left a notable precept to be objected in the teeth of these presumptuous prelats that, with Lucifer, presume above others: to witt, 'The kings of the Gentiles raigne over them, and they that raigne over them are called gratious lords. But yee sall not be so. But lett the greatest amongst you be as the least, and the cheefest as him that serveth,' (Luc. xxii. 25.)

"Since, then, this your estat of bishops not onlie hath no ground in the Word of God, but also spoileth Christ of his honour, and is expreslie damned by God's Wisdome, men may easilie judge what is the intentioun that hath re-established the same. And, moreover, incace some of them, for this damnable estat would alledge that the name of bishop is ancient, and that it is spokin of by the ancients, I answere shortlie, The name of bishop, in this sense, is never taikin in the Word of God, and, therefore, nather antiquitie nor opinioun of the ancients can prevaile against the writtin veritie; for antiquitie without veritie is not veritie, but the ancientnesse of errour. As for the ancients themselves, they desire not to be heard nor beleeved, when ever they waiver therefra. And yitt I will sett doun certan of their sentences tuiching bishops, that the godlie reader may also know their meaning in this point, and so their cloaked intentioun may fullie evanishe. Irenæus sayeth, '*Iis qui sunt in ecclesia, presbyteris obedire opportet qui successionem habent ab apostolis, qui cum episcopatus, successione charisma veritatis certum seeundum bene-placitum Patris acceperunt,*' (Iren. lib. iv. cap. 44:) that is to say, We must obey these elders that are in the kirk, and have their successioun of the apostles; as also have receaved with the successioun of the bishoprick the sure gift of veritie, according

to the good will of the Father: where this ancient father calleth the pastor both after one name, elder and bishop, and attour, admitteth none to be bishops but these that have their successioun from the apostles, joyned with the veritie of the writtin Word. Cypriane sayeth, 'Unus est episcopatus, cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenetur,' (Cyp. de Simplicit. Prelat. 14:) that is, There is but one bishoprick, wherof everie severall bishop hath his solide part. In which words all superioritie of anie one above the rest is excluded, that all may, according to the sentence of the apostle, whether pastor, elder, bishop, or minister, under the cheefe Bishop and Head, Christ Jesus, use their calling, for gathering together of the sancts, for the worke of the ministrie, and for the edificatioun of the bodie of Christ, (Eph. iv. 12.) Hierome sayeth, 'Idem est presbyter, qui episcopus, et antequam diaboli instinctu studia in religione fierent, et diceretur in populis, 'Ego sum Pauli, Ego Cephæ,' communi presbyterorum consilio ecclesia gubernabantur,' (Hieron. in cap. i. ad Tit.:) that is, The elder and bishop is both one; and before that, by the instinctioun of the devill, factiouns entered in the religioun, and it was said among the people, 'I am Paul's, I am Apolloe's, I am Peter's,' the kirks were governed by the commoun counsels of the elders. And, again, "Audio quendam in tantam erupisse vecordiam, ut diaconos presbyteris (episcopis) anteferret, cum apostolus docet eosdem esse presbyteros, quos episcopos,' (Hieron. in Epist. ad Evag.:) that is to say, I heare some men to have burst out in so great foolishnesse, as to preferre deacons to elders, that is, bishops; when as the apostle plainlie teacheth bishops and elders to be all one. Chrysostome sayeth, 'Inter episcopum et presbyterum interest fere nihil,' (Hom. ii. in 1, ad Tit.:) that is to say, Betuixt a bishop and an elder almost there is no difference. Ambrose sayeth, 'Episcopi et presbyteri una ordinatio est, uterque enim sacerdos est,' (Amb. de Dignitate Sacerdotali:) that is, Both the elder and the bishop have one ordination, and both are preests alike. Since then, this is the truthe, both described in the Word, and meaned in the ancients, I would the pretended bishops that are greedie of worldlie honours, and, with Lucifer, would rise up against God, sould learne to yeeld

to the truthe in time, and cast off that damnable office, which nather with the warrant of the Word, nor yitt the testimonie of a good conscience, they have tane on; and if they have left anie place to repentance, and have not their consciences burnt with an hote yron, (1 Tim. iv. 3,) lett the sentences of Chrysostome move them, which are—'*Qui non utitur sacra Scriptura, sed ascendit aliunde non concessa via, hic non pastor est, sed fur,*' (in Joan, Homil. 58:) that is, Whosoever useth not the lawfull way sett out in holie Scripture, to enter in an ecclesiasticall office, but ascendeth otherwise, this man is no pastor, but a theefe. And, again, '*Quicunque desiderat primatum in terra, inveniet in cœlo confusionem,*' (in Matt. Homil. 37:) that is, Whatever he be that desireth pre-eminencie in the earth, he sall find confusioun in the heavens."

AS TO THE SEVENTH INTENTION.

"Where yee say his Majestie's intentioun is not to hinder or stay a godlie order grounded on the Word of God and order of the primitive kirk, but that the ministers of the Word medle themselves with their owne calling, I answere, it is manifest untruthe. For where as the whole order of ecclesiasticall discipline used in the Kirk of Scotland was grounded in the writtin Word, and conformed in all to the puritie of order used in the primitive kirk, the same good work of twentie-five yeeres' building, in one houre was flatlie overthrowne, without a good ground of Scripture, or yitt anie reasoning craved. And, moreover, when the ministrie understood this temerarious intentioun, and had directed certane of their brethrein to crave audience and reasoning in so weightie a mater, there were of them some at that same instant most barbarouslie layed hands upon, commanded to waird, and led to prissoun, wherin as yitt they are keeped. On the other part, at that same time, that which Athanasius speeketh of the Arrians was fulfilled in the persoun of the bishops; to witt, '*Cum ipsi essent rei ac judicio obnoxii, veluti Caiaphas, judicandi munus invaserunt,*' (Orat. 1, ad Arrian:) that is, When they themselves were guiltie and culpable of judgement, as Caiaphas they invaded the office of judging."

AS TO THE EIGHT INTENTION.

"Where yee say it is his Majestie's intentioun that the presbytereis, consisting of manie ministers and gentlemen, be not farther tolerated, but that the exercise of jurisdiction be in the hands of the bishop or commissioner, I answere, This is an accursed intentioun, proceeding of the verie instinct of Satan, most mightilie in his force manifesting himself without cloake or colour. For, heerin (pretermitting the re-establishing of that cursed estate of bishops spokin of in the sixt intentioun) there are three things grounded on the Word of God, and flowing off the pure fountans of God's eternall wisdome, damned and abolished als farre as the power of man, being but a worme animated with a borrowed spirit, can extend: First, the name of the presbyterie; Nixt, the office-bearers in the presbyterie; and, Thridlie, their authoritie and jurisdictioun. Which presumptuous forme of dealing in a reformed kirk and countrie, surpassing the whole exemple of all ages, is like onlie to that of Coreh, Dathan, and Abiron, who, therefore, were made publict spectacles of God's vengeance to the world, the earth opening the mouth therof, and swallowing them quicke, bodie and soule, to the hells. Therefore, if yee will be wise, and not fall in the hands of the living God to perish, learne, first, that the assembleis of ministers and gentlemen, called by you a popular confusioun, is named in the Scriptures by Christ Jesus, the Church, and the Apostle Paul, Presbyterie or Eldership, (Matt. xviii. 17; 1 Tim. iv. 14.) Learne, secundlie, that the office-bearers in this assemblie, and all these to whom the name of Elder is givin in the Word of God, are two ranks; one that laboureth cheefelie in the Word and doctrine, and these are called pastors and doctors: another sort, that labour cheefelie in the censuring of maners, and these are called both rulers and governors; to which office, gentlemen, and other qualified persons that are not ministers, may be called. Learne, thridlie, that this presbyterie, convcened in the name and authoritie of the Lord Jesus, hath a spirituall power proceeding immediatlie of God, and

nather of angel nor of man, to rule his kirk, to reasoun, deliberat, and conclude in maters ecclesiasticall, and apperteaning to conscience, whose conclusions, resolutions, and determinations, are of suche sort, that whatever they bind or loose on the earth, according to the Word of God, is bound or loosed likewise in the heavens: and whosoever contemneth the authoritie therof sould be esteemed of the childrein of God as an ethnick or a publican. (1 Tim. iv. 17; Ephes. iv. 11; Rom. xii. 18; 1 Cor. xii. 20; John xx. 23 Matt. xviii. 17.")

AS TO THE NYNTH INTENTION.

"Where they say it is his Majestie's intentioun that bishops or commissioners conveene not a Generall Assemblie without his Hienesse' leave craved and obteaned, as he will, upon supplicatioun, not deny, I answere, as bishops, and the prince his commissioners, have no vocation in God's kirk, so have they no power to convocat an assemblie. As for the prince's intentioun to call assembleis upon supplicatioun, it is an hard mater to lippin[1] thereto, when the doings are so repugnant to the intentioun. For whereas, by the authoritie of the three estats in parliament, the Generall Assembleis of the Kirk of Scotland were allowed, and with notable successe, to God's glorie and repressing of all hereseis and schismes these twentie-five yeeres conveened, and their prince's commissioners were manie times present, and admitted continuallie to reason and give their suffrages; now, thes laudable acts are rescinded, the Assembleis are abolished, and nothing can be esteemed good but that which proceedeth from man, and man's inventioun and institutioun."

AS TO THE TENTH INTENTION.

"Where they say it is his Majestie's intentioun to assist this Assemblie himself, or by a nobleman of his counsell, his Hienesse'

[1] Trust.

depute, I answere, the intentioun ought, before the promise of assistance, to see first that suche Assembleis be conveened as God's wisdome prescriveth in his Word. Upon the which, when good and godlie assistance followeth, we will have occasioun to say the intentioun was good."

AS TO THE ELLEVENTH INTENTION.

"Where they say it is his Majestie's intentioun that the people craving a fast to be appointed intimat it to the bishop, and at his appointment it be, I answere, the Booke of God making mentioun of two sorts of fasting—one privat, another publict—permitteth everie one liberallie to use the privat, as Christ hath sett out the forme, (Matt. vi. 16.) But as for publict fasting, becaus the people for the most part, of nature, ather consider not the causes, or considering, are not so bent to fasting, or being bent, are commounlie infected with hypocrisie, therefore hath God appointed in his Word pastors, as watchemen, to proclame it, and to exhort all thereto, (Isa. xxii. 12; Isa. v. 8; John iii.; John ii. 12.) Which thing if the watchemen did not, experience teacheth how few fastings sould be craved of prince or people all their lyfe time. But, indeid, this appeareth to be mervellous, that incace the people would crave a fast, that they are sent to the bishop, the lawfull pastors neglected. Which surelie is nothing unlike to the counsell and intentioun of these, who being in minde to reforme a bordell,[1] would crave the consent and concurrence of a vile and shamelesse harlot, whose whole delight is sett on vanitie; as all good men know, who see our Scotish bishops' lifes, and maner of living."

AS TO THE TWELVETH INTENTIOUN.

"Where they say it is his Majestie's intentioun that a generall fast throughout the whole realme sould not be without his Majestie's commandement, or then the commandement of a generall

[1] Brothel.

councell conveened by his authoritie, I answere, Truelie worke beareth witnesse that the true order of fasting is the exercise that the court cheefelie mislyketh. Therefore, the intentioun is not unlike unto the men. Attour, in the name of publict fasting, bypast, who saw not when the Lord of Hosts by his ambassaders called to weeping and mourning, that amongst them nothing appeared but joy and gladenesse, eating and drinking? Wherefore, lett them be sure the time approacheth when their iniquitie sall not be purged from them whill they dee, becaus their doings are declared in the eares of the Lord of Hoasts."

AS TO THE THRITTEENTH INTENTION.

"Where they say it is his Hienesse' intentioun that the bishops of the realme in everie diocie, with their counsell, preside in the ecclesiasticall governement; but, as said is, that confusioun and tyrannie may be evited in the kirk, &c., I answere, This intentioun is evill, becaus it first establisheth the tyrannie of bishops, who, having no calling in the Word of God, can use no office nor power in the kirk; as is proved by the sixth intentioun. Nixt, becaus it confoundeth in the person of the prince the ecclesiasticall and civill jurisdictioun, making the former estate of bishops a cloake to cover it with, as we have said in the fourth intentioun. Which two evite not, but authorize a tyrannicall confusioun in the kirk of God."

AS TO THE FOURTEENTH INTENTION.

"Where they say it is his Majestie's intentioun that commissioners be sent universallie throughout the realme, for establishing of godlie order, and that his Majestie's commissioners take order presentlie for translatioun of ministers where their travells may best serve, I answere, First, There can be no godlie order there, where the order appointed by God is not onlie neglected, but also abolished, and the foolish wisdome of man preferred thereto. There-

fore, all their travells (of what intentioun so ever they faine them to proceid) are abominable in God's sight. Nixt, concerning the translatioun of ministers, surelie the device is not improper for the devisers. 'If there be a good man left neere ather king or court, to interrupt their pastyme or present course, lett him be translated ather to the wildernesse with Elias, to follow his banished brethrein, or to the prison with Micheas, to feede on the bread of afflictioun and water of teares, like as his fellow ministers in Blacknesse, the Castell of Sanct Andrewes, or Spey Towre, or Perth; or then, lett him be sent to the landwart or hieland, to preache to the aire. But truelie, in this point, I would wishe the afflicted brethrein of the ministrie of Scotland, and others godlie and zealous men, sould behold and reverence the mervellous wisdome cairing for His owne; that, banished with Lott, and marked with the mourning faithfull in their foreheads, when the wrath of God is powred upon the childrein of disobedience, they be not involved in their punishment. And good men ought to flee from spirituall Sodom and Babel, and from Bethel, that before was the Lord's hous, but now is become Bethaven, that is, the hous of iniquitie and vanitie, seing their sinne hath come up to heaven, and God hath remembred the iniquitie. Therefore, lett all the godlie in Scotland crie, 'Arise, O Lord, and let thy enemeis be confounded; lett them flee farre from thy presence that hate thy godlie name: lett the sighes and sobs of thy owne childrein, banished, imprisouned, and distressed, enter in before thee! Lett not thy enemeis thus triumphe to the end, but lett them understand it is against thee that they fight: lett thy strenth and power be reveeled in the weaknesse of thy owne deare servants! Deliver thy owne distressed Church of Scotland; and make thy blessed vine, planted there with thy owne hand, enjoy the libertie of thy everlasting truthe and Evangell, as it did before, through Jesus Christ thy Sonne; to whom, with the Father and Holie Ghost, be all praise for ever and ever.'"

ZELATOR, TEMPORIZAR, PALEMON.[1]

"*Zelator.*[2] I see you heere, Temporizar. I am certane he is glade of my greefe and trouble, for he hath oft times said, that my precisenesse would procure me trouble in some forme.

"*Temporizar.* Good morrow, Zelator: have yee once learned, that I have beene Cassandra to you? Take up your singularitie and precisenesse now, and see what yee gaine by it.

"*Zelat.* I thanke God, though my estat be heavie and troublesome externallie, the world is not able to expresse the confort that I have in the inward man. And I passe little by my owne estate; but, alas! the estate of God's poore kirk, and his deere servants,—to see them ly in miserie, as forsaken of all men! For who is not now ather affrayed or ashamed of Christ's cace, and the persecuted estate of his deerest servants, and the meanes whereby his glorious kingdome could be advanced? Alas! I say yitt once again, Who is not ather ashamed of them, or ellis live carelesse of them?

"*Temp.* Sall there never be end of thy madnesse and follie? What hath thou to doe to passe for these maters? Take compt of thyne owne estate, to live in ease, wealth, honour, and quietnesse. Choppe on thy breest, and say with wise folke that have past before thee, and wise folke that yitt follow their footsteps, 'Heere is my commoun wealth.'

"*Zelat.* O miserable age! O miserable estat and conditioun of man! Time past hath tuiched, the present time tuicheth, and time to come sall tuiche the miserable and unhappie conditioun of men, whose portioun and felicitie is of this present world; unhappilie

[1] The "Answer to the Declaration of certain Intentiouns set out in the King's name," &c., was the production of Andrew Melvill, and this dialogue which follows was probably written by James, his nephew.—See *M'Crie's Life of Melvill*, Vol. i. p. 319; Edin. 1819.

[2] "One taketh the name of Zelator upon him, because Mr Patrick Adamsone, in the forged testament which he would have given out under Mr James Lawson's name, imposeth this name upon the sincerest preachers; for the nickname of Puritane was not then known among us."—*Calderwood, Fol. Edit.* p. 174.

borne for themselves onlie; damned of the verie heathen, who say, 'The gods, our brethrein, and countrie, crave our aide,' in all their adoes.

"*Temp.* I agree, that all these be partakers of my labour and care, so farre furth as may stand for my owne advancement: but I will not hazard my owne estat for anie of them. *Charitas incipit a semetipso.* When I am wracked and gone, all the world is gone to me.

"*Zelat.* Thinke yee not, there can be ease in a tossed estate, riches in povertie, honour in a base conditioun, quietnesse in affliction?

"*Temp.* I thinke it be true. But for my part, I accept the first estate; take yee them sua. I am not a minister; I am not, nor desire not to be of your afflicted kirk: I would ay be of the glorious and triumphant kirk.

"*Zelat.* Swyne the pork. Of the secund sall thou never be, that is ashamed of the first.

"*Temp.* Are yee not muche oblished to us, then, that sett a number of you phreneticks eatin up with your zeale, the high way (by suche exercises of crosses as yee taste of daylie) to the triumphant kirk?

"*Zelat.* Mocke not, for that is no mocking mater; nather boast of your crueltie, howbeit yee have power. The teares of God's afflicted are putt up in the bottells of his remembrance. Their crie is come before Him, as an evening acceptable sacrifice: the crie, I say, of dishonouring of God, and oppressing of his servants, hath kindled his wrathe against you, and all that delite in that wicked and abominable course. Yea, in the eyes of faith, I see His wrathfull judgements upon you alreadie.

"*Tempor.* Yee know how yee and I have alwayes been divided in opiniouns tuiching the courses of the world; and how I have ever misliked this singularitie of yours, and this obstinat precisenesse, and your medling in high maters. Could yee tedder your self to your booke, and preache simplie the Word, and lett them drowne in their owne dregs that would not yeeld obedience when

yee had discharged your conscience? What is it in your way, what acts the estats and the king make? What have yee to doe, who approve, allow, or subscrive them? Remember the old proverb, 'He that will of all men be a correcter, sall winne of the most part hate for his labour.' Yee see grave and aged souldiers comport with the time, and lett a storme blow by.

"*Zelat.* It is not the first time yee have troubled me with this baibling. Would God I had a thrid person to judge betuixt us; for yee are so drowned in the stinking puddle of this corrupt world, that the fleshe potts of Egypt are sweetter to you than the graces and blessings of Mount Sion.

"*Tempor.* Yonder is Palemon: will yee accept him?

"*Zelat.* I have not great acquaintance of him; yitt I leane to so solide grounds, that the devill himself is not able to impugne the same.

"*Palem.* What is the mater, brother?

"*Tempor.* There is heere a phrenetick foole, whom I would once have to see his follie, and learne to live as other men; and for ought that I can say to him, he will not thrive.

"*Zelat.* I were muche oblished to you, if yee were als carefull of my soule as yee pretend to be of my stinking flesh.

"*Palem.* Contend not of words. But since ye have accepted me as judge, lett see what yee debate upon.

"*Tempor.* This man is a subject, and hath layed before him an honest and peaceable conditioun of living with his owne wife, barnes, and familie, for yeelding obedience to the king's Majestie's acts and lawes, allowing and subscriving of the same; whereas the refusall (which he pertinaciouslie standeth upon) endangereth him ather of death, incarceratioun, proscriptioun, or losse of all his geare. Thinke yee him not a mad foole, that would expone himself to anie of these inconveniences, wheras he may so easilie redeeme quietnesse to himself? What say yee, Palemon?

"*Palem.* I were a rash judge to give so suddane sentence: I will heare your brother.

"*Zelat.* Where the questioun standeth betuixt the felicitie of

this world, and the peacè of a man's conscience, how miserable is his estat that will not preferre the peace of his conscience to the whole impire of the world! For what hath a man gained, that with shipwracke of his conscience and losse of his soule hath conquered the impyre of the world?

"*Tempor.* Will yee see the vanitie of this foole, ever prattling of conscience! Sayeth not the Scripture, 'Obey kings and rulers, even for conscience sake?'

"*Zelat.* I know the place, and meaning of the Apostle, that it is against conscience to disobey magistrats, although they have no power over men's consciences: for, otherwise, if their obedience were not restrained to things lawfull, Peter had not said, 'It is better to obey God than man.' And innumerable exemples in the Scripture have taught us, that God's servants, tyrannouslie entreatted of princes, have gladelie chosin and accepted whatever might fall on their mortall bodeis, before they wounded their conscience, placing man's command before God's. Choosed not Moses the ignominious estate of God's childrein of Israel, rather than to be compted Pharaoe's oy,[1] and enjoy the felicitie and pleasure of his corrupt court, to the hurt of his conscience? (Heb. xi.) Choosed not Joseph to ly in a stinking prissoun, rather than defile his bodie (the temple of God) with his maister's wife? Choosed not Daniel, with his brethrein, rather to be exponed to the consuming fire, than obey the command of Nebuchadnezar in worshiping an image; and, therafter, to be exponed to the bloodie mouths of greedie lyouns, than make a God of Darius, in giving that part of God's honour to him, which consisted in invocatioun of his name? What torment susteaned the childrein of Israel, for disobeying magistrats and rulers in eating swine's flesh, eating of flesh offered to idols, not making bankets to Bacchus, and other idols, (Macab. vi. and vii.,) leaving that notable exemple of doctrine to us, of constant abiding and sticking to God in peaceablenesse of conscience, with whatsoever temporall inconvenient it could bring.

"*Tempor.* These were heathen princes.

[1] Grandson.

"*Zelat.* To whom, notwithstanding, men were als straitlie oblished in obedience, as now, to Christian princes commanding things lawfull; for God hath but one rule, and one command for both.

"*Palem.* I trow, I understand both your meanings in this head. You, Temporizar, would say, for eshewing the indignatioun of the prince, and inconveniences temporall which may fall upon your brother, that he sould follow that course of allowing and subscriving the late acts of Parliament, which Zelator thinketh he cannot doe with safe conscience, preferring yitt conscience to all the world.

"*Tempor.* Yea, even for conscience' sake, I thinke he sould doe it, beside the other reasons of his owne commoditie and quietnesse.

"*Palem.* If he hath good reason, and be able to susteane, that without hurt of conscience he can not doe it, I thinke he hath both good, honest, and lawfull ground of refusall. For who darre open his mouth, and speeke so vile a blasphemie, as say, God's obedience in peace of conscience sould not goe before the obedience of all the monarchs of the world?

"*Zelat.* If I prove not that some of these acts, as they stand, directlie repugne to God's eternall truthe, I accept what paine so ever yee thinke I have merited, for my contumacious obstinacie.

"*Tempor.* What! darre yee speeke that? darre yee so muche as thinke it? Know yee not what paine is imposed against suche?

"*Zelat.* No, no; I am past that point: terrifie them that are affrayed of your worldlie minassings. I have concluded, what ever may fall upon my mortall bodie, that God's caus will I not betray. That curse of God's displeasure and judgements that lyeth upon them that call evill good, and good evill, sall not ly upon my shoulders. Woe, woe, that fearefull and terrible woe, threatned by the Spirit of God against these who doe God's worke negligentlie; how muche more on these that doe it slanderouslie, or seeming to doe it, destroy it!

"*Palem.* I will reduce you to your ground, that in conscience yee cannot subscrive the acts, for that they directlie (some of

them) repugne to the expresse Word of God. Prove that, and yee, Temporizar, sall have place to meetè or reply to anie thing that he proponeth, doing the same modestlie.

"*Tempor.* The best lawyers in Scotland approve these acts; have seene and approve them, and yitt yee darre oppone you in your singular opinioun against them. Yee may see if there be not a great pride in his heart.

"*Zelat.* I passe not what lawyers affirme. There is no lawyer that hath not made shipwracke of conscience, that will affirme it. And if yee esteeme my heart proud, for constant mainteaning so honest a caus, wherin God's glorie may be interessed, I will confesse I have als proud a heart as he that is a foote higher.

"*Palem.* Truelie, Temporizar, yee be in the wrong. We tyne time. I command you silence, till I give you place. Prosecute your reasons against the acts.

"*Zelat.* The Secund act permitteth to the king and counsell judgement of all causes ecclesiasticall; an act, as it standeth, als sacreligious as the fact of Uzziah offering incense, or the fact of Uzzah putting his hand unto the arke of God, which was not leasome to him to tuiche, (2 Chron. xvi.; 2 Sam. vi.) For the two vocatiouns of civill and ecclesiasticall powers are vocatiouns distinguished of God, that neither of the office-bearers may, without sacriledge, use other's offices.

"*Tempor.* What! is not the king judge to all his subjects? It is treason to affirme it.

"*Zelat.* I grant; and yitt, not directlie, to all the causes of all his subjects: for even in temporall things, the king and counsell will be declynned in manie causes of judgement. But with suche I meddle not. It was never read that anie temporall king tooke upon him and his counsell the judgement of the doctrine of the Word, nor decisioun of controverseis that rose upon teaching or exponing of the Word. It sall never, I say, be proved by warrant of the Word of God, practise, consuetude, or exemple, but onlie to have beene decided by the doctors, elders, pastors, and office-bearers of the kirk allanerlie. Attour, yee cannot denie unto me,

but God hath givin power, jurisdictioun, and authoritie to his kirk, to abate proud contemptuous rebells to his Majestie with the censures of excommunicatioun, which the devill himself can not denie: must there not, of necessitie, proceed the pronunciatioun of that fearefull sentence, citatioun, probatioun, admonitioun? Can the king and counsell without sacriledge take this judgement upon them? Hath not Christ said, I will give the keyes of binding and loosing to Peter, in name of all ecclesiasticall pastors; and not temporall kings nor their counsells? Reconcile this with your act; and caus them both stand.

"*Tempor.* Then, I perceave, we must have moe kings in the realme than one.

"*Zelat.* It followeth verie evill; for diverse formes of judgements, after the diversitie of the causes, may be all under one king, and his royall power never the more impaired. Christ is Head, King, Maister and Ruler of his kirk, of whose fulnesse all his members participat; and hath committed the rule and governement of the same to the office-bearers within it, as pastors, doctors, and elders. In which government the king is not exeemed, but hath his place and power to see and overwatche all these, that they discharge their calling, as they have severallie in charge, in suche sort that it is not leasome to him to doe anie part of their offices.

"*Tempor.* Yee know that the ground of that act was the pride of Mr Andrew Melvill, who declynned the king and counsell as competent judges to him, in an accusatioun layed against him of a preaching he preached in Sanct Andrewes; and the king's Majestie hath declared his minde tuiching that act, in his Hienesse' declaratioun.

"*Zelat.* The ground of that act, I trow, in verie deed was that declinatour. What necessitie was there to make an act so farre out of reasoun, upon so light occasioun?

"*Tempor.* Esteeme yee that light to a subject to declyne his prince's judgement?

"*Zelat.* Is that a new thing? Falleth not that furth almost everie day before the Secreit Counsell? Declynned not Mr Johne

Cramond, within twentie dayes after Mr Andrewe's dyet, the king and counsell as judges competent for exhibitioun of the heretrix of Badravill, and he was never querrelled as a declynner of the king's Majestie's authoritie? That is a forme commoun enough before anie judges.

"*Palem.* Mr Andrewe's mater is beside your purpose. Goe to the acts and the declaratioun.

"*Zelat.* Lett us debate the mater concerning the acts, as they stand simplie; and if yee can bring anie supplee for your reasons out of the declaratioun, use it: yee sall have place. Who ever diminisheth of the Booke of this prophecie, God sall take away his light out of the booke of life. But the fourth act impaireth of the Word, and taketh away of the libertie granted unto Christians in this Booke.

"*Tempor.* I denie that.

"*Zelat.* Your acts take away the conveening of the brethrein to the doctrine of the exercise commanded in the fourteenth of the First to the Corinthians, and also, tak away conveening of the kirk constituted of ministers, elders, and deacouns, for ordering of the policie of the kirk, wherof they have the governement, for repressing of vices, visiting and conforting of the sicke, providing for the poore.

"*Tempor.* These things are not of necessitie when men have libertie to preache the Word. What suppose these things stay till order be tane for them?

"*Zelat.* If the preaching of the Word, ministratioun of the sacraments, be, of necessitie, the policie of the kirk is of als great necessitie; commanded of the same Author, with the like threatning of judgements upon the negligent doers of their office, to whom the policie is concredited. To what end are suche things commanded? Why is there anie suche calling? Why are hands layed on them? Why are God's judgements threatned against the negligent dischargers of these offices, if they be not of necessitie?

"*Tempor.* These conventiouns, when I remember my self right, are not discharged *simpliciter*, but not to be used but his Majestie's licence.

"*Zelat.* A fyne shift! If yee permitt it leasome by a law to his Majestie, that is a Christian prince, to restraine and abandoun the libertie that God hath givin Christians, yea, not onlie givin, but straitlie commanded to be exercised. If there rise a king not satled in religioun, he sall say, 'It is als leasome to me to discharge *simpliciter*, as to my predecessors to restraine and abandoun it:' at least having the power in his hand to permitt the libertie, sall never grant them libertie of these exercises. Now, say in your owne conscience what an unhappie colour that granting of licence is for that law. What mouth without blasphemie darre speeke, notwithstanding that God hath commanded thee this and this, so and so to doe, yitt to say thou sall not doe it without speciall licence? Darre stinking flesh take upon it to controll God's command? See we not what presumptioun it is this day esteemed to controll the command of an earthlie king?

"*Tempor.* I grant the dispositive words of both these acts beare the meaning yee speeke of. But the king's Majestie said plainlie to all the ministers that his meaning was never to hurt the kirk; and the Bishop of Sanct Andrewes, in his name and the counsell's, affirmed that the meaning of the estats was not to tuiche or impaire the libertie of particular sessiouns, or conventioun to the exercise in making of their act. Sent not his Grace, immediatlie after the making of that act, a letter under his hand-writt and some of the counsell, subscrived with Johne Andrew, and signetted with the signet of Secreit Counsell, to the toun of Edinburgh, dispensing with that act; that, notwithstanding the act, his Grace permitted to them both the libertie of the exercise of the Word, and conveening the sessioun of the kirk for correctioun of maners; discharging all his judges for conveening of them, for practising of the said exercises?

"*Zelat.* He sould be of good memorie [that] sould mak a leesing. Yee said, even now, that the meaning of the king and estats was not to empaire the libertie of these two exercises; and now yee grant a speciall dispensatioun sent for using of them, notwithstanding of the act; for dispensatioun of an act confirmeth it. And so, yee

snare your self by your owne words. Now, once yeeld to the truthe, and say with your owne conscience how I may allow or subscrive suche acts?

"*Tempor.* I wote not what curiositie and nycenesse is this in these maters, and mistrust yee have of his Grace, who, God be praised, professeth himself a member of the kirk, and maintenar of the Gospell with you. And would yee but simplie yeeld obedience to his lawes, he would preasse you no further; for his lawes need no allowance or confirmatioun of a subject.

"*Zelat.* Remember you, Temporizar, for all the trouble is for not allowing and speeking against these lawes. Was not the first propositioun his Grace propouned to the ministers conveened before his Grace and counsell, that they spake against his lawes, which he would not heerafter suffer unpunished; and if anie had scruple tuiching them, there to speeke it, and not to meddle in speeking against them therafter? Wherupon followed the urging of men to subscrive them, wherin, questionlesse, was also meaned the approving of them. But be it that men were preassed with no more but simple obedience, in what conscience can men oblishe themselves to them that yee have now heard proved so manifestlie to repugne to the eternall truthe of God?

"*Palem.* Temporizar spake some thing that belike yee have not tuiched concerning the good minde the king beareth to the kirk: for subjects sould alwise have a good opinioun of their prince, that is a professour of the Word with them. Howbeit that the words of the act be somwhat straitlie sett doun, that might be amended in the nixt parliament, and mitigated to your contentment. There sould not be suspicious dealing betuixt a prince and his subjects of one religioun, as where there is an heathen prince. The word of a prince sould be a sattled stay for a subject to rest upon, and not seeke, as the proverb is, a knott in a rash, speciallie with the prince.

"*Tempor.* Weill said, Palemon, yee have helped me: I thank you for it.

"*Zelat.* Truelie, Palemon, I take it in good part all that yee have

said, howbeit it be somwhat more than the part of a judge; and I affirme all that yee have said. Yitt, to make this particular cleere, and to satisfie your generall, will require some longer discourse, which if yee list patientlie to heare, I sall absolve in as few words as I can. God of his infinite mercie hath planted a kirk in Scotland. The prince hath confirmed the same by a publict law. The fame of that kirk, and the honour of the king and countrie for the uniformitie and puritie of professioun, hath gone through all the parts of Europ. These notable Confessiouns of Faith, the first exhibited in parliament in the governement of that notable servant of God, of good memorie, the Erle of Murrey; the other by his Hienesse himself, confirming not onlie the doctrine but the forme of ecclesiasticall policie receaved and exercised in the kirk, which both, for their worthinesse, to the great honour and perpetual praise of his Hienesse, are translated in all languages, are gone abroad in all countreis. Sall these grave, wise, and learned men, be so unstable as to be left and caried with everie wind of doctrine; and approve this new discipline, directlie repugnant not onlie to the former, receaved, allowed, and sworne to, but to the eternall truthe of God's Word? For, howbeit his Majestie, by reasoun of his youth, and not sattled knowledge in maters of divinitie, and a number of the Lords of the Estate, whose knowledge also is inferiour to his Hienesse' owne in divinitie, have suffered themselves to be abused with the authoritie of the learning of that profane Epicurean apostat, Sanct Andrewes, to alter and change the former forme of discipline, to the great dishonour of God, impairing of his Hienesse' fame, shame of the whole countrie and professors of the religioun; yitt we are perswaded that by time, his Hienesse and estats, examining the mater more narrowlie, sall reduce things to their owne integritie, and confesse there hath beene rash dealing, in lesse than twentie-foure houres, to cast doun twentie-foure yeeres' bigging. Thinke not, therefore, it is anie mistrust we have of his Majestie. It is simplie for the maintenance of the truthe, wounding of our owne conscience, giving slander to our brethrein professors of the same religioun, and mater of rejoicing to the enemeis of the truthe,

that sall object so lurd[1] ignorance and inconstancie, and prepare an entreis to themselves, to erect again grounds of Papistrie. God knoweth our heart. And for anie evill dispositioun that is in my heart against his Hienesse, in all this course, I pray God his Majestie saw it als truelie as I my self. And whereas men judge there can no man have good opinioun of the king's Grace, except he yeeld, allow, and approve all that he doeth, I looke to see that day that his Hienesse sall like better of one of them that this day remaine constant, than of all these that ather flattering for their belleis, or forced for temporall inconveniences, abuse his Grace, perswading him all things to be leasome for his Hienesse that they ding in his eares. The truthe in end sall be strongest; and manie things this day putt furth under the king's name, and his Hienesse' obedience, that time will trie, to tend more to the particulariteis of suche as be in credit, nor ather to the king's weale or honour; and I pray God, if his Grace heard and understood the sobbing voices of his subjects that this day mourne for his Hienesse' owne estat, the poore kirk's, and of us his poore subjects. Now, Temporizar, reply as yee can.

"*Tempor.* I have somwhat yitt, but I keepe it to another time. Have yee anie other thing that greeveth you in the acts?

"*Zelat.* What say yee to the act of annulling Montgomrie's excommunicatioun? How is the judgment of excommunicatioun, absolving from it reductarie, or annulling of it, come in their hands? And God knoweth also by what forme it is done; a thing that could not stand with law of annulling a decreit given in a baron's court, of fortie shilling, except all having interesse had beene summouned to that effect.

"*Tempor.* Truelie, I can not weill answere to that; for I see our great rabbi, our Metropolitan, hath past over that dry-shod, as an act he could not susteane. And yitt it wanteth not the owne reasoun; for the Assemblie that excommunicated him was discharged to do it, and had promised not to doe it, as is alledged.

"*Zelat.* If the Assemblie had beene cited to have answered for it,

[1] Infamous.

I know they had cleered themselves honestlie eneugh in that mater. Reserve another eare for the Assemblie. Now, Maister Temporizar, these are your acts, which, though they agree with God's truthe as light with darknesse, we must allow, obey, and subscrive; and for not doing must be compted factious, seditious knaves, disturbers of the quietnesse of the realme, rebels against the king, with I wait[1] not what infinite other number of slanderous reproaches. God be praised, that compteth us worthie to suffer suche reproaches with our Maister and Head, Christ, of whom in his time they spake, 'Say we not weill that thow hath a devill?' Wisdome is justified of her owne childrein.

"*Tempor.* I say yitt once again, there is nather allowing nor approving of these lawes sought of you, but simple obedience. What necessitie have his Hienesse' lawes of a subject's approving? The like was never read.

"*Zelat.* Yee have your answere alreadie before. And what necessitie is there to subjects to oblishe themselves in obedience to commoun lawes? Was ever the like of that heard? Have not men their geir, lands, and bodeis, to be punished, incace they contraveene or transgresse lawes? And yitt yee cannot denie but in these verie self acts there is a straite interdictioun, under no little paine, that none impugne or speeke against these acts.

"*Tempor.* It is in that point that I would have you wise to eshew that danger; for, perhaps, yee mister never to have occasioun of obeying or speeking of them.

"*Zelat.* Speeking I have daylie, except I would betray God's caus, which, with assistance of his Spirit, I intend not to doe.

"*Tempor.* May not a king make an unlawfull law that none may lawfullie disobey?

"*Zelat.* Leave that shift. I would not medle with that generalitie of lawfulnesse of lawes, and obedience to lawes sometimes sett doun unlawfullie, which I will grant certanlie to be true, becaus experience teacheth the same daylie. But heere is the questioun of this subject of unlawfull lawes that may not lawfullie be obeyed,

[1] Wot.

which I sall make more sensible to you by exemple, for your better understanding. The kirk, in whose hands is the power of excommunicatioun, hath pronounced that sorrowfull sentence of excommunicatioun against Mr R. Montgomrie, hath delivered him to Satan, and hath, by authoritie of the Word of God givin to them, inhibited all the faithfull to have to doe with him, but compt him as an heathen or publican. The parliament and this law giveth a direct contrare decreit; declared this sentence null, and, therefore, by annulling the excommunicatioun, he is in his former estat, as if he had never beene excommunicated. Now, judge this contrapositioun. Christ, by the mouth of his kirk, sayeth, 'Lett him be to thee as an heathen and publican.' The act of parliament annulling the sentence, sayeth in consequence, 'Let him be to thee as a faithfull and Christian brother.' Now, whether Christ, speeking by the mouth of his kirk, or a pretended law, sett doun by manie unlawfullie, usurping the kirk's authoritie, sould be obeyed?

"*Palem.* He hath riddin neere you now.

"*Tempor.* I say not muche to the act. But when will it tuiche you in obedience? When will yee have adoe with Montgomrie?

"*Zelat.* My brethrein and yoke-fellowes will daylie; and I am not certane how soone I will have adoe with him my self.

"*Tempor.* Becaus the king's Majestie hath found I wot not what nycenesse and opiniacie, in his urging of men to subscrive the acts, he hath, for the better contentment of all men, and more full understanding of the acts, and his Hienesse' intentioun tuiching them in maters ecclesiasticall, sett furth his Hienesse' declaratioun in print, to make all men, and speciallie suche querrelsome and bussie heads as you, inexcusable. And if yee be not satisfied in that, belike the world can not satisfie you.

"*Zelat.* I thinke you be putt to silence, for ought yee can say tuiching my refusall to subscrive the acts.

"*Palem.* Truelie, I never understood the difficulteis in them before; and I thought ever they had been maters adiaphore, and indifferent before.

"*Tempor.* If he continue in his obstinacie, it had beene good he

had never understand them, but had alwise tane them so. Over holie dow not in this age.

"*Zelat.* 'The fleshlie man,' sayeth Paul, 'savoureth not the things of the Spirit.'

"*Tempor.* But your Paulling will caus you gett on the wombe with a toome dish.

"*Zelat.* God feedeth the crowes. The earth is the Lord's, and the plenitude therof.

"*Tempor.* Dyne yee then with the crowes, and see whether yee or I make best cheere.

"*Palem.* Zelator, go to your ground: wisselling[1] of words is to no purpose. Are not all the difficulteis and impediments of your not subscriving the acts satisfied in the king's Majestie's declaratioun?

"*Zelat.* Lett be to be satisfied, they be much more confirmed.

"*Tempor.* I told you the pride of his heart, and contentiousnesse of his spirit, and curiositie of his braine, can never be satisfied. It were almous to punishe you in example of all others.

"*Zelat.* Dreme wairlie, least your doome come to your owne doore. If we tosse that declaratioun the contents and warrants of it, I thinke yee sall find your self als farre disappointed as tuiching the acts. Alas! that ever I sould heare his Hienesse' name defiled with suche a declaratioun, conteaning so haynous slanders against the Kirk of Scotland, the plantatioun wherof, I am assured, as also the conservatioun and directioun of her doings, hath beene of God. And that blasphemous villane, Metropolitan among the apostats of Scotland, the penner and exposer of it in his Hienesse' name, when his Majestie sall examine it narrowlie, and rype[2] out his aspyring intentioun in it, sall adjudge him to the gibbet for his recompence, and make publication to all his subjects that his Hienesse hath beene abused in the furth-setting of it. And I hope in God to see it.

"*Tempor.* I am content yee take up the mater so; for truelie if there be anie thing sett doun in it slanderouslie of the kirk, I darre

[1] Interchanging, bandying. [2] Search, rummage.

say that Holliglasse had the wyte of it; for the penning of it, in verie deed, was committed to him. And I praise your modestie, in that yee speeke so reverentlie, and judge so discreitlie of the king's Majestie.

"*Zelat.* I doe it not without caus; for as I remember, in the 1582 yeere of God, there was a verie slanderous proclamatioun sett furth against the kirk and ministrie, in the king's name, by moyen of some which were in credit with his Grace, which his Hienesse tooke verie displeasantlie when he understood of it, and considered it. And I doubt not now of the like in the greatest slander that ever the Kirk of Scotland gott.

"*Tempor.* Howbeit there be, in some places of that declaration, some hard words against the courses of the kirk, the scope and intentioun of it tendeth to a necessar and lawfull end.

"*Palem.* Alas! if we had the declaratioun it self; for then we mistered not to varie about the words, incace of controversie.

"*Zelat.* I have evin now gottin it, and skarslie read it over digestlie.

"*Palem.* Weill, my maisters, I sall read, and you, Temporizar, when yee find suche a point as serveth the confirmatioun of your intentioun, speeke, and lett Zelator answere. And you, Zelator, when yee find anie thing that ministreth unto you mater of speeche, for confirmatioun of your purpose, take you place; and so in short time we will oversee the whole.

"*Zelat.* Agreed, for your ground pleaseth me weill.

"*Tempor.* And me also: read on.

"*Zelat.* Loe, even in the first three or foure lynes, which pretendeth to be the ground of the whole declaratioun, a manifest lee; for who of his Hienesse' subjects ever affirmed his Grace to have declynned to Papistrie? It is true that the best and learnedest sort affirme that his Grace and estats, some thing inconsideratlie, have sett doun lawes whereby, in verie deed, the libertie of the Gospell and good order of the discipline of the kirk is impaired, as I have plainlie eneugh proved, even to the convictioun of you in your owne conscience. And if that anie evill-disposed have taikin

occasioun heerupon, to cloke their unlawfull attemptats, yee know it is *scandalum acceptum, et non datum;* for if there hath beene anie fault in the ministrie, I darre take upon me, it hath beene declyning in that part, in not saying all that God craved they sould have said against these lawes. The Lord lay it not to their charge, and give them resipiscence in time.

"*Tempor.* Read on, Palemon: this is but *petere principium.* If we tarie als long on eache so manie words, it will be long ere we absolve.

"*Palem.* It that is weill done, is done soone eneugh.

"*Zelat.* Hold there, tuiching the secund article; and see how fynelie my Lord Archknave playeth the sophist. Mr Andrew Melvill declynned the king and counsell as competent judges to him in maters of doctrine preached in pulpit; *ergo,* Mr Andrew declynned the king's authoritie. Who ever impugned his Hienesse' authoritie over all estats of his subjects? There is a great difference betuixt his Grace his being judge to all estats of his subjects, and to all formes of causes of his subjects, as I have said before. And Mr Walter Balcalquall, cited before the counsell upon the like occasioun, in the governement of the umquhile Erle of Morton, propouned the same declinatour; wherupon he was admitted, and no farther proceeded in that mater. And yitt this was never imputed to him that he declynned the king's authoritie. My Lord affirmed, that his Hienesse is cheefe and principall member, appointed by the law of God (I use his owne words) to see God glorifeid, vice punished, and vertue mainteaned within this realme; and the soverane judgement, for a godlie quietnesse and order in the commoun wealth, to perteane to his Hienesse' care and solicitude; which we also affirme. And, farther, if his Majestie be negligent in this, God will crave it at his hand, and punishe him for it.

"*Palem.* I take not this mater: yee give the king a great place and power, and yitt yee spoile him of it soone againe: yee grant him a soverane judgement, and yitt yee exeeme the ministrie.

"*Tempor.* Yee may see now how he playeth the sophist.

"*Zelat.* I exeeme not the persons, but the forme of judgement. And yitt, taking the mater rightlie, it may rightlie be called, and is, the king's judgement. For the king is not judge in his owne person, nor by his Secreit Counsell, to all the causes of his subjects, as manifest experience teacheth daylie. But his Grace hath his Shireffs, Constables, Justicers of Blood, Lords of the Sessioun, who have sindrie forms of judgement, after the diversitie of the causes; replegiatiouns of regaliteis, proveists and bailiffes in burgh, and commissars. Which all have their owne forme of judgement tuiching these causes that fall under their judgement, and will declyne and replege to them, anie that other judges attempted to cognosce, in maters committed to them. What ellis is all this but the king's judgement? And becaus I perceave that your scruple hangeth on the forme of judgement, I sall make it als sensible as I can, after the simplicitie of my ingyne. The governements civill and ecclesiasticall are distinct, and severallie distinguished by God, and without sacriledge cannot be confounded, (that is, cannot both be exercised in one persoun:) they both have their owne severall subject; to witt, the civill, the bodie externall, and things pertaining to it; the ecclesiasticall, the soule, and things pertaining to the same, as maters depending upon the law of God and faith. For since ever there hath beene an externall forme of both these governements, manifest practise in all ages hath taught their distinctioun, and God's fearefull judgements upon them that have exceeded the limitatioun of their owne bounds appointed by God. What was the separatioun of the tribe of Levi frome the remanent, but to exercise the ecclesiasticall governement, and leave the civill to the remanent tribes? Therefore, say I, this soverane governement of Scotland committed to his Majestie, in maters that fall under the temporall and civill power, can no man usurpe nor spoile him of; nor yitt, without sacriledge, spoile the ecclesiasticall power of things that fall under their censure or governement: for as they be severall powers or governements, occupied about severall ends forsaids, so have they severall punishements; to

witt, the ecclesiasticall, excommunicatioun; the civill, lands, life, geare, incarceratioun, banishement, and suche other as fall upon the bodie.

"*Palem.* Yee meane, that this soverane governement is meant of maters that fall under the civill power.

"*Zelat.* It were a madnesse to affirme that he had a soverane governement in maters ecclesiasticall, who is not an ecclesiasticall person himself. For, albeit he be a member in the kirk yitt he beareth not a functioun in the kirk, to use or exercise anie ecclesiasticall functioun. It is another thing to be a member in the kirk, another thing to beare a charge and calling in the kirk, that may exercise an ecclesiasticall jurisdictioun.

"*Palem.* Meane yee that anie one particular man bearing functioun in the kirk may exercise this ecclesiasticall power or jurisdictioun?

"*Zelat.* I meane nothing lesse; for our Maister, by the mouth of his apostles, sayeth not, 'Goe, tell the pastor, elder, or doctor;' but 'Goe, tell the kirk,' which is alwayes constituted of more nor one:—an infallible argument against the establishing of the power of the kirk and ecclesiasticall discipline in the person of pope, king, bishop, archbishop, or metropolitan.

"*Palem.* In all this discourse I perceave not that yee give the king anie power over office-bearers in the kirk, or ecclesiasticall maters; but as in Papistrie, if he was one of the rable of the Pope's shavelings, shake his tippet on the king.

"*Zelat.* Yee take it not. Wil' yee not grant to me the persons of the office-bearers to be distinct?

"*Palem.* Truelie, I think, neither of the persons may exerce others' offices.

"*Zelat.* Then, of necessitie, these severall persons called to distinct offices, occupied about sindrie ends, must have sindrie powers, that may no more be confounded without sacriledge.

"*Palem.* How then sall the king (to whom yee grant it lyeth straitlie in hand to see God glorified, and all these office-bearers in the kirk to doe their dueties, and punishe them for their misbehaviour) putt this in execution?

"*Zelat.* Yee come now to another ground of the forme, which the king sould use in discharging of this part of his calling; and I say never rightlier than keeping the forme and rules that God hath sett doun unto him, and taking exemple of his owne civill lawes and constitutions.

"*Palem.* I pray you lett me understand that, and, I think, my greatest difficulteis are satisfeid.

"*Zelat.* Hath the pastor, elder, or doctor, of the kirk shed blood, stollin, committed incest, or anie suche crime that of the law meriteth punishment, the king, by his advocat, conveeneth before his Hienesse' justice, where he is ather (without difference betuixt him and another subject) convicted or absolved. Is he indebted to the king in summes of money? Is there questioun betuixt them of lands, writts, evidents, acts, contracts, or obligatiouns? There is recourse to the ordinar judge appointed for the causes of suche qualitie, which the king persueth by his advocat or procurator. Hath the king questioun with a minister tuiching the misusing of anie part of his vocatioun, and would trie him, to be punished for the same; as negligence in his office, heresie, slanderous doctrine? The king, by his advocat or procurator, conveeneth him before the eldership of his owne kirk, who sould trie, cognosce, and decide, as they find him innocent or culpable. And if his fault meriteth civill punishement, the king or the civill magistrat to use it at their discretioun; if ecclesiasticall punishement, the kirk to use exhortatiouns, admonitiouns, and, without rescipiscence, excommunication. Now say, I pray you, wherin find yee the king's authoritie over ministers impaired, more than over anie other subject that is tried by an assise? An assemblie, ather particular, provinciall, or generall, in this point may, in my opinioun, be compted God's and the king's officers, in judgement, als weill as anie other of his Hienesse' ordinarie judges. Therefore, whill that sort of idle bellie-bishops would ding in kings' eares, that ministers would exeeme them from their powers and jurisdictiouns, they are doing nothing but preparing again a way to their tyrannicall supremacie, and buying and selling of all the offices and ecclesiasticall judgements in the kirk; of which the author of our

declaration hath made alreadie a smooking, kything, if I list to declare, what good merchandice he hath made, since he gott his new authoritie.

"*Palem.* I see a wonderfull relatioun and conjunctioun betwixt these two powers, and necessitie that either of them hath of other's labours and support.

"*Zelat.* O, happie, and more than happie, is that kirk and commoun wealth, where either of them is solicite and carefull of other's estate!

"*Palem.* If these things be as yee affirme, all the grounds our great Metropolitan hath layed for foundatioun of the secund act of parliament are easilie everted; for he thinketh this power of discipline of the kirk sould flow by commissioun of the king to the bishop of the diocie, or others having his Grace's commissioun thereto. And by your foundatioun, it directlie floweth from Christ his owne commissioun, to the office-bearers of the kirk, as a proper part of their vocatioun and calling.

"*Zelat.* And have I not proved the same, even withe at impairing the king's authoritie or power?

"*Tempor.* This mater is more theologicall than I looked for: and I am not a theologue; I cannot say muche to it.

"*Palem.* It is hard answering the truthe. We will goe to the declaration of the intention of the ferd act.

"*Zelat.* That blasphemous mouth that hath spewed out so manie horrible blasphemeis against the blessed Spous of Christ, his faithfull servants and members, horribler than were the blasphemeis of Senacherib, I doubt not God sall punishe with the like, or feare-fuller judgements, seing that, like a filthie dog, he turneth backe to his owne vomite, spitting in his owne face; being an approver of these assembleis that he now damneth, and one of the cheefe doers of all things done in them.

"*Palem.* If yee would take the particular grounds of the declaratioun, and meete them particularlie, it sould make a greater light to the understanding, than if yee censured all things overhead.

"*Tempor.* We have spent over muche time, and that will be over tedious.

"*Palem.* Alas! we oft tymes spend more time worse with lesse regrait.

"*Zelat.* It sall not be fashious to me, so yee wearie not. In this declaratioun of the ferd act, he first querrelleth the late established presbytereis, consisting of ministers compted of equall ranke and authoritie, and some gentlemen, whome he sayeth tooke upon them the whole ecclesiasticall discipline, and altered the lawes at their pleasure: a forme of doing, as he affirmeth, never heard of heeretofore; prejudiciall to the king, estats, and commoun wealth, incace it had not tymouslie beene foreseene, and diligentlie repressed; for confirmatioun wherof is introduced the particular fast appointed in Edinburgh, when the bankett was prepared to the Frenche ambassader. If the forme of presbytereis was never heard of, constituted of spirituall and temporall men together, speare what Sanct Paul meaneth, when he affirmeth that the elder that travelleth in the Word is worthie of double honour. Wherin he would witnesse that there be some elders that teache not, or travell not in the Word, but are occupied about correctioun of the maners of the people, which forme is observed in all the reformed kirks of France, Almaine, and Geneva, at this present. And though it were not a receaved order in other realmes, if it stand with God's Word, bringeth confort to the kirk, why sould it not be established and confirmed, rather than discharged, for the evidence of anie reasoun that is produced against it? And who saw not the confort to the kirk, in repressing of vice, brydling of old preests, and unqualified men, profaners of the sacraments and holie mariage; whereas now, libertie of all vice uncorrected, selling of the sacraments, and unlawfull mariages, are als commoun in the countrie as the pest was in Parise. Beside, over licentious a libertie now loosed to ministers themselves. And where he querrelleth, that they tooke upon them the ecclesiasticall discipline, I say, justlie, becaus it properlie and allanerlie perteaned to them; which

your bishop himself hath affirmed, under his owne hand-writt. And where he querrelleth their equalitie, when he bringeth a warrant out of God's Word to prove a minister in his vocatioun or office to have a prerogative above his brother, (how instantlie soever he aspire to it,) I sall recant that errour with the foure Evangelists. And when he condescendeth upon anie particular lawes that they have altered, or anie particular interest the king or commoun weale hath susteaned by these presbytereis, and that godlie forme of discipline exercised in them, he sall be mett with a reasonable answere.

"*Tempor.* He is verie generall, indeid, except tuiching the banket of the Frenche ambassader, the generall fasts, and conspiraceis in the countrie.

"*Zelat.* The fasts and conspiraceis will fall out heerafter. As to the banket, it was a malicious leesing of the presbyterie. Alas, that miserable and unhappie man! that he sould cast God behind him, and sell his tongue, knowledge, and ingyne, for his bellie, to blaspheme God, slander his kirk, staine the king's name with so manie lees. That mater never past the presbyterie.

"*Tempor.* Ye will not say that in earnest.

"*Zelat.* I sall show you the verie ground, and reserve judgement unto your self. A number of the merchants of Edinburgh, of the qualiteis of these whose god is their gaine, (I speeke reverentlie of that great number whose hearts were wounded at that fact,) caused it to be proponed to the king, and moved his Grace to send a servant to the counsell of Edinburgh, to propone the making of that bankett. The counsell having consulted with the ministers theranent, (who misliked greatlie of it,) at the first it was *simpliciter* refused by the counsell; which the king's Grace tooke verie displeasantlie, affirming that it was their owne device, and not his. The mater was of new reasouned again in counsell, and, in end, with contradictioun of the sessioun of the kirk, and best part of the counsell, concluded, notwithstanding, to be made. Wherupon the particular kirk of Edinburgh concluded to spend that day in fasting and praying unto God, as witnesse of their disallowing of it:

and no other authoritie but the particular kirk of Edinburgh among themselves. And if there was fault, (as there was none in that fact,) it is wrongfullie fathered upon the presbyterie. Nather was there anie suche thing, (as he falslie affirmeth,) that men who did it could skarslie be keeped from excommunicatioun. Judge now your self if he hath not maliciouslie slaundered the presbyterie in that fact.

"*Palem.* Truelie, if the mater hath proceeded so, he hath overseene himself.

"*Tempor.* But see what followeth, viz.: that in innumerable other things, their command was opponed directlie, under the paine of excommunication, to the king and his lawes.

"*Zelat.* These are his words in verie deed, like as they are affirmed to be sua, without anie warrant or ground.

"*Tempor.* Affirmeth he not that some of them are fled the realme for it, and joyned there with his Grace's rebels in England, for the same caus?

"*Zelat.* And what better verificatioun of his affirmation is that, than the other? Where he appeareth to affirme, that in innumerable contramands they directlie oppouned, under the paine of excommunicatioun, to the king's Majestie's command, it is an untruthe. And it is a strange forme of reasoning, to blame the whole Kirk of Scotland for the particular fact of two or three, howbeit that were true. It were an hard assertioun to affirme that all Christ's apostles were tratours, because Judas betrayed him; and it had beene farre harder if Judas could not be proved to have beene a tratour. If your author of your declaratioun bring not a better and more solide ground to infame or discharge that presbyterie, it will be long ere men of knowledge be moved with it.

"*Palem.* Truelie, I thinke als muche as yee; for I thinke his reasons be nothing but calumneis and lees.

"*Tempor.* Yee will not bringe suche grounds for your Generall Assembleis, that yee have convocated hitherto. Why may they not be discharged? Is it leasome to convocat suche a number of the king's lieges without his Grace's knowledge and approbation?

"*Zelat.* Howbeit I doubt not but the office-bearers of the kirk may, by warrant of their owne commission givin to them by Jesus Christ, conveene themselves to consult, advise, and determine, in maters of God's glorie, advancement of the kirk, and propagatioun of the Evangell, though princes would discharge the same, yitt have we never had our Generall Assemblie that hath not beene authorized and allowed of the prince; and manie times his Hienesse' owne commissioners sent to the Assembleis, for confirmation and allowing of them.

"*Palem.* Yee have affirmed two things farre by the commoun opinioun of manie this day; to witt, Convocatioun of your Generall Assemblie is a part of the vocatioun of the ministers, which they may exercise by the commissioun of their offices directlie from Christ. The other, That Generall Assembleis that have beene hitherto convocated, have beene allowed by authoritie of the prince.

"*Zelat.* I affirme both: put me to prooffe of anie yee please.

"*Tempor.* Since yee have said so farre to both, yee sall prove both: choose your self which of them yee will beginne at.

"*Zelat.* Then will I beginne first to prove it to be by their commissioun from Christ. The power and authoritie of the office-bearers of the kirk is of Christ, (their Head, King, Maister, and Lawgiver,) and not of man.

"*Tempor.* Why say yee so? for we see them manie times called of men, yea, even of the king's self.

"*Palem.* Yee take him not: he speeketh not of their vocating to their office, but of the power of their office. Prosecute your reasoun.

"*Zelat.* Whatever in their vocatioun is (I say not onlie permitted, but) straitlie commanded by this Lawgiver, no earthlie prince may ather annull or discharge. But sua it is, that the preaching of the Word, ministratioun of the Sacraments, assembleis, as weill generall as particular, for correctioun of maners, triell of questiouns that arise tuiching the expositioun of the Word, judging and damning of hereseis, are committed to them, and straitlie commanded.

"*Palem.* As for preaching the Word, and ministratioun of the Sacraments, and conveening to particular assembleis, I will not be farre against. But for a Generall Assemblie, who may conveene it without the authoritie of the prince, where there is a Christian magistrat?

"*Zelat.* Yee looke oft times to the forme of doing things, for the thing itself done; which moveth great obscuritie. Say to this: are not the preaching of the Word, ministratioun of the Sacraments, assembleis, as weill generall as particular, for correctioun of maners, triell of questiouns rysing upon the Word, judging and damning of hereseis, their part and portioun of the vocation of the ministrie?

"*Palem.* I grant. But the forme and maner, where, when, and how to doe it, is of the king.

"*Zelat.* It is a foolish thing to say men have commissioun of Christ, which they may not exercise without authorizing of man. When Christ sayeth, 'Goe, baptize and preache the kingdom of heaven to all nations: I sall be among you to the consummation of the world: Where two or three are gathered in my name, I am among you: As my Father hath sent me, so send I you,' &c., and suche other places, the warrants of ministers' vocatiouns, darre man say yitt, 'Doe it not without my speciall licence?' It were a proud presumptioun, and contumelious blasphemie.

"*Palem.* Truelie, I thinke yitt, when suche workes as these, in a Christian commoun weale, goe fordward with the countenance of the prince, they have best successe.

"*Zelat.* Yee speeke truelie in that; for when the prince interponeth his authoritie, (which is the cheefe part of his calling,) concurring with the ministrie in promoving the kingdome of God, experience teacheth to have better successe. Yea, all the prince's owne adoes have better successe, that his zeale appeare in that. Yitt it followeth not in all this, but they may, and ought to conveene, to discharge all the parts of their callings requisite in their conventiouns, by their owne power from Christ.

"*Palem.* The long debate betuixt the Emperours and Popes

tuiching conveening of generall councels hath beene ended in this resolutioun by the learned of our age, that it was a tyrannicall usurping of the civill magistrat's power that the Pope tooke upon him of conveening of generall councels; and that the same properlie perteaneth to the Emperour.

"*Zelat.* They have resolved rightlie, and I agree to it.

"*Tempor.* Now, Palemon, yee have your intentioun.

"*Zelat.* At leasure. The Pope, by his pretended power to usurpe that authoritie, we all agree to be most unlawfull: for giving that he were a lawfull pastor in the kirk, (as he is but a tyranne, yea, the verie Antichrist,) he might doe no more but concurre with his brethrein to particular and generall Assembleis. But the Emperour, who pretendeth superioritie over all kingdoms, as he hath a civill power over them, so may he exercise the same over all natiouns, in citing and convocating generall councels of the subjects of diverse princes, which no particular king may doe, having onlie power over his owne subjects.

"*Palem.* Why may not a king, within the limits of his kingdome, als weill convocat a generall assemblie of the persons that beare the ecclesiasticall offices within his bounds, as may the Emperour, within the large and wide bounds of his impyre?

"*Zelat.* I see no difficultie in that point, but both he may and sould conveene, when he seeth necessitie. And yitt, it derogateth not to their power, but they may conveene; as exemples teache us they have conveened, and sould conveene, though they have not the command of the prince.

"*Palem.* Then, Zelator, I would gather your conclusioun, that the Generall Assembleis conveened in Scotland these twentie-foure yeeres past, and suche as sall be conveened heerafter, are of the authoritie and power of Christ, their Law and Commissioun Giver, which no king can lawfullie discharge, more nor the preaching of the Word, and ministratioun of the Sacraments.

"*Zelat.* I leave your self to judge. And as to the second part that I affirmed, that notwithstanding, all our Assembleis were approved by the civill magistrat, I prove it thus: The king's Majestie

and counsell have approved the doctrine conteaned in the Old and New Testament, which is the commissioun of ministers; and he that approveth the doctrine approveth the commissioun, and the power granted in their commissioun. And so affirme they not onlie the Assembleis, but all the policie of the kirk. And for my part, I allow verie weill of that answere given by the king's Majestie and counsell to Mr Craig and Johne Duncansone, to that heed of their greeves tuiching the late acts of parliament, regraiting that in the first act, confirming the doctrine presentlie professed within this realme, there was no mentioun made of the policie. Wheranent they receaved this answere, that under the doctrine is comprehended the policie, as flowing from the doctrine, which is so indeid; for confirmatioun of the Word of God confirmeth all that dependeth upon it. When was there ever questioun moved against the lawfulnesse of General Assembleis before now? No, not by the king's mother, a professed enemie to religioun. Hath not the king himself sent his commissioners to the Assembleis for their further authoritie and confirmatioun?

"*Palem.* Things that are lawfull and necessar in themselves, oft tymes princes are compelled, for inconveniences that flow off them in their misusage, to discharge, as Ezekias destroyed the brazen serpent by his owne authoritie, the erectioun and institutioun wherof was of the eternall God, and for a necessar caus. Therefore, now, for profaning and abusing these (otherwise holie) conventiouns, the king's Majestie is forced, by a necessitie, tymouslie to provide (not a discharge of it altogether, but) a restraint of it to suche times and persons as his Grace sall understand the necessitie of the caus. And then his Grace will give directioun to his bishops tuiching the forme, order, and causes of Generall Assembleis.

"*Zelat.* What the king may do tuiching the charging or discharging of God's lawes, (I speeke not of his absolute power, an untimelie birth, latelie begottin in this corrupt age,) I have said eneugh alreadie. As to the fact of King Ezekias, he declared himself a worthie prince, zealous of God's glorie in so doing, in respect

of the vile idolatrie it was become the caus of; for the brazen serpent was but a figure of Christ, and served but for a time; to witt, the curing the disease of these who were stinged with the serpents in the wildernesse. But this forme of councels for governing of the kirk must tarie, and can not be tane away so long as Christ hath his kirk amongst whom he raigneth; which is, till his secund comming again in the clouds. As to the alledged abusing and profaning of these holie conventiouns to treasonable ends, your Metropolitan must ather bring better and more speciall grounds than he hath spokin and proved in this declaratioun, or ellis they will not be thought worth the reading.

"*Tempor.* Esteeme yee light of them all that are specified heere?

"*Zelat.* Yea, truelie, verie light; and I trow yee sall esteeme light of them your self when they are considered and narrowlie examined, wherin yee sall find them ather manifestlie false, or falslie and calumniouslie inverted. He affirmeth that the practise of these Assembleis was, that ministers, with some gentlemen of the countrie, malcontents of the estat, under pretence of favouring the ministrie, practised alwise sindrie interprises in the realme, (which I take he meaneth in the worst part of treasoun,) and requireth no other answere than, in all the Assembleis these twentie-foure yeeres he is not able to specifie one. He querrelleth that the lawes and constitutiouns of the kirk were alterable. What for that? They be not all articles of our beleefe. Be not the lawes and constitutions of men (otherwise than God's) alterable by occasioun of time, place, and other circumstances? He querrelleth that in Assembleis, by pluralitie of votes, maters debated be concluded. What other forme hath anie conventioun ather civill or ecclesiasticall? Read all the particular and generall councells, and see if yee find another. He affirmeth that the Generall Assembleis, by their commissioners appointed thereto, concluded the establishing of bishops after their present forme. The truthe is, that these commissioners he speeketh of had onlie power of the Assemblie to reasoun with the regent and counsell for the time, and report again

answere to the Assemblie; and no power to conclude. And no Assemblie, to this houre, hath approved their estat as it is. The Assembleis of Glasgow and Dundie discharged not the estat, as he affirmeth, but said that bishops, as they presentlie be in the reformed realme, in their idle life, civill jurisdictiouns, without a flocke to attend upon, cannot be compted Christ or St Paul's bishops, but bishops after the wisdome of man; and, therefore, urged the bishops to take some particular kirk and flocke to teache and waite upon, wherof they sould be called pastor, and for which they sould answere; and doe nothing in name of the kirk, in maters belonging to the kirk, without knowledge and commissioun of the kirk. Which they themselves (and cheefelie your Metropolitan) thought verie reasonable, and by his hand-writt approved, and oblished himself to doe. As for their other things, of their jurisdictiouns and estat civill, they medled no farther with it than that they shew plainlie it was not leasome to bishops to have a temporall or civill vocatioun that might hinder and impede their spirituall charge, which also themselves confessed to be true. And becaus they were one of the estats, it could not be taikin away without good deliberatioun. The alledged command sent by the Assembleis to the king and counsell, under paine of excommunicatioun, to choose no moe bishops, is not true. But the Assemblie, alwayes readie to give an accompt of their doings, declared to the king and counsell what they had done, and what corruptioun they found in that estate, that stood not with God's truthe, as they used them; craving humblie of his Majestie, that among other articles givin in to his Hienesse and counsell, that estat might be reduced to the rule of Christ's institutioun, and the true exercise of an apostolicall bishop, and craved that suche persons as beare functioun in the kirk might have the place of voting in ecclesiasticall effaires; and idle belleis, that have no more adoe in the kirk, but bare a shadow and a bare name of ecclesiasticall persons, as Tulcans, to intromett with and devoure the patrimonie of the kirk, and assent to lawes that will (except God helpe otherwise) invert the estat of the kirk, might, I say, be displaced from voting for

the kirk. What great treasoun is in all this course? What great treasoun was (for repressing the tyrannicall pride of aspyring bishops, for avoiding their corruptioun) to appoint superintendents, visiters, or commissioners, in the infancie of the kirk? What is the mater of the name?. They had all but one power and commissioun of the kirk, in her infancie, to visie and plant the kirks, and make a compt again of it to the Assemblie; which now is found (after the kirk be planted) not of suche necessitie, but *ex re nata*, to send men from presbytereis or assembleis, tuiching particular things that fall furth in particular kirks. Can the constitutiouns of the kirk be so sett doun as nothing may be alterable? Repugneth anie of them to the law of God, or to the king's lawes? Prove that once, and take all to him. He sayeth the Assembleis are accustomed to impose lawes to the king and estats. But nather what Assemblie, when or what lawes, is he able to specifie. That blasphemie spewed out against that godlie institutioun and exercise of fasting, as a cloake, sayeth he, for factious conspiraceis, I will say no more, but the Lord rebooke him for it! Exemples he proponeth, the crying out against the abusses of the court and estats for the time, I will not niffer[1] words for answering this mater; but referre to your owne consciences if there hath not beene, of long time bygane, if not yitt present, suche abusses in court and estats as is a fearefull spectacle of God's judgements that crieth for a publict fast everie day. The Lord move our hearts to sob and mourne at the spectacle of it; and lett him that will be filthie continue filthie still.

"*Tempor.* Truelie that blasphemie might have beene left out weill eneugh; for the confortable fruict of these fasts all the faithfull in Scotland have felt. But he affirmeth that a generall fast may not be appointed without advice of the king, seing he is a Christian magistrat.

"*Zelat.* As though all that the kirk doeth were done in despite and contramandement of his Grace! O unhappie Achitophell! the Lord sall find furth and confound thy blasphemous lees. I see

[1] Exchange.

his craftie intentioun to reduce all the policie of the kirk to depend upon the prince's directioun and constitutioun, and from him to be concredited to that corrupt, ignorant, and tyrannicall estat of bishops, as though Christ, the Ruler of his kirk, were not able to performe that he had promised, to be among them to the end of the world that be gathered in his name. I see no reasoun for anie of his assertiouns but as certane maximes and conclusions which he thinketh have authoritie eneugh, becaus he simplie affirmeth them without anie warrant of the Word.

"*Palem.* All that solveth not the questioun, If the kirk may institute a publict fast for avoiding of an imminent plague appearing?

"*Zelat.* God hath appointed the office-bearers in the kirk as eyes to the people, to see and declare to them the way of life, and eshewing of death: watchemen, to wairne of dangers they fall in by sinne; the salt of the earth, to mortifie the corrupt maners of man. Who doubteth but these are the men, seing the judgements of God, and the fire of his wrathe kindled among the people for the proud contempt of God, sould not both warne of the plague, expone to them the courses of it, lay out to them the readie meanes of removing, as repentance, humiliatioun, fasting, and prayer? Who ever heard this made questioun of before? If this be no part of their office, they have no office nor vocatioun whill the king call them. Proclamed not Jeremie the fast at Jerusalem, in the raigne of Zedekiah, foretelling the destructioun of Jerusalem by the Chaldæans? (Jer. iv.) To what end sent he Baruch to the assemblie of all Israel, conveened in the temple at Jerusalem, (I doubt not, by his owne command to that publict fast; for the king and princes understood nothing of it, being at their delicat pleasures in their owne palaces,) but to show the people the heavie wrathe of God prophesied against that natioun, and the comming of the Chaldæans to destroy the temple and citie; to move the people to repentance, in fasting and prayer? (Jer. iii. 6.) Jonah proclamed God's judgements against Nineveh, and, as a skilful physician, having declared the disease, he shew also the meanes

how to avoide the same. Who proclamed all the publict fasts in the time of the people's being in captivitie? Did anie other than the prophets, and they that bare the ecclesiasticall offices?

"*Palem.* Jonah proclamed by advice of the king and nobles: the other was under heathen princes.

"*Zelat.* Yee say true. By Jonah's admonitiouns and exhortatiouns the princes of Nineveh interpouned their authoritie, (a thing that bringeth good successe to the constitutiouns of the kirk:) the first ground alwise was by Jonah's preaching. As to the fasts instituted under heathen princes, which yee thinke sould not induce a libertie prejudiciall to Christian princes, I understand not a reasoun but these exercises of Christian libertie, that were leasome to Christians under the heathen, be also permitted under Christian princes, incace Christian princes would abandoun or discharge anie part of their liberteis; for hitherto I have never heard of a particular law for Christians in their vocatiouns under princes heathen, and another under Christian.

"*Tempor.* Yee compleane muche of his generalitie. But what say yee to that particular of your Generall Assemblie's allowing and justifeing of the Road of Ruthven, which I am certan it sall be impossible to you to answere for?

"*Zelat.* What I have said, I leave Palemon to judge.

"*Palem.* Truelie, if yee satisfie that heed weill, the state of it being as our Metropolitan hath said, yee doe more than I can beleeve.

"*Zelat.* That jugler hath falselie inverted the whole state of that caus, to disgrace the kirk of God, as though the act of Assemblie had beene concluded after the estats of the realme had declared it to be a treasonable attemptat.

"*Palem.* How was it, then? for he appeareth to declare the cace sua.

"*Zelat.* In the first Assemblie after that attemptat, the authors of it presented to the Assemblie a supplicatioun, desiring that their fact and intentioun might be allowed and justified by the authori-

tie of that Assemblie. The mater being debated somwhat, they said, it is a civill mater, nothing perteaning to them. The authors replyed, the king and counsell had justified the fact, as also the whole estats of the realme; and the king's Grace had agreed that there sould be an act made in that Assemblie allowing it. Wherupon there were directed to the king from the Assemblie Mr James Lowsone, of good memorie, and Mr David Lindsey, to understand his Hienesse' owne minde in that mater; who having conferred with his Grace, reported answere to the Assemblie, that his Grace and counsell had allowed weill of the fact, and was content that the Assemblie sould passe an act, as was desired. Wherunto the Tutor of Pitcurr and the Colonell, his Grace's commissioners at that time, affirmed that they had speciall command to assent, in his Grace's name. And so, the Assemblie had, for their warrant in that mater, the king's owne mouth, the assent of his owne commissioners, conclusioun of the estats, publict proclamations at the croces of burghes, to be compted sowers of discord, enemeis to the quietnesse of the estate of the realme, that spake otherwise, or said that his Grace was deteaned captive, or in the hands of anie but his faithfull subjects, and suche as he allowed weill of. What warrant, I pray you, is it possible for men to have more?

"*Tempor.* The king hath declareth sensyne, that he was then in captivitie, compelled, for eschewing of greater inconveniences, to caus that be done, and hath charged the Assemblie sensyne to damne and destroy that act; and, notwithstanding, they obstinatlie refuse.

"*Zelat.* I will not say all that might be reasouned, if the Assemblie of the kirk sould change their determinations at everie alteration of the court. The world may see how that miserable man forgeth lees; for there was never yitt to this houre a Generall Assemblie. It is true, there was one appointed at Sanct Andrewes. But the brethrein conveened not, becaus his Grace had discharged that Assemblie. Now, judge what necessitie there is, ather to his Grace to discharge Assembleis or demitt his crowne, (as is alledged his

Grace was forced to doe;) or what high point of treasoun may justlie be layed against the Assemblie for this act, upon these circumstances above specified.

"*Palem.* Alas for the estat of the subjects, in suche mutabilitie of these who have the governement! for whatever revocatiouns come by the youth and minoritie of a king, the conclusioun and determinatioun of the estats sould alwayes be sure and stable.

"*Zelat.* All that followeth off this fourth act of intentiouns tuiching correctioun of maners by ecclesiasticall discipline, conventioun to Generall Assembleis, and order to particular fasts, intended, as he affirmeth, by the king, I will conclude without anie farther nor is spokin: for except that these formes agreed not with the forme and institutioun of suche exercises prescrived by the Spirit of God, (and when he sall prove that intended forme to agree with the Word, I sall recant my errour, with the foure Evangelists,) therefore, putt als faire colour upon this intentioun as they list, (if it be not after the forme of governement that Jesus Christ, the wisdome of the Eternall Father, hath appointed to his kirk, as in verie deed it is not,) it but destroyeth the kirk, and buildeth not. Salomon was the figure of Christ, replenished with graces extraordinar, with wisdome above all men in the earth; yitt in the institutioun of God's service, bigging of the temporall temple, the figure of the true kirk of God, it was not leasome to him in one jott to passe the paterne and directioun of the Eternall God.

"*Palem.* I have looked in all this conference, when yee sould have spokin somwhat tuiching the act of re-establishing of bishops, wheranent I heare great varietie of opiniouns.

"*Zelat.* I purposelie omitted it to the end of the declaratioun, which concerneth the more full utterance of that corrupt intentioun.

"*Palem.* I would gladlie heare of the authoritie of bishops, what it is, how farre it extendeth over both laicks and ecclesiasticks; for I heare say, it is muche controverted among the learned, and speciallie in England, where their bishops have great authoritie.

"*Zelat.* Yee are, with our mutuall consent, accepted Judge, if

I have not reasonable grounds, and lawfull caus of refusall subscriving obedience, and allowing the acts of parliament. Wherin I have, I doubt not, satisfied you; and in the shift that Temporizar alledged, that the difficulteis that I found in the acts are satisfied in the declaratioun: which we have overseene and reasouned. To this heed, of the bishops' re-establishing in their jurisdictiouns, which part of the declaratioun, so farre as it sall minister to me occasioun of the heeds yee would be resolved of, I sall, after the grosnesse of my understanding, speeke of. But to intreate all questiouns that may be controverted tuiching that heed, I intend not; having, in all the former heeds, purposelie overpast manie questiouns which might be propouned, contenting myself with that which hath justified my owne caus.

"*Palem.* Will yee, then, keepe the same methode tuiching the heed of the declaratioun concerning the bishops, that yee did in the last, concerning Assembleis?

"*Zelat.* Als neere as I can. This re-establishing of bishops, I skarse understand wherunto it sould be referred, whether to their estat in Papistrie, or the idle life of Tulcans, that they have occupied since the reformatioun of religioun; or neither, but some thrid and mixed conditioun patched up of both, not yitt sattledlie considered. Therefore, I will medle no farther nor the plaine evidence spokin in this declaratioun it self committed to them.

"*Palem.* The bishops affirme that their forme of governement in the kirk hath alwayes beene since the time of the apostles.

"*Zelat.* With reverence of his metropolitanship, he speeketh not truelie. It is true, that since the apostles' time there hath alwayes beene bishops, call them bishops, pastors, or ministers, as yee list, that had the overwatching of their owne flockes and congregatiouns. But that anie of these had authoritie annexed, ather by their place or vocatioun, over their other yoke-fellow bishops, in the forme and maner ather of Papist bishop, or idle Tulcan, or this new forme of constituted bishop, sall he never be able to prove, ather by the Word, authentick canonicall institutioun, nor practise of time, whill (manie hundreth yeeres after the age of the apostles)

that fearefull corruptioun of a good institutioun, by long corrupt time, brought furth that horrible monster of that supreme head over all bishops, as is more nor manifest of all the old canonicall constitutiouns, historiographers, and councels. Your great Dagon, whom Dagon's death abideth, maketh muche adoe for paritie and equalitie of ministers, alledging it a new practise, invented within these few yeeres by some bussie and curious heads, whose intentioun tendeth to nothing but factiouns and seditions, tumults and troubles in the realme, and can never say eneugh, nor mak an end of babling treasoun, seditioun, factions, conspiraceis; and yitt, never able to prove the least argument of suspicioun of anie of these, except suche as he ather falselie inventeth, or calumniouslie inverteth. And if this paritie be new, and not meete to be querrelled, take his querrell against Matthew, cap. xx. ver. 25 and 26; Mark x. ver. 32; wherin the Spirit of God, for abating this tyrannicall preferment of one of his apostles above another, which he perceaved them to aspire to after his departing, commandeth, that he that would be greatest be servant to all the rest. Luke, cap. ix. ver. 49; and 1 Pet. v. 1. As alsua, innumerable places of Scripture directlie impugne this preferment so aspired to, and confirme this paritie so muche querrelled. Papists would allow weill of this doctrine of preferment, as the sure foundatioun of their Popdome. He sayeth that the king and estats maturelie and advisedlie concluded the said paritie to be no more tolerated, for the forsaids considerationns. I will speeke reverentlie of two of the estats; but for the thrid, I may boldlie affirme it is but a shadow of the kirk, and the wracker of the true kirk. What mature and advised declaratioun was it, in lesse than twentie-foure houres, to men ather unskilled or enemeis, to cast doun, but reasoning with anie of the kirk, the policie of twentie-foure yeeres, grounded on God's Word, concluded by grave, wise, and learned men, confirmed by publict lawes, and approved by forrane natiouns? Suche was your mature and advised deliberatioun! 'The solicitude and care of moe kirks,' sayeth he; 'to depend upon the bishops of the diocie, or the king's Majestie's commissioners, to be appointed to that effect.' A bishop's prefer-

ment above manie ministers, and manie kirks, I thinke, I have alreadie proved to be contrare the institutioun of Christ, and commissioun givin by him to the office-bearers in the kirk; to smell of the dregs of Papistrie, and the wisdome of the flesh; which never can rightlie away with the puritie of Christ. The secund, and the new forme of the commissioner to be appointed by the king to this end, whom he describeth a little heerafter, (that sall be presented by the king to the kirk, and by them admitted;) I would our Metropolitane sould produce a warrant, ather for the king of prescriving, or the kirk of admitting, suche an office-bearer in the kirk, that hath not a speciall vocation appointed of God.

"*Palem.* Will yee say that the king may not appoint a commissioner to visie kirks, and see that all men doe their duetie, seing he is, as Eusebius writteth of Constantine, *episcopus episcoporum?*

"*Zelat.* God forbid that I sould say it; but rather I affirme that there is a great necessitie that he sould doe it; and would God he had suche a commissioner in all the shires of Scotland! but that he may not constitute in the kirk a new office-bearer, a new commissioner, an ecclesiasticall persoun to an ecclesiasticall functioun; nather may the kirk lay hands, or admitt suche a persoun to suche a vocatioun: for both the king and the kirk want a warrant for planting anie new office-bearer in the kirk, moe than Christ hath instituted. And as to Eusebius, I affirme all that he sayeth, in his sense and meaning; which is not, that a king or emperour is bishop of bishops as ecclesiasticall persons, but a watcheman over them all, carefullie attending that they all doe their duetie.

"*Tempor.* Why say yee so? Yee know, in England there be preachers that have the queen's braid seale to goe preache where they please, without certane limited place, or particular congregatioun upon whom they attend. And why not suche a commissioner als weill as suche a preacher?

"*Zelat.* Even alike of both; for it is of necessitie that if he be a pastor, it must be of a flocke; and none in all England is able to bring a warrant for that, of the Word.

"*Palem.* What have we to doe with England? Yee grant that

the king is watcheman over all bishops, may send commissioners to visig kirks; as also, yee affirme that the kirk may send. What difference is betuixt these two commissioners; and why may not the one be an office in the kirk, as weill as the other?

"*Zelat.* Neither of them are offices in the kirk; for an office is a thing that is perpetuall, without anie intermissioun, hath a particular and continuall vocatioun appointed of Christ, wheron the office-bearer continuallie awaiteth. As to commissioners in the kirk, though it hath beene muche used in the infancie of the kirk, yitt, where kirks be weill constituted, and the civill magistrat diligentlie assisting, they will find evill by necessitie of commissioners; except it be upon some particular occasioun, that may not without slander abide the nixt Generall or Provinciall Assemblie. A moderator or president of Assemblie is not an office in the kirk; for the Assemblie ceassing, his office ceasseth. And it is alike of the visiter. The mater of his particular visitatioun ended, his commission endeth. The visiter appointed by the king, as the king is a civill persoun, so is his commissioner, and his commissioun civill; not to exercise in his owne person anie office in the kirk, (which he may not more than the king himself,) but see that all be duetifullie done, and weill ordered in the kirk.

"*Palem.* Yee will say then, that the difference betweene the king and the kirk's commissioners is, that the kirk's are actors and doers themselves, and the king's, commanders and overseers, that things requisite be done, and civillie punishe suche as repyne or offend.

"*Zelat.* It cannot be affirmed that a commissioner may doe the thing that he may not doe, whose commissioun he beareth. And to say that the king, or anie that is not consecrated particularlie thereto, may exercise anie spirituall functioun, is manifestlie against the Word of God; and the distinctioun of these two offices, conteaned in Numbers, cap. iii. verse 10; and cap. xviii. verse 7, where it is manifestlie disswaded, under the paine of death.

"*Palem.* Will yee not graunt unto the king that authoritie and these priviledges in the kirk and ecclesiasticall causes, that other

kings and Christian magistrats which have beene weill reported of, have had in their realmes?

"*Zelat.* Great reasoun, being weill reported of, or approved of God.

"*Palem.* Melchisedeck was both king and preest; Moses exerced both the powers; David distributed the Levits to their office, and divided them in twentie-foure rankes, to serve by course; Salomon deposed Abiathar, and appointed Sadock in his place; Ezekias appointed Levits and preests to their offices, and to hear causes in maters of controversie; Jehosaphat sent his princes and preests to preache through Judea. In all these, the Spirit of God hath left us witnessing, that the civill magistrat hath more power in the adoes of the kirk nor to visie and overwatche.

"*Zelat.* All the facts of suche men as have beene figures of Christ, or extraordinarilie choosed, and appointed extraordinarilie to offices, are not to be imitated as exemples of everie man to doe the like in this age, except men als extraordinarilie called had als extraordinarie graces. But I will come more speciallie to all these particulars, and yee sall see your advantage. Melchisedeck was the livelie figure of Christ, and was before the institutioun of the Leviticall preesthood, and distinctioun of the two powers. Moses was extraordinarilie called with extraordinarie graces, extraordinarilie to use not all that belonged to both the powers, (for Aaron was choosed to the preesthood;) but some part of both. David, extraordinarilie called, was both king and prophet, with rare and singular graces, inasmuche as the Spirit of God witnesseth of him, 'I have found a man after my owne heart.' And what doeth David, but of the 38,000 Levits, for confusioun of suche a multitude, assigne them by lott to their owne offices appointed of God to them onlie; and divided them in number, to serve by course, becaus they could not all wait on the temple and service at once? Appointed he anie to this service except the Levits? Prescrived he anie forme of service, except that which they had speciallie in command of God? Tooke he upon himself the excercising of the least

part of anie of the offices to doe himself? What can yee now inferre of the fact of David? I thinke it maketh plaine for me against you. Salomon was, doubtlesse, the figure of Christ. And to the deposing of Abiathar he might justlie have tane his life, for being culpable of Adonijah's conspiracie; and Salomon spared his life, becaus he had atteaned to that honour to beare the arke of the Lord, and beene partaker of all David's afflictiouns. I see not what yee gaine in this fact to your advantage nather; for, make a minister culpable of treasoun, the king may strike his head from him, als weill as from another man. Would yee say, that in this fact of Jehoshaphat, that he appointed princes to preache in Judah?

"*Palem.* It appeareth sua of the place.

"*Zelat.* That were a grosse ignorance. A good sonne of a father, (whose last dayes answered not to the zeale of his first dayes,) after the death of his father, bent himself whollie to serve God, and root out all the monuments of idolatrie wherewith his father, in his last dayes, had defiled the land, sent both princes, preests, and Levits through Judah, the preests to preache and teache the people, and doe their office, the princes to interpone their authoritie to see it done and obeyed. Which is the verie forme that, I affirme, all Christian princes sould follow, procuring to them by that meanes the like blessings which God bestowed upon Jehoshaphat, for his carefull zeale in promoving the kingdom of God. What can more speciallie or livelie sett furth the decisioun of this controversie, than the fact of Jehoshaphat, in the 19 of the Secund Booke of the Chronicles, where he appointeth commoun and civill judges to the civill causes, and judges of the preests and Levits to the causes of God? And as other exemples make nothing for your purpose, this maketh muche for myne. As to Ezekias, a good sonne of a wicked and unhappie father, who, in the first moneth of his raigne, prepared himself to seeke the Lord, and to reduce the Levits to their owne proper offices, and to clenge themselves, and the temple, which, by his father, was foullie polluted and defiled; what can yee gather heerof, but the livelie paterne both of a good king's device, (that would have his regiment blessed,) and

the verie mirrour of that forme that we have spokin, which princes sould use in ecclesiasticall maters?

"*Palem.* Although men bussie themselves muche about these, and suche like places, I can not see that it bringeth anie necessar conclusioun of suche purpose as they would conclude by these, or the like arguments.

"*Zelat.* Now, lett us come to our declaratioun againe, where he sayeth that this preferment of bishops preserveth a godlie harmonie, unitie, and concord in the kirk; wheras the equalitie divideth the same, and maketh, that some that be of craftier ingynes than others be greatlie enriched; and bringeth confusioun and corruptioun in the kirk: what this preferment of pastors above others hath brought in the kirk of God, it speeketh so plainlie the self, that I mister not to say a word: and what confort and quietnesse in this paritie, and governing of the kirk by councels, the primitive kirk hath found, we ourselves have found, (since God sent the light of his truthe among us,) all men will make professioun of, except suche as aspire to that tyrannicall preferment themselves; or suche as be corrupt office-bearers, and confusioun in the kirk have course, in end, to bring in confusioun. And as to the riches that he affirmeth some men, by the meane of this paritie, have atteaned unto, I may boldlie affirme, that it is not weill knowne in anie of the ministers that I ken in Scotland; for I trow he hath conqueissed, *taliter qualiter*, greater riches by pycking the bones of an old bishoprick, and some Holliglasse trickes, than all the ministers of Scotland.

"*Tempor.* I will sweare that yee sall never need to lead farther probatioun; for your precisenesse gars manie of you dyne after supper.

"*Zelat.* Yee are ever at the leiks and garlick of Egypt. He affirmeth, that *Nulla tyrannis æquiparanda tyrannidi multitudinis*; which I affirme also to be true. But that this forme of governing the kirk by councels in paritie of office-bearers, which is of the wisdome of Christ, is tyrannie, that I denie, except that he will prove that Christ's wisdome is tyrannie. All that followeth to the

end of this heed, of re-establishing of bishops, is nothing ellis but a hotche-potche, or mixture of the institutioun of Christ with the wisdome of man in governing of the kirk, tending, by the wisdome of the fleshe, and leaving the wisdome of the Spirit of God, to the establishing of the tyrannicall supremacie of bishops above other pastors, and all the exercise of the kirk to depend upon them; the particulars wherof are sufficientlie mett before. For I see nothing in all these courses, but men taking the forme of doing of Nadab and Abihu, who, not content to keepe God's constitutioun, following their owne wisdome, tooke strange and commoun fire, and not the fire of the altar, (Levit. x.) And as that strange fire devoured them, men's owne wisdome, lifted up above God's, may possiblie devoure them that will not yeeld to Christ's wisdome in the governement of his kirk by his owne wisdome.

"*Tempor.* I have eneugh of these maters at this time. I perceave, Palemon, yee are als drunken in this foole's follie as himself. Yee will not yeeld to the king: the king must yeeld to you.

"*Zelat.* He that yeeldeth to God's eternall truthe, he yeeldeth not to men, but to God.

"*Palem.* Lett him goe. O what a burthein is Christ to these that have their portioun and felicitie in this world! Now, since this Epicurean is gone, I will conferre but this muche shortlie with you. I trow, indeid, this preferment of bishops be not *ex jure divino*, but be constitutions of old canons, for the better governing of the kirk, the image wherof remaineth yitt in manie realmes; and, as appeareth, the king would interteane the same forme.

"*Zelat.* To dispute the estate of bishops in forrane realmes is to no purpose; and to discourse how bishops come to this preferment, what was their power in the primitive kirk, how this preferment came peece and peece in corruptioun, whill in end it begott that supreme heed and monster, the Pope, it would, I say, tak a verie long time, and more than I may presentlie spaire. But I heare say, that this metropolitan is setting furth a booke, of justefeing this new forme of policie and their tyrannicall supremacie; which will make plaine overture, to debate all questiouns that may fall

furth upon these heeds. God hath had a reasonablie weill governed kirk in Scotland these twentie-foure yeeres; and now all is cast doun, and the ordering of the discipline putt in the hands of these that nather can, nor have a good will, nor understand what this mater meaneth. Of all the bishops in Scotland, (giving that this forme were lawfull,) who is able to discharge this burthein? Are not three or foure of these bishopricks alreadie reduced to suche estat that a poore minister will not take the place and office for his simple stipend? Dunkelden, an old dotted Papist; Brechin, Dumblane, Glasgow, Orkney, Cathnesse, and the rest, als meete for that purpose as I am for singing of a solemne masse. Sanct Andrewes himself, the father of all this course, hath some knowledge, I grant, yitt misused, to his just accusatioun. What can men looke for of him, a renegat apostat, affirming that thing treasoun this yeere that with teares he subscrived the last yeere? What can be hoped for of so constant inconstancie? A jugler, a Holliglasse, a drunkard, a vile Epicurean! What miserable confusioun, alas is this come among us! My heart feareth me to think on it. O Lord, give eyes to the watchemen of thy kirk, to see what the devill intendeth in this confusioun; and, in knowledge, give them a zealous boldnesse to discharge their consciences faithfullie in suche a time.

"*Palem.* What course thinke yee to take in this strait; for I heare that manie of your brethrein have subscrived?

"*Zelat.* I will preasse no man to my rule, nather will I querrell them in theirs rashlie. I will attend that good issue for my owne estate, that God hath promised all these, with their adoes, that repose on him.

"*Palem.* Doubtlesse there is a great slander among the simple people for this confusioun and divisioun that is amongst you. Some subscriving, justefeing acts, declaratioun, and all; some subscriving obedience to the acts, and not justifeing the acts, say they: some with additioun of 'According to God's Word;' some after one forme, and some after another; and some straitlie persisting in that opinioun, that after none of these formes it may be

subscrived; affirming, that maters of religioun would not be handled sophisticallie, nor boutgates,[1] nor dissimulatioun, used in them; and therefore have choosed rather the hazard of the uttermost inconvenient that may fall on their bodeis, ere they were found to halt betwixt two. And this bringeth not onlie a slander among the people, but also a divisioun and renting of mindes among your selves, to the great hinder of God's glorie, and confirmatioun in the king his heart his course to be lawfull, whill it hath approbatioun of so great a number.

"*Zelat.* God knoweth what wound that hath beene to my heart to see us, that in unitie sould be mirrours to the world, be authors of so lamentable a slander, both of divisioun, and so covert betraying of the truthe. Alas for them that, being pillers in the kirk, sould have beene suche stumbling-blockes to the weake! As to myself, I have layed this compt, to suspend my judgement tuiching all these sorts of my brethrein, and see what, and how God worketh with them, taiking exemple in Peter, that all who horriblie fall perishe not: that if God open their mouthes, as God in the estat of his caus craveth, to discharge their conscience both by mouth and penne, and lay furth to the world the evident repugnance of these lawes to God's law, they sall be to me als deere brethrein as ever they were before. Lord, strenthen the weake, confirme them that stand; these that fall, not maliciouslie and with proud contempt, raise againe; and manifest thyself, in mercie, to all these that transgresse not maliciouslie.

"From Newcastell, the tenth of Februar, 1585 yeeres."

A PROCLAMATION ESTABLISHING ECCLESIASTICALL COMMISSIONERS, AT HALYRUDHOUS, 2D JANUARY 1585.

"James, by the grace of God, King of Scots, To our lovits, etc., messingers, our shireffs in that part, conjunctlie and severallie, speciallie constitut, greeting. Forasmuche as in our late parliament, holdin at Edinburgh upon the 22d day of May last bypast, sindrie

[1] Circuitous courses.

good and godlie constitutiouns, als weill for preservatioun of our authoritie royall, as for the weale and policie of the kirk were made and published; and to the effect that an uniforme order might be observed, speciallie amongst the ministers of God's Word, it was statute and ordeanned, that all beneficed men, ministers, readers, and maisters of colledges and schooles, sould testifie and faithfullie promise, by their hand-writts, their humble and ductifull submissioun and fidelitie to us, and to obey with all humilitie our acts of our said parliament; and that, according to the same, they sould show their obedience to their ordinar bishop or commissioner, appointed, or to be appointed, to have the exercise of the spirituall jurisdictioun in their dioceis: And incace of inobedience of the saids beneficed men, ministers, readers, and maisters of colledges and schooles, in the premisses, their benefices, livings, and stipends to vaike, *ipso facto*, and qualified and obedient persons to be presented and provided in their rowmes, as if they were naturallie deid: Which being once lawfullie and orderlie provided, the saids persons, refusars to subscrive, sould at no time therafter have restitutioun, whatsomever offer of obedience they sould happin to make, lyke as at more lenth is conteaned in our said act of parliament; since the making and publicatioun wherof diverse proclamatiouns have beene sett furth, and lawfull advertisement otherwise givin to all beneficed men, ministers, readers, maisters of colledges and schooles, to testifie that lawfull obedience, by their subscriptioun in maner specified in our said act of parliament; wherunto, albeit diverse have shewed themselves conformable, nevertheless, sindrie others have disobeyed, ather absenting them altogether, or compeering, or departing without yeelding of their due obedience; yitt, to cutt away all excuse and pretence of ignorance, we have appointed the bishops presentlie exercising their ordinar office and functioun in their dioceis; and where suche bishops are not, or that the bishopricks are now vacand, have appointed the persons underwrittin commissioners, to be assisted by the noblemen and others after specified; with power to call and conveene the beneficed men, ministers, readers, maisters of colledges and

schooles, within their bounds and dioceis respective, and to present unto them the forme of their promise and obligatioun ordeanned by our said act of parliament to be subscrived by them, requiring them to subscrive the same, after the tenor of our said act; and incace of their non-compeerance, to the effect that the persons shewing themselves obedient may be answered of their livings and stipends, as apperteaneth, and the inobedients called, persued, and punished for their contempt, according to our lawes.

"They are to say, a Most Reverend Father, and our trust counseller, Patrik, Archbishop of Sanct Andrewes, within the whole bounds of the diocie therof; the said archbishop, assisted by our right trust cousine and counseller, James Erle of Arran, Lord Aven and Hammiltoun, our Chanceller, and Shireff of Lanerk and Stirline; Robert Archbishop of Glasgow, within the whole bounds of the diocie of Glasgow; Mr Peter Watsone, Person of Flisk, assisted by our weilbeloved counseller, Mr Patrik Vaus of Barnbarroch, one of the Senators of our Colledge of Justice, within the whole bounds of the diocie of Galloway; a Reverend Father, Neill, Bishop of Argile, assisted by our weilbeloved counseller, Sir James Campbell of Ardkinglas, knight, our Comptroller, within the bounds of the diocie of Argile; a Reverend Father, Johne, Bishop of the Iles, assisted by our cousin and counseller, Johne Erle of Montrose, Lord Grahame, our Treasurer, and Shireff of Perth, within the bounds of the diocie of Dumblane; our weilbeloved clerk and counseller, Johne Bartan, one of the Senators of our Colledge of Justice, assisted by our said Treasurer, within the bounds of the diocie of Dunkelden; our weilbeloved Johne Areskin of Dun within the bounds of the diocie of Brechin; a Reverend Father, David, Bishop of Aberdeen, within the bounds of the diocie of Aberdeen; our weilbeloved Clerk, Mr George Hay, Person of assisted by our right trust cousin, George Erle of Huntlie, within the bounds of the diocie of Murrey; our weilbeloved Clerk, Mr Robert Grahame, Archdeacon of Rosse, assisted by our weilbeloved Coline Mackenzie of Kintaill, within the bounds of the diocie of Rosse; our weilbeloved Johne Gray of Fordell,

assisted by our right trust cousins, Alexander Erle of Sutherland, and George Erle of Cathnesse, in either of their countreis within the bounds of the diocie of Cathnesse; our weilbeloved Clerk, Mr James Annand, Chanceller of Orkney, assisted by our right trust cousine, Robert, Erle of Orkney, within the bounds of the diocie of Orkney and Zetland: and ordeane commissiouns to be made under our signet, to the effect forsaid, wherunto these presents sall be sufficient warrant. And incase anie of the said beneficed men, ministers, readers, and maisters of colledges and schooles, sall happin to be absent furth of the countrie, it sall be to their choice ather to repaire to their owne ordiner bishop or commissioner, and to subscrive, or to come to Edinburgh, and subscrive in presence of our Chancellor, sua as alwise they subscrive betuixt and the said day.

"Attour, we have commanded and ordeaned, and by the tenor heerof command and ordeane, that all persons who have alreadie subscrived, have the extracts of their stipends and letters therupon to be answered and obeyed, of the crop and yeere of God 1584 yeeres instant, delivered to them without delay. And siclyke to all other which sall happin to subscrive betuixt and the said day. And to that effect hath made, and by the tenor heerof maketh, our saids Chanceller, Treasurer, Sir Johne Matlane of Thirlestane, knight, our Secretar, our trust cousine and counseller, James Lord Down, our Collector-Generall, Mr Patrik Vaus of Barnbarroch, James Meldrum of Segy, Mr Thomas Bannatyne, of the Kirktoun of Newtyle, and Alexander Hay of Easter Kennet, Clerk of Register, our said Chanceller, Treasurer, Secretar, or anie one of them being alwayes one, our speciall commissioners for modificatioun of the saids ministers' stipends, for the said yeeere and crop; with power to them to proceed therintill, as they sall thinke most expedient; firme and stable, holding, and for to hold, what they sall doe in that behalf. Our will is heerefore, and we charge you straitlie and command, that incontinent, these our letters seene, yee passe to the mercat croces of the heed burrowes of our realme, and other places needfull, and there, by opin proclamatioun, in our name and authoritie, make publicatioun and intimatioun of the

premisses, that none pretend ignorance of the same, as yee will answere to us therupon, &c. Given under our signet, at Halyrudhous, the secund day of Januar."

Mr Patrick Galloway, in a letter dated at Newcastell, the 12th of Januarie, and writtin to Mr James Carmichaell, regraiteth the denouncing of Mr Johne Colvill; and signifieth to him, that the lords and their companie were to celebrat a fast a full weeke, and therafter to have the communioun upon the Lord's day following, the 24th of Januar. In the end of the letter, he prayeth that God may arise, and give hearts and hands to his owne.

A letter was sent from Geneve to the banished ministers, dated the 26th of Januarie, wherin they make mentioun how the Bishop of Sanct Andrewes had misinformed them, and condoled with them the troublesome estate of their kirk.

NEW PRACTISES OF QUEENE MARIE DISCOVERED.

After that Sir William Waad, who was sent ambassader to Spaine by Queene Elizabeth, was returned, he was sent to the Queene of Scots, to conferre with her upon the meanes of her libertie; speciallie for a treatie to be had betuixt her and Sir Walter Mildmey, which had beene proponed two yeere before. Therafter, shie sent to her Beale, to show unto her, that if she would doe as she promised to Mr Waad, that is, interceed with her sonne for the banished nobles, and that the Bishops of Rosse and Glasgow, her agents, sould not plott anie thing against her and her countrie, she would send Sir Walter to bring that treatie to an end. She answered, that what she had promised she had promised upon conditiouns, and was readie to performe, if the treatie went fordward. In the meane time, some terrours and feares arise, speciallie by discoverie of papers which Father Crichton, a Scotish Jesuit returning home to his owne countrie, but intercepted by some Hollanders, tared in peeces, and throwed into the sea; but were, by the force of the wind, blowne backe again to the shippe, not without a miracle, as Crichton himself said. The

papers were brought to Sir William Waad, and were joynned together again by his singular skill. It was found that they conteanned new practises of the Pope, the Spaniard, and the Guises, to invade England. Wherupón, and becaus manie other rumors of dangers increased, a great number throughout all England, of all sorts of men, bound themselves by an associatioun, as then it was called, by their mutuall promises, subscriptiouns of their hands and seales, to prosecute to the death with all their power whosoever sould attempt anie thing against the life of the queene. The Erle of Leicester was supposed to be the author of this associatioun. The Queene of Scotland tooke this, as devised to bring her in danger. She sent to the queene her secretar, as some report, and offered not to challenge anie right to the crowne of England during her life; to renounce the title and armes of England, which she had used at commandement of Francis, her husband, and to enter in that same associatioun, desiring that her sonne might be joyned with her. Whether she made this offer in shew, to cover her practises, or in earnest, finding her self in a strait, I referre to the judgement of the reader. But George Carleton, Doctor of Divinitie, and Bishop of Chichester, in his booke entitled, "A thankfull Remembrance of God's Mercie," &c., hath these words:—

"The Scotish queene, led on by her blind guides, dealt somwhat rashlie, but with importunitie to the Pope and Spaniard, by Sir Francis Inglefeild, that by all meanes they would with speed undertake their intended buss'nesse. There were some also that laboured to draw Queen Elizabeth's affectioun altogether from the Scotish queene. They told her, that Cardinall Allane, with the English Catholicks ecclesiasticall, Inglefeild for the laicks, and for the Queene of Scots the Bishop of Rosse, had undertaikin, and were amongst themselves agreed, and with the consent also of the Pope and Spaniard, had fullie resolved upon these points: That Queene Elizabeth sould be deprived of her kingdome; the King of Scots, as a manifest favourer of heresie, sould be utterlie disinherited of the kingdome of England. That the Scotish queene sall

marie some noble man of England which is a Catholicke. That this man must be choosed King of England by the Catholicks of England. That the choice so made must be confirmed by the Pope. That the childrein of him so choosed, begottin of the Scottish queene, must be declared successours in the kingdome. All these things were confirmed to be true by the testimonie of Hart, the preest. Who was this noble English man that sould marie the Scotish queene was now muche enquired of. There was suspicioun of Henrie Hawart, brother to the Duke of Norfolk, who was noble by birth, unmaried, a favourer of that religioun, and in great grace and favour with them."

In the meane time, Patrik, Maister of Gray, sent ambassader to England under colour of border maters, being a Papist by religioun, and thereby addicted to the king's mother and the Duke of Guise, and privie to all secreet effaires, discovered manie of them to the Queene of England.

The Laird of Drumquhassill, the Laird of Duntreth, the Laird of Mains, were apprehended by Colonell Stewart, and brought to Edinburgh.

DUNTRETH'S DEPOSITIOUN AT EDINBURGH CASTELL, 8 FEBRUARII, THE YEERE OF GOD 1584, IN PRESENCE OF THE ERLE OF ARRAN, CHANCELLER, THE ERLE OF MONTROSE, TREASURER, SIR JOHN MATLANE OF THIRLSTANE, KNIGHT, SECRETAR, AND ALEXANDER HAY, CLERK OF REGISTER.

"Sir James Edmistoun of Duntreth, knight, acknowledging how farre he hath offended Almightie God, and the king's Majestie his soverane lord, in the long concealing of the most dangerous and treasonable interprises devised and intended to be executed against his Hienesse' most noble person, by his rebels now remaining in England; declareth, that it was devised by them first to have made a force of a thowsand or twelve hundreth hors, and with the same to have come through the west of by Dalkeith, to Halyrud hous, and, on the suddane, to have environed his Hienesse' palace, and have beene masters of him and his companie.

But becaus this interprise appeared to be subject to manie perrells and difficulteis, for that suche a companie could hardlie be assembled without his Hienesse' intelligence, for resisting wherof a greater companie might be gathered; and that the pursuers' horses, after so great a road, sould be wearie and unable to carie them away, how ever the mater fell out, therefore, the secund purpose and deliberatioun was, to provide so muche money as might interteane fourtie or threttie able men, unsuspected, that sould be directed to await upon his Majestie in the feilds, when his horse was souped,[1] and he, single, and there take him and convoy him ather to the hous of Dowglas or Cumlege; or, failing therof, to Island or Island Vernick, in Lochlowmont, there to be keeped, where the rebels in England might come and receave him. But both their other devices standing difficill, and longsome to be brought to passe, through the sindrie impediments that might fall out, the thrid and most dangerous enterprise for his Majestie was devised, and thought most likelie to be putt in practise; which this deponent, upon the respect of his conscience to God, and for the naturall duetie which he oweth to his soverane lord, and in signe of his penitence for so long concealing of so great and mischeevous a treasoun, cannot keepe longer unreveeled, for the perell and danger that, in default therof, may occurre. Therefore declareth, that the thrid device and practise of the said rebels was, that when no where the publict force of a thowsand or twelve hundreth horses appearandlie could be had, nor yitt money nor men unsuspected, for the executing of their secund device, the thrid sould be, that everie one of the former principals, that is to say, the late Abbot of Aberbrothoke, the Erles of Angus and Marr, and Maister of Glames, sould cast out of their owne companeis, everie one of them, two or three, so that there sould be eight at least among the foure, everie one of them appointing two; and they, to convoy themselves in the most secreit and quiet maner they could, to the toun or place where his Majestie sould happin to make residence; and if it could no otherwise be, in begger's clothing; and at the first possible commoditie everie one of them to preasse to slay his Hienesse, by shott

[1] Wearied.

or other weapoun. And to that effect, to have tried horses of prooffe, but so disguised, by cutting of their tails, mains, and eares, that none sould suspect they could be keeped for such a purpose: and sould lurke in suche places of their freinds neere to his Majestie's residence, where they might be interteanned for twentie or fourtie dayes, awaiting upon the commoditie to execute their wicked attemptat; and, failing of anie time and place, to have recourse and seeke their advantage at anie other, by all meanes possible, whereby they might accomplishe their haynous and most treasonable interprise; and that, becaus they saw no other meane how to recover their livings and former estate but by cutting away the king's person, during whose life they had no hope, by anie ordinarie meane, to recover the same. For the which purpose, the said Lord Abbot of Aberbrothoke sould appoint Robert Cunninghame Forret in Glasgow, and Hammiltoun, or two of them; for the late Erle of Angus, William Colvill, and Hector Dowglas, called Red Eckie; for the late Erle of Marr, Mr James Areskine, Thomas Hume, and Edmistoun, or anie two of them; for the late Maister of Glaimes, Andrew Rollocke, and Johne Ker of Greenheed. All this was reported and declared to the said Sir James, deponent, by Blacke Johne Hume of the Law, who came twise to him, and first brought him a letter of credit from the Erle of Marr, and the like at the secund time.

"JAMES EDMISTOUN of Duntreth, Knight.

"Montrose, witnesse. Huntlie, witnesse. Arran, witnesse. Glencarne, witnesse. Thirlestane, witnesse. James, Lord of Down, witnesse. Blaquhan, witnesse. Lochinvar, witnesse. Bellendine, witnesse. Segy, witnesse."

MAYNES AND DRUMQUHASSILL EXECUTED.

The Laird of Drumquhassill and the Laird of Maynes were putt to an assise. They denied they knew anie thing of the conspiracie alledged, wishing, notwithstanding, that wicked men were re-

moved out of the king's companie, who sought nothing but their owne particular, with the ruine both of kirk and commoun weale. They purged themselves not onlie of all conspiracie against the king, but also of knowledge of anie interprise against Arran or the Colonell. The assise, fearing an assise of errour, adjudged them to be putt in the king's will. After they were condemned, Maynes forbaad anie man to trow princes' words whose writt could not bind them; for he had shewed to the assise the king's letter writtin to him, to desire him to come in, with promise to passe and repasse without harme. They were executed upon the nynth of Februar, at the Croce of Edinburgh. Great lamentatioun was made for them, speciallie for Maynes, sonne-in-law to Drumquhassill. Drumquhassill dranke a bitter cuppe of his owne brewing, for he was an earnest dealer for the bringing home of Monsieur D'Aubigney.

THE LORDS REMOVE FROM NEWCASTELL.

After the execution of Maynes and Drumquhassill, sindrie fled for pretended treasoun, amongst whom was Mr David Hume, minister of Coldinghame. The lords went from Newcastell partlie at the desire of her Majestie, partlie becaus they perceaved their lying neere to the borders endangered their freinds. It was suspected that the Maister of Gray had procured the queen's command to that effect when he was at court. They stayed a moneth at Norwiche, and therafter went to Londoun.

A SYNODALL ASSEMBLIE.

In Februare there was a synodall assemblie holdin at Edinburgh, where the Bishop of Sanct Andrewes was moderator, and twelve or sixteene ministers choosed to be his counsellers. The ministers were urged to take the care of three or foure kirks, which some of them did for their belleis' sake.

About this same time, certan articles and injunctions, penned by Secretar Matlane, were imposed upon the ministers to be subscribed

by them, under paine of losse of their stipend. Wherupon was sett furth a libell against Secretar Matlane, wherin Justice is brought in lamenting, that one of Cameleon's clan, one of the disciples of Matchiavell, had so great a place in the commoun wealth, to the ruine of justice. The tenor of the articles followeth :—

ARTICLES TO BE OBSERVED BY ALL PREACHERS OF THE WORD, AND OFFICE-BEARERS IN THE KIRK, WITHIN THIS REALME.

"All the preachers and office-bearers within the kirk, als weill for conscience' sake as for their duetie, sall, with all humilitie, yeeld their obedience to the king's Majestie, and observe and obey all his lawes and commandements made, and to be made, not directlie repugning to the writtin Word of God.

"They, nor none of them, sall pretend immunitie nor priviledge in their allegiance, nor appeale frome his Majestie to anie other judge or jurisdictioun, for the triell, censure, or punishment of whatsomever thing that in whatsomever place they speeke or doe, that may concerne his Majestie in honour or suretie. And therefore they, nor none of them, sall meddle in maters of state or civill, beside their calling, but alwayes conteane themselves, both in life and doctrine, within the bounds of their charge and functioun.

"And so they nor none of them sall publictlie rebooke, or in anie wise revile his Majestie, nor declame against his Majestie's persoun, estat, counsell, or lawes; but sall signifie their greeves to his Majestie himself in privat, and crave most humblie remeed therof, by the ordinarie and lawfull meanes.

"They and everie one of them sall, in publict doctrine and privat speeches, speeke reverentlie of his Majestie's persoun, counsell, and lawes; and, to their uttermost, travell to conteane the whole subjects in their due obedience to his Hienesse, preache the same at all occasiouns; and what in them lyeth, to observe the publict peace, and absteane from all things, als weill in doctrine as in exemple, that may publictlie or privatlie, directlie or indirectlie, withdraw the hearts of the people from the due obedience, love, and re-

verence they ought to his Majestie, or that anie wise may disturbe the commoun quietnesse.

"They sall absteane from all factioun, privie preachings by the commoun order in publict or privat places, or anie suche quiett conventicles, thereby to make anie of his Majestie's subjects conceave that anie persecutioun is used or intended against them; nor sall, in anie wise, move them to a mislyking of anie of his proceedings.

"They, nor none of them, sall alledge the inspiratiouns of the Holie Spirit, (except so farre as it agreeth with the Holie Scripture,) ather when they are accused upon anie their facts and speeches; or when they will doe, or refuse to doe, suche things as want expresse warrant of the Word so to doe, or so to refuse.

"But, by the contrare, when they offend, and are taxed therof, not to be ashamed truelie to grant their offences as men, and humblie crave pardoun as subjects; nor serve themselves with the colour of conscience, to doe or refuse these things that they want good reasoun for so to doe or refuse."

PARRYE'S CONFESSION.

William Parry, Doctor of the Civill Lawes, was apprehended and committed to the Towre, about the 9th of Februare, and was arraigned the 25th of Februare at Westminster; convicted of treasoun for practising and intending to kill the queen. Edmond Nevill, in his declaratioun made the 10th of Februar, subscrived with his owne hand, sheweth, that when Parry would have enduced him to concurre with him in this devilish plott, he reveeled unto him three motives of his intentioun: the replanting of the Roman Catholick religioun, the preferring of the Scotish title, and the advancement of justice. William Parry himself, in his owne voluntarie confessioun before the Lord Hounsden, Lord Governour of Berwick, Sir Christopher Hatton, knight, vice-chamberlane, Sir Francis Walsinghame, knight, principal secretare, the 13th of Februare, declared, that when he was in Parise the last yeere, in October, Thomas Morgan, a Catholick gentleman, who was made

privie to his intentioun, assured him, that shortlie after his departure, the Laird of Phairnihirst, then resident in Parise, would goe to Scotland, and be readie, upon the first newes of the queen's fall, to enter in England with twentie or threttie thowsand men, to defend the Queene of Scots. Parry was executed the 2d of Marche. The Queene of Scots' caus was renewed in parliament upon the 25th of Februar, and the old reasons repeated and joynned to the new, proving her guiltie of this, and all the rest of the conspiraceis against her Majestie. She was committed by the parliament to a faithfull and trustie knight, Sir Esmes Paullett, becaus Sir Rawfe Sadler was desirous to be rid of her.

SUBSCRIPTION.

Subscription going on apace: the exemples of Mr Craig and Johne Brand had done muche ill. The Laird of Dun was a pest then to the ministers in the North. Yitt a number stood out against the subscriptioun: Mr Patrik Symsone, Mr Johne Hall, Mr Robert Pont, Mr Adam Johnstoun, Mr Thomas Makgie, Mr Johne Knox, Mr William Cranston, Mr Robert Ker, George Johnston, and sindrie others. The Presbyterie of Air subscrived after this maner: "The first act of parliament, made the yeere 1584, we approve; the thrid and fourth we damne as devilish, and expresse against God's Word." They tooke instruments, that they subscrived no otherwise. Wherupon their stipends were taikin from them. About the same time, the king comming from hunting, dranke to all his dogges, and, above the rest, to one of his dogges called Tell-True, saying, "Tell-True, I drinke to thee above all the rest of my hounds; for I will give thee more credence nor ather the bishop or Craig." This was the great accompt he made, ather of the bishop or the subscrivers.

EDWARD AND JAMES CATHKIN EXILED.

Edward and James Cathkin, brethrein, and burgesses of Edin-

burgh, being summouned before the Secreit Counsell, for making some noise at the kirk-doore, when the Bishop of Sanct Andrewes was at reading of the commoun prayers, fearing extremitie, fled to England, and remained at Newcastell, Norwiche, and Londoun, whether they arived the 4th of Marche. After their departure, they were denounced rebels, and putt to the horne.

Sir Lewes Bellendine, Justice-Clerk, was sent ambassader to England, and came to Londoun the 24th of Februare. His message was to procure hatred against the banished lords and ministers. He caried with him the booke entituled, "The King's Declaration of the late Acts of Parliament," which was reprinted at Londoun, with some alteratioun and additioun, and a counterfoot epistle sett before. Upon Thursday the 11th of Marche, one called Hume, a servant to the Erle of Marr, and one called Ker, a servant to the Maister of Glames, went to London, to purge themselves of the crimes layed to their charge by the Justice-Clerk. Upon Thursday the 1st of Aprile, the Erles of Angus and Marr and Maister of Glames went to London. Within eight dayes after they were confronted with the Justice-Clerk, before the Chanceller, Treasurer, and Lord Hounsden. They cleered themselves worthilie, the Maister of Glames taking the speeche in hand. The Justice-Clerk craved of her Majestie that they might be wairded: they desired the queen's declaratour tuiching their innocencie. It is differed. They ly at Westminster.

ANSWERE TO THE JUSTICE-CLERK'S ACCUSATION.

"The three heeds wherupon we were accused: First, that with 1200 men we sould have environed the Abbey, and seazed upon the king's Majestie's person; which, becaus of manie impediments, tooke no effect. The Secund, that we sould have devised to have interteanned fiftie men, who, when his Majestie's hors had beene wearied at hunting, sould have layed violent hands upon his Majestie's owne person, and then convoyed him ather to the house of

Dowglas, Cumlege, or to an Ile within Lochlowmont. But becaus of delay of time, and impediments that occurred therupon, that we tooke us to the Thrid, most pernicious of all; to witt, that everie one of us three, and the Abbot of Aberbrothocke, sould have suborned two of our owne servants to kill his Hienesse' most sacred person, they being disguised, and having swift hors to escape, when they had accomplished their wicked purpose.

"Our answere was to this effect, so farre as I remember: 'Surelie the crimes are great wherewith we are charged, and so muche the more greevous unto us, that nothing being left presentlie, by the malice of our enemeis, wherof we are not spoiled, save onlie her Majestie's good opinioun of us, and our owne honour, which both by this one calumnie they thinke to deprive us of; alwise, we hope in God the contrare effect sall prove, seing we have obteaned at her Majestie's and your Honours' hands to be heard, before we be convicted; which surelie we could never obteane in our owne countrie.

"'But to come to this mater wherupon we are presentlie accused: It is not unknowne unto your Honours, nather unto my lord ambassader, that, ever since the first arrivall of the Duke of Lennox in Scotland, we that are heere present, and manie moe of the nobilitie, seing the imminent danger to religioun, the perell wherin his Majestie's owne person was, and the dissolutioun of the amitie betuixt these two natiouns to be aimed at, sought by all lawfull and ordinarie meanes to remove suche pernicious counsellers from about his Majestie, as it became loyall and faithfull subjects to have done. What we had for us that they shott at this marke, by God's grace, heerafter, when as we enter in the apologie and defence of our caus, sall be made cleere.

"'But becaus we are presentlie to answere to accusatiouns layed out against us, we will not trouble your Honours therewith. It pleased God, for a certane time, to remove suche counsellers from his Majestie; at which time, we that are heere present remained continuallie with his Majestie. And time and occasioun served us, if ever we had anie suche malicious and wicked purposes in our thoughts, to have accomplished them then, without danger. And

heerin, my lord ambassader, we call you to beare witnesse, as who is sent by his Majestie, our maister, to have the truthe tried, if ever, during the time of our remaining with his Majestie, yee saw in us anie uncomelie deed, or unreverent word toward his Majestie; yea, or if ever our enemie was so impudent, as to accuse us of anie suche misbehaviour. It is true, it was then layed to our charge, that we sould have betrayed him for money to her Majestie; and now, we are burthenned to goe about to seeke his Hienesse' life, when nather time nor occasioun serveth to accomplishe anie suche wicked purpose. How likelie this is, your Honours may easilie judge. Nather speeke we this, to the end that our loyaltie and good service, in times past, sould be an excuse for anie treasoun now devised by us; but at the least, it may appeare probablie, that having the same caus then as now, and occasioun ministred to us without danger, to accomplishe our purpose, and not doing the same, nather intending it, it was not likelie that ever suche barbarous crueltie sould have sunke in our hearts, when, without danger, we could not have accomplished our purpose, nather without perpetuall infamie lived therafter.

"'It is true, we must confesse, that if time and occasioun had served us heeretofore, that we might have removed suche pernicious counsellers from his Majestie, who yitt shott at the same marke, we know we sould have done good service to his Majestie, and both these natiouns, ever keeping this in memorie, that as the end wherat we shott is godlie and honest, so the middes by which we sould worke, to be godlie, lawfull, and honest, and without danger to his Majestie's sacred persoun. What we have for us, that these men prosecute the selfsame course where the others left off, by God's grace heereafter sall be declared to your Honours, &c. In respect, therefore, of the evill offices which these men have done, and doe daylie, both in generall unto our natioun, and in particular unto our self, we trust your Honours will not burthein us to make anie purgatioun unto them, whatsomever our intentioun hath beene. Although that we may cleere our selves, yitt seing how prejudiciall it is unto the caus,

and hurtfull unto our owne honours, looke not to be burthenned therewith. But as concerning anie thing meant against the king's Majestie by us, ather directlie or indirectlie, we sall not onlie be answerable since our comming to England, but since our youth to this day.

"'There are three accusatiouns layed out against us. The two first alledged to be practises devised by us; and becaus of the midds and impediments that fell therin, was not able to be brought to executioun. The thrid, a treasoun devised by us, and had beene accomplished, if it had not beene reveeled. As to the first, If we had come where his Majestie had beene, with few or manie, desiring our selves to have beene heard, and moved his Hienesse by good reasoun to have removed suche wicked counsellers from his companie, without anie violence, surelie we had done his Majestie good service, and had beene answerable for the same, by all lawes. But to answere directlie, and not to trouble your Honours what we might doe of law, we never devised anie suche purpose. As to the secund, How it is layed to our charge, that we sould have had fiftie horsemen, and layed violent hands on his Majestie, and brought him to some of the houses or places alledged, we answere, that if anie faithfull subject on foote or hors, manie or few, might move his Hienesse to see the danger and perell imminent, by these who are with him, to his owne person, and that countrie, and heerupon moved his Majestie with good reasoun to withdraw himself from that companie, to anie place sure for his Majestie's owne person, till suche time as his Majestie's loyall and faithfull subjects, of whose good service he hath had experience, might come to him, we know, they had done God, his Majestie, and both these realmes, good service. But to answere directlie to our accusatioun, we never devised anie suche purpose. As to the thrid, Surelie we abhorre to speeke of it, and esteeme, if ever it had come to our thought, muche lesse to have beene spokin with our mouth, or executed by our device, that we were not worthie to live or to receave aire, muche lesse to be interteaned within her Majestie's dominiouns. And so

we thinke the thought of it, lett be the word or deid, is crime eneugh, if it could be proved.'

"It was answered to us, as I remember, that for the verifeing therof, and speciallie of the first two heeds, there was the Laird of Duntreth's depositioun, the speeche delivered by one Robert Hammiltoun of Inchemauchane, and the Lairds of Drumquhassill and Maynes' executioun for the same; and letters alledged to the same effect, sent by some of us, to the Laird of Duntreth, by one Johne Hume. Wherupon we were demanded, if we sent anie letters to the Laird of Duntreth. Our answere was: To that point toward our letters, that since our comming in England, the whole good men in our countrie being miscontent, we receaved confort of manie, and manie receaved the like of us. But that ever we sent anie letters to these effects, or anie other that might import hurt to his Majestie, we never sent anie to the laird nor no other. It was then demanded, if we sent anie to Duntreth at all? Our answere was, that although it was no fault to us to send letters into Scotland, so they were not prejudiciall to his Majestie's owne estat, yitt, suche was the violence of our enemeis, that if anie receaved a commendatioun from us, they were straight way executed; for verifeing therof, I declared the executioun of David Hume. So that their Honours behoved to beare with us, although we answere not in that point, whether we sent letters or not, or unto whome; for there is a great difference to send letters into Scotland, and to send anie to that effect. So, least by purging of our selves, we appeare to accuse others, we behoved to absteane from answering unto that point. As to the prooffes layed out against us, we desired, that ather at that time or therafter, my lord ambassader would declare what were the depositioun of the Lairds of Drumquhassill and Maynes. And therupon he declared, that the Laird of Maynes denied ever knowledge of anie suche purpose, but was convicted upon a practise conspired against the Lord Chanceller of Scotland, the Erle of Arran, as he reported. So that we made no answere, becaus it was impertinent to us, and we were not ac-

cused therof. As to the Laird of Drumquhassill, he said, he was convicted upon his owne confessioun of foreknowledge and concealing the purpose, wherunto he said he never consented. But in respect he charged not us of having intelligence with Drumquhassill upon these maters, it was impertinent to us to answere thereto, although we heard say that Drumquhassill past with another resolutioun to death. But this muche we answered, '*De iis qui non sunt et non extant, idem est judicium.*' As to Robert Hammiltoun, we knew not suche a man, and heard nothing but his name nominated; and so could do nothing but denie therin; for we never knew, had to doe, nor dealt with suche a man, nor none at our command. As to the Laird of Duntreth, surelie I know him not weill. But this we know him, to professe himself plainlie the Duke of Lennox his man, who brought a commissioun frome the Duke of Lennox to the king's Majestie, that time the duke was removed from his Hienesse; with great vehemencie delivered the same, held his lands of him, receaved good deid of him, was in good favour and credit with him, was made knight when he was made duke, as we understand; is in blood joynned to the Erle of Montrose, whose uncle hath maried his sister, and is deteaned in the hands of our enemeis; wherof, if ather by violence this be drawin out of him for feare of his life, ather by perswasioun he be induced to speeke this, or if he hath spokin it at all, or if anie other passioun hath overtane him, we trust so muche in his owne honestie, that if he were heere present, he would never say that we devised anie suche purpose. And if he were induced therunto, what the testimonie of one man could prove, your Honours know.

"As to the thrid, it was alledged, that we onlie used a single negatioun in so great maters and so cleere; for verificatioun wherof, he alledged that the Laird of Duntreth, looking for nothing but present death, after his first confessioun, and finding himself greeved in conscience, reveeled this last and barbarous crueltie conspired against his Majestie. Who being brought in judgement, where he was convicted, before his conviction, this his confessioun of his foresaid knowledge of this last treasoun being read out in the audience

of five thousand persons, and knowledge therof comming to us, we absented Johne Hume therupon. So that the confessioun of the Laird of Duntreth, and the fleing of Johne Hume, that tooke the deid upon him, for not-compeerance, sould serve against us for two witnesses; and so it was sufficientlie proved. It was answered, that in maters that we knew not, we could say no more but denie. As to the probatiouns by him alledged concerning the Laird of Duntreth, we made answere, that we were so muche perswaded of our owne innocencie, and of his honestie, whatsoever he be, that if he might be brought heere, and there confronted with us, he sould never stand by suche a depositioun; or, if he did, it sould evidentlie appeare that he had never anie thing of us for the same. Heerupon having nothing left but our lives and honours, we offer to ingadge the same, if ever he might be confronted with us, that we sould appeare innocent to all men; and heerupon, earnestlie insisted that Duntreth might be brought to be confronted with us; for we are assuredlie perswaded,, that suche a fact as this could never sinke in anie Christian breast. As to Johne Hume, it is not unknowne to your Lordships, that we were not able to interteane our whole companie in these parts, and heerupon left manie of them, and him among the rest, to see what they could doe for themselves, at our comming furth of Newcastell, not knowing at that time anie suche purpose as this to be layed to his charge. Suche as we had with us, we have exhibited them all; becaus we were not able to interteane him and others with us, and they are past away in suche place as we know not, and are not able presentlie to produce them. Whatsomever sall be alledged in their names against us, to take their absence as a prooffe against us, we thinke your Honours will not esteeme it equitable: for there are of these that are in this depositioun, some in France and some in Spaine, and have beene there this yeere and more, whom we are not able to produce. And yitt they are alledged to be executioners of this barbarous fact! Suche is the stuffe that is layed out against us.

"Heerunto my lord ambassader replyed, that it came a moneth to our knowledge, before Johne Hume departed furth of our companie. Wherunto was answered, the contrarie was most certane. Therupon he called furth his servant, and brought furth Duntreth's first depositioun, as he said, which was of the eight day of Februarie. So that his convictioun behoved to be at the soonest the 9th or 10th of the same moneth; which day we answered, that we came furth of Newcastell, and alledged, that we had writtin the same to her Majestie, and some of the Secreit Counsell, which we observed preciselie. The ambassader then said, it was the tenth of Marche that we removed. Wherunto we answered, that we were in Stamefoord the time of his comming, which was in Februarie; that we were in Cambridge the time of the commercements, which was in Februarie also; that we came to Norwiche, as we remember, the 28th of Februarie. So that, departing furth of Newcastell the 10th of Februarie, at what time Johne Hume departed from us, it was manifest that Duntreth's convictioun could not come to our knowledge, nather his depositioun, wherupon we sould have absented Johne Hume. But the veritie of all these maters would easilie appeare if Duntreth were heere produced, and we and he were confronted."

THE BANISHED LORDS MADE THEIR APOLOGIE LIKEWISE TO THE KING, IN THE SUPPLICATION FOLLOWING:—

"Albeit the dutifull reverence which we, your Majestie's sore distressed, most humble, and most loving subjects, sall ever beare to your royall name, hath in time past, and to this houre, with modestie moved us to keepe silence, the manifold wrongs that we and our freinds have receaved by suche as make, and have made open professioun, at all times to be our enemeis, yitt their present dealing, full of deceate, and the detestable crime wherewith they studie now most wrongfullie to burthein us, doeth constraine us, in all humilitie, to lay open before your Majestie our innocencie, together with suche deceatefull meanes as they have used, and still

doe prosecute, to abuse your Hienesse' good naturall, to turne your native clemencie in displeasure, and exasperat your wrathe not onlie against us, but also against our freinds, and all other suche good subjects of that your Majestie's realme, as they can imagine, may be able to informe your Hienesse, to what dangerous end their practises, full of deceate and crueltie, doe tend. We are accused presentlie, by a depositioun givin out under the name of the Laird of Duntreth, of a most odious conspiracie intended against your Hienesse' person, wherof, our eternall God knoweth, we are most innocent. Yea, we renounce His mercie at that great day of judgement, if ever anie suche abominable treasoun for destroying your Majestie's most noble persoun was precogitat, muche lesse concluded, by anie of us: for declaring heerof, we most humblie pray your Majestie to consider the reasouns following:—First, That to this houre it hath never beene heard, that anie professour of the true reformed religioun, howsoever they have beene persecuted, have lifted hand against the sacred person of their anointed prince; no, although he had beene of a contrarie religioun. And, therefore, we being, through God's electioun, called to that true professioun, if anie suche desperat and odious preparative sould beginne in us, then were we, of all flesh living, most unhappie, and most abandonned of God, speciallie, having a soverane of one religioun with us, and of so great expectation.

"Nixt, insomuche as we impute nothing to your Majestie of all the calamiteis fallin upon us, but acknowledge our sinnes justlie to have procured the same at the hands of God, who hath stirred up some few meane persons, seeking their owne particular preferment, to persecute and humble us so farre furth as pleaseth him by his irreprehensible counsell to give them power; seing, indeid, we impute not this unto your Majestie, (of whose naturall clemencie we cannot doubt, howsoever by their violence and malice the same for a time be obscured,) but unto suche instruments as being of themselves poore wretches, had no moyen but by our destructions to be exalted: the cace so standing, what probabilitie is there that we sould have revenging mindes contrare your Majestie, whom we

esteeme innocent of all that hath proceeded against us? Yea, most noble soverane, although we were assured that your Majestie, without suggestioun of our enemeis, had cast us in this pitifull estate, yitt would we not, for all the kingdoms in the world, once lift our hand against your sacred person, knowing that you are anointed of the Lord, his principall lieutenant within that natioun, and that he can change your heart at his pleasure, to the confort of suche as in patience and humilitie can abide His leasure. The whole number that hath latelie suffered in that land hath died with this resolutioun; and we hope in God, whether we live or dee, to carie no other minde. And albeit we might most justlie for our purgatioun alledge the good affectioun and zeale that we ever had to your Majestie's service, yitt will we not goe about by our loyaltie past, or by generall presumptiouns, to excuse ourselves in this present, or anie other accusatioun: nather will we insist muche upon suche frivolous calumneis as by these forgers have beene most unjustlie objected against us and other innocents at sindrie times heertofore, which were givin out, and printed for undoubted truthes. As when it was constantlie affirmed by our said enemeis, that before our removing out of Scotland we were corrupted with English gold, and altogether addicted to her Majestie there without respect to our naturall allegiance to your Hienesse; whereby not only we, but also her Majestie, who hath beene under God your onlie preserver, was most unjustlie slandered; in respect her Hienesse hath never sought in anie way to diminishe your power by alienating your subjects' hearts from you; but, contrariwise, hath largelie imployed her substance and subjects for your preservatioun, and oft hath united together their distracted mindes in mutuall concord, thereby the more to strenthen and confirme your estate, wherof her Majestie gave good prooffe at sindrie times; speciallie at the pacificatioun takin by her at Sanct Johnstoun, the day of when as the one half of your Majestie's realme was in armes against the other, and could not be pacified but by her mediatioun. Moreover, it is not a yeere past since they informed your Majestie that a gentleman of good credit, of whose fidelitie we are assured

your Hienesse hath no suspicioun, was deliberated to slay your Majestie by shott. How untruelie and maliciouslie that slander was invented is now weill knowne to your Majestie. Did they not also, immediatelie after the execution of the Erle of Gowrie, divulgat brutes that he had confessed both against himself and against us, that we had a conspiracie against the persons of your Majestie, and the queene your mother, to have beene performed at a time? This was published with suche impudencie, that they were not ashamed to caus affirme the same to her Majestie; albeit the truthe was, that the said erle at his last word protested solemnlie, that he had reveeled nothing prejudiciall to anie man, nather knew anie mater tending to our discredit; confessing allanerlie that he had intentioun to see the evill companie seperated from your Majestie, who, by their crueltie and violence, brought your Majestie's name and expectatioun in some disgrace among your good subjects and forraine estats. And not long agoe it was alledged that one George Drummond had reveeled a conspiracie against your Majestie's person, wherof we were participant, as was alledged; and promise was made that the said George sould be exhibited for verificatioun therof before the Lord Hounsdane, Lord Governour of Berwick. But to this houre he never compeered. Nather did his depositioun prove anie thing against us, as is evidentlie knowne to all that have perused the same.

"With a number of suche calumneis have we beene traduced, which we omitt least we sould seeme tedious, returning to the present accusatioun, which is of no better stuffe nor the former; for, as concerning the Laird of Duntreth, deponer, although his testimonie against us be manie wayes suspicious, yitt we trust so muche in his honestie, and in our owne innocencie, that if he were not in the hands of our speciall enemeis, where ather threatning, prayer, or some other infirmitie transporting him, maketh him, as appeareth, to forgett himself; or if he were confronted with us, he would be ashamed to pronounce so manifest an untruthe. It is weill knowne to your Majestie, that admitting the said laird ather by feare, infirmitie, or anie other caus, had deponed as is alledged,

yitt his depositioun is nothing but rehearsall of a mater proponed to him by Johne Hume, that is to say, *Narratio narrationis;* which before no judge is able to prove the debt of a shilling, muche lesse to condemne men in a mater of lese-majestie. Your Majestie also weill understandeth that of the lawes of your realme, that a singular witnesse will not be sufficient to prove in civill causes, na, not against the poorest cative of your land; muche lesse ought the frivolous assertioun of a singular man, speeking of heare-say, be able to tak away the life, whole heritage, fame, and reputatioun of ancient barons for ever, as hath beene of late practised upon the Lairds of Drumquhassill and Maynes, who, as we are informed, immediatlie before their suffering, openlie upon the scaffold renounced the mercie of God if ever they intended anie violence against your Majestie's person, notwithstanding anie depositioun givin out in the contrarie. Yitt suche was the rage of their and our enemeis, that it behoved them to dee. We leave it to your Majestie's discreit consideratioun to judge whether the last words of two suche gentlemen, immediatlie before their death, or the depositioun of a singular man guarded by our enemeis, and keeped alive, be of greater force and sufficiencie. Moreover, the persons nominated in the said depositioun who sould, as therin is alledged by their oathes, taikin in hand to invade your Majestie's person, some have beene this yeere past in Spaine, some in France, and yitt there remaine some, were not into our companie these three yeeres past; and others remaine, as we believe, within Scotland, and may be easilie apprehended, and tried upon that mater. By which reasoun, your Majestie may weill perceave the improbabilitie and untruthe of this accusatioun. But leaving all these exceptiouns, that our innocencie may the more plainlie appeare to your Majestie and all other princes, we have offered our selves, and all that are in our companie, to be tried heere before your Hienesse' ambassader, by all kinde of ordinarie triells that are used among other natiouns, if we ever intended anie suche mater against your sacred persoun. And farther, we protest before Almightie God, that no suche mater ever entered in any of our mindes, as these malicious enemeis have forged against us; as we hope your Majestie sall

more fullie understand heerafter, when as we sall be called to our triell.

"But for so muche that in this mater (as in all others) they make your name, by abusing therof, to serve their violent appetite, and to be wrongfullie slandered among all natiouns, for using greater rigour than anie prince, professour of the reformed religioun, hath heeretofore beene in use to doe; where as indeid the truthe is, that your Majestie is innocent of anie suche violence, as would plainlie appeare, if your Hienesse were suffered to follow your owne good naturall altogether givin to princelie clemencie. Which good qualitie these men travell by all their doings to have altered, to the end, as appeareth, that your royall name may be made odious to your owne subjects, other natiouns, and forrane princes, and by consequence, more easie to be endangered by them who have your whole foretresses and strenths in their possessioun, if at anie time your Majestie sould be contrarious unto their disordered appetite. For who knoweth not that the strenth of all princes of that your Majestie's realme hath consisted in two things, whereby they were able to defend themselves against suche inconveniences as the rest of your Hienesse' ancestors have beene subject unto? One was, the loving obedience of their subjects, procured by clemencie, and not by crueltie. The other was, reteaning of the principall fortresses of the realme in their owne hands. Of which both, how farre they have deprived your Majestie (so farre furth as in them lyeth) is manifest: for what estat in that land is free from their violence, executed under the pretext of your Majestie's authoritie; speciallie, upon the professors of the true religioun, and suche as have served your Majestie most worthilie when your crowne and life was in most danger? Of which number, the greatest part, upon frivolous causes, and suche calumneis as are before rehearsed, are ather imprissouned, banished, executed, or forfaulted, and their possessiouns converted to the use of some poore wretches of obscure linage, and not borne to a foote breadth of ground. And the whole strenths of your realme, are they not in their hands who brag to be descended of Duke Murdo? If so be or not, we know not. But we would wishe them to be more faithfull to your Majestie

nor their forbeares (of whom they ostent so muche) was to some of your ancestors. We pray God Almightie tymouslie to open your Majestie's eyes, to foresee these imminent dangers, lyke as we for our part, if we had our former abilitie, would be carefull to prevent the same, if so were your Majestie's good pleasure.

"These their deceatfull practises being now cleerlie detected to the whole world, and your Majestie's honour, name, and persoun, brought to extreme danger, have moved us with dolorous hearts, in all humilitie, for expressing that duetifull affectioun which we sall ever beare toward your Hienesse, and for declaring of our innocencie by this our most humble supplicatioun, humblie to intreate your Majestie, in the name of Him who is the righteous Judge, who hath adorned your Majestie with crowne and scepter to no other end, but in equitie to judge and raigne, that it may please God, your Majestie once to consider of our oppressiouns, and to putt an end to our calamiteis, that your Majestie may be found guiltlesse (before that high Judge, in that dreadful day) of all the effusioun of blood and violence that hath beene undeservedlie exerced against us. And seing in time past, against all good reasoun, we have beene esteemed guiltie of sindrie maters wherof we were most innocent, onlie becaus we had no place to answere for our selves; and that it hath beene thought sufficient allanerlie to accuse at times and places, when and where, we, moved with that just feare that may fall in the most constant, durst not compeere; seing, we say, by this hard forme of proceeding, no man can declare himself innocent, therefore, above all, we most humblie pray your Majestie, for remeed therof, appoint some indifferent and peaceable of your nobilitie and counsell to heare us in places where, without danger of our lives, we may resort; where we trust her Majestie will have some authorized with her Hienesse' commissioun to see us disburthein our selves of all calumneis objected against us, according to our promise to her Hienesse. Which being granted, we hope in God so to manifest our innocencie before them, that both your Majestie sall thereby understand us to have beene most wrongfullie persecuted, and her Hienesse sufficientlie per-

swaded, that we have affirmed no more before this her Majestie's honorable estate, concerning our loyaltie toward your Majestie, than we sall be able to prove indeid. In prosecuting heerof, since all our freinds are ather prohibited, or ellis so discredited that they have no accesse to deale for us, we trust that your Majestie will not be offended, that we solicite her Majestie, who hath beene your onlie preserver under God, (if so be her pleasure,) to interceed for us. Unto whom, we pray God, your Majestie doe the office of a loving kinsman, as she hath not spaired liberallie both her treasure and blood of her subjects for your preservatioun. So, wishing to your Hienesse all felicitie needfull to your royall estat, we most humblie crave your gracious answere."

THE KING BANKETTED IN DIRLTON.

The pest brake up in Edinburgh the 1st of May, in the Flesh Mercat Closse, by the infectioun of a woman, who had beene in Sanct Johnstoun, where the plague was. The king road the same day to Dirleton to a sumptuous banket prepared by the Erle of Arran. The king remained at Dirleton twelve dayes. There were in companie with him Arran, Sir Robert Melvill, Secretar Matlane, Phairnihirst, Colonell Stewart, and the Maister of Gray. They passed the time with the play of Robinhood. After the bankett was ended, Arran fell deidlie sicke.

The Justice-Clerk taketh journey from Londoun homeward the 10th of May. Sir Philip Sydney was sent upon the 12th of May from the queene to the banished lords, to desire them to be of good confort, and to assure them of her good affectioun. He willed them to advise upon their petitiouns, which they would have presented to her Majestie, who was to be at Westminster the week following. One of their number is appointed to confer upon their petitiouns with Secretar Walsinghame. In the meane time, they keeped a fast in their loodging at Westminster. Mr Walter exercised before noone upon the 58th of Isay; Mr Johne Davidsone afternoone upon Ezechiel xi. ver. 14, 15.

MR JAMES CARMICHAELL PRESENTED THE LETTER FOLLOWING TO SECRETAR WALSINGHAME UPON THE 26TH OF MAY, IN GREENEWICHE :—

"To the Right Honorable Sir Francis Walsinghame, Knight, principall Secretar to the Queen's Majestie of England, J. C., in the behalfe of manie, wishe perpetuall felicitie through Christ Jesus.

"As everie one of us in particular was affrayed heeretofore to bereave anie time from these weightie effaires of estate of moe kingdoms than one, wherewith your Honour was alwayes impeshed, so now, at last, there is imponed (as it were a certane necessitie to one) to discharge this duetie, least, as uncivill and ungrate ghuests, we sould all seeme to depart *hospite insolutato*. For seing we have in good maner enjoyed libertie and life under her Majestie's princelie protectioun since that time we were compelled upon just feare, *qui potest cadere in constantissimos quosque*, to use the libertie permitted to the apostles, and sanctified by command and exemple of Christ, our Master, we thought we could not escape the note of ingratitude if we sould not with all earnestnesse crave this humble significatioun of our thankfull hearts to be made unto her Majestie by your Honour's mediation, at the best opportunitie, in all our names. And whereas we have no curious words in store to expresse our duetifull meaning, being more acquainted to bledder in simplicitie unto the rude countrie people, than to delight with painted colours of rhetorick the sacred eares of princes, we heartilie implore your Honour to supplee this naturall defect in us, with your owne accustomed and court-like ornaments: Beseeching His Majestie, of whose fulnesse all grace, as from a fountane, doeth flow, to requite in deed whatsoever laiketh in both our words; and to grant unto her Majestie a long and prosperous raigne, in His true faith, feare, and love, als weill to the confort of all other reformed churches distressed through Christendome, as cheefelie of

her owne good subjects. Nixt, if we sould not acknowledge our particular obligatioun unto your Honour, by whose favourable countenance als weill to the commoun caus as our privat fame hath beene vindicated from manie calumneis, we might most justlie incurre no small reproache. But when our thought-thankes, or this shadowed utterance of our good will, are of no worthie weight to counterpace the smallest part of these and other Christian courteseis and undeserved humanitie, it may please your Honour to suffer patientlie your name ly still in our register, for all the rest, to move us a-fresh to intreate the Lord of lords long to continue heere in health and weelefare suche a patron for his poore afflicted people; and at last, to crowne this glance of glorie with heavenlie honour amongst his holie angels.

"How readie we were, sindrie dayes, awaiting to answere whatsoever by word, writt, and print, from diverse places were objected against us, and to purge ourselves of all sinistrous suspiciouns conceaved, least the Gospell in our persons, who were called to be preachers therof, by forged cavillatiouns sould have susteaned anie slander; and how that confronting, earnestlie wished by us, was cast off, being promised by them who privilie did speeke muche, and yitt, when it came to the verie moment of meeting, said they had no commissioun to accuse us, we hope the right honorable and noble lord, the Erle of Leicester, will long remember, and your Honour will not soone forgett. Since which time, we have conteaned our selves in longer silence than the injurie of that time and other circumstances required; not onlie leaning with testimonie of good conscience to the equitie of our caus, but also reposing our selves in the greater securitie, cheefelie for that we were not ignorant how that your Honour (from whose intelligence nothing in that mater could be hid) did livelie espy with what craft and countenance the truthe and our integritie had beene traduced. In the meane time, your Honour can beare faithfull record that we did not ceasse to crave all convenient and ordinarie meanes to make our owne apologie, not doubting, whensoever we sould have beene admitted thereto, to have made no lesse our owne conscience,

than the perellous platts and subtile practises of these late disturbers of our church and countrie, the better to have appeared in their owne colours, to the full satisfactioun of all good men, and stopping of the mouths of manie, to whom (as yitt) that caus is not throughlie knowne; yea, moreover, to have proved evidentlie that we had beene obedient and duetifull subjects to our soverane, the king's Majestie, and to have committed nothing contrare to his honour, nor quietnesse of his royall estate, whatsoever the adversars of the truthe, after their wounted maner, did prattle in the contrare, (unlesse to pray unto God to avert, and to forewarne our flockes to prevent, the cruell course knowne and felt by all our senses against our kirk, our king, our countrie, and commoun concord of both the kingdoms, be concluded to be unduetifull dealing;) as also, so bent furtherers and fosterers (within the compasse of our calling) of the said amitie, impugned and undermynned by them who cunninglie pretended the contrarie, that if our affectioun had beene als farre inclynned to other forrane factiouns, we needed not to have susteanned their wrathe so long before nor after our exile.

"Which things, as the righteous Judge, with greater warrant and justificatioun, hath of his mercie detected, (not distrusting, but in time, the tryer of truthe, they sall be yitt more cleerelie manifested,) so we are to pray his gracious goodnesse, who hath removed, in a part, the feare of good men in our countrie, to perfyte that worke to his owne glorie; and as He hath the hearts of princes in his hands, to move their Majesteis to judge no otherwise of it than of a miraculous worke of his wounted mercie toward that church, and of a caus so neerelie, and almost equallie, tuiching the peace of all who have givin their names to Christ, by embracing of his Gospell, wherof the continuance and prosperous successe bringeth their commoun benefite; like as the disappointment carieth a commoun confusioun, if not utter wracke, to all; and in respect therof, to kindle their heroicall courage, but especiallie of both the noble princes of this Ile, at least through the exemple of the princes of darkenesse, to associat their counsells, and amasse their forces

against their commoun enemeis, to the beating doun of that Roman Antichrist, and his supposts, confederats of that cruell Councell of Trent, preassing, in great rage, to prove their pith at their last gaspe, and when they behold their kingdome draw so neere to their irrevocable ruine; and that with speed, and in due time, least, through their lingering and sleuthfull negligence, not onlie the wounded head of that Italian beast beginne again to be cured, to their particular prejudice, but also, his hornes be more highlie exalted than without great effusioun of Christiane blood can be easilie abated. The burthein will not be heavie to be borne with concurrence; but being rejected on the weake shoulders of the one halfe, when they succumbe, the power and courage of the victors increassing, the number and force of freinds decreassing, the beholders must become (although too, too late) actors in that tragedie.

"Wherefore, (right honorable,) seing this Lord hath sett you in that high place for suche a time, wherin your faithfull counsell may serve in these good offices, speciallie with her Majestie, on whom all the rest of reformed princes have their eyes fixed to follow as a patterne, or rather as a chiftane, with whom their Majesteis will ather goe softlie, or runne a pace, we are, in God's name, most humblie to beseeche your Honour not to spaire to imploy your whole witt and credit in this caus of Christ and worthie service of his church, so inseparablie knitt with the tranquillitie of all Christian commoun wealths; committing the issue of your diligent travells to His blessing, who can direct them to the right end, and make them fruictfull to His glorie, and riche recompence of the instrument. But cheefelie, as our duetie naturallie bindeth us, we beseeche your Honour to continue your wounted favour with the weake instruments conjoyned in the good caus of our church and countrie, so long as they abide constant in God, in the obedience of their soverane, and good lyking of the freindship betweene the two crownes. The querrell, Sir, yee know, is not new for their owne particular, but that same which hath beene these 28 yeeres commoun to both the realmes, against the enemeis of the Evangell,

the old invaders, and continuall invyers of our peace, sattled amongst us by the benefite of the Gospell. And albeit it sould fall out, in prosecuting therof, that there be no laike of muche dislyking, yitt, Sir, lett nather the malice of manie, the hatred of some, ingratitude of others, nor anie crossing thwarts heere or there, coole your courage, nor make your heart remisse, or wearied of this worke, (which the Lord sall advance in despite of his enemeis,) untill you obteane that crowne promised to constant perseverers, which, by so worthie wrastling alreadie, hath weill beene merited, remembring that good causes in all ages are like unto themselves; different from the bad in this and manie moe points, that in weakenesse they vanquishe in the strenth of the Almightie, to whom they doe belong; for if worldlie concurrence were equall in both, his power sould not so cleerelie appeare in casting the ballance.

"And, last of all, being hitherto keeped backe from all other defence of our fame, we cannot omit to beg this favour at your Honour for your part, to admitt no deeper impressioun of anie sinistrous report to be forged against us, the preachers of that realme, unto whom prosperitie, adversitie, woe, weelefare, hope and feare, have ever beene commoun with this state since the beginning of her Majestie's raigne; but in respect of our long, unspotted, and unsuspected affectioun in times past, and devouted prayers in times comming, to the continuance of the happie amitie betweene the two crownes, as is most incident for our vocatioun, it may please your Honour to reserve the one eare to the other partie (till opportunitie be granted) upon anie suche delatioun by word or writt, to rander some reasoun of our doctrine or dealing. In the meane time, we wishe your Honour be persuaded, and all others to whom your credit doeth extend for our part, that as no raging tempests tossing us abroad heeretofore, hath shaiked in our hearts the foundatiouns of this caus, which hath beene more deere to us than our owne lives, so, by helpe frome heaven, no quiett or domestick calme sall be able to make us once shrinke, or look awry therefra, in the rest of the course of our lives."

MR WOTTON AMBASSADER.

Upon the 29th of May, Sir Edward Wotton came to Edinburgh, sent ambassader from the Queene of England to our king, and brought with him some hors for ryding and vaulting, together with their furniture, and threescore or fourscore couple of hounds, with which the king passed his time all that sommer, in his progresse from the 29th of May to the 16th day of October. The pest followed him almost where ever he went: the English ambassader in companie with him. Whill the ambassader burthenneth Arran with his promises, he blameth the Maister of Gray: whill he burtheneth the Maister of Gray with his promises, he blameth Arran; and so they drive time with England. There was at this time emulatioun betuixt Arran and Gray. Some suspected that it was but pretended and devised by Matlane and Melvill, that by that meanes they might gett a better triell who meant uprightlie in their caus. Yitt in the end there was discord indeid.

THE ERLE OF NORTHUMBERLAND MURTHERETH HIMSELF.

The Erle of Northumberland committed violent and wicked murther upon himself, in the Towre of Londoun, the 20th day of June, after he had beene deteanned long in prissoun. This erle, about the time of the last rebellioun in the north, in the elleventh yeere of her Majestie's raigne, then called Henrie Percie, Knight of Tinmouth, had conspired, with diverse others, for the deliverie of the Queene of Scots out of the custodie of the Erle of Shrewsburie; wherupon he was indytted. He confessed the offence, and committed himself to the queene's mercie. Upon his confessioun, submissioun, and faithfull promise of allegiance from thencefurth, (notwithstanding he was als farre plounged in the treasoun as the late erle, his brother,) he was ordeaned to pay to the queene five thowsand merkes, and was accepted graciouslie in favour and honour. But he entered into another plott, now latelie contrived, not

"onlie for the deliverie of the Scottish queene, but also for invading the whole realme, the overthrow of the governement, the estat of religioun, the danger of the queene's person, and the advancing of the Scottish queene to the crowne. In sommer last, there was taikin upon the sea, sailing toward Scotland, a Scottish Jesuite, with whom was found a discourse writtin in the Italian language, of an interprise which sould have beene attempted against England, which sould have beene executed in September or October then last past, wherin assurance is made, that the Erles of Northumberland and Westmerland, Dakers that is deid, whom they called Lord Dakers, and all the Catholick lords and gentlemen in the north parts where the invasioun sould have beene attempted, will joyne with the forrane forces."[m] It was discovered likewise, that the Duke of Gwise had forces in readinesse, to be imployed for altering the estat of religioun in England, and setting the Scottish queene at libertie, by one Shelley, a squire, who is counselled by Charles Padget, a conspiratour, to follow the Erle of Northumberland, who was so affected to the Scottish queene, that he would doe what he could for her advancement. When Francis Throgmorton was apprehended, the Erle of Northumberland furthered the departure of the Lord Padget out of the realme, who stood in danger to be discovered by Francis Throgmorton. None could accuse the erle of these confederaceis but the Lord Padget. The departure of the Lord Padget being soone after discovered, the Erle of Northumberland and William Shelley were committed. When the erle understood what were Shelley's confessiouns, feareing the severitie of the lawes, and ruine of his hous, fell into desperatioun, till at last, when he found that some who had conveyed letters from him to Shelley in the Towre were under triell, he murthered himself upon the 20th of June, about twelve of the clocke at midnight.

In Julie there was a conventioun holdin at Sanct Andrewes, where the king had this oratioun following to the estats, concerning a league with England in religioun :—

"Two causes, my lords, and you all, have moved me to send for

you at this time, to crave your advices toward them; wherof, since the one is generall, and the other particular, I will beginne at the generall, as the mater of greatest weight. Amongst all the benefites that God doeth bestow upon his elect and church, the triell and sifting out of the good and chosin from the badde hypocrits is one of the most speciall, which he hath used in all ages for the separatioun of them, als weill, for that the long companie of the wicked doeth corrupt the godlie; as also, their separatioun in this earth is a tokin of God's love towards them. Which triell he doeth now cheefelie use; for the number of the wicked doeth abound in these latter dayes, wherin God doeth permitt the devill to rage most. For what greater triell of the faithfull can there be, than the confederating together of all the bastard Christians, I meane the Papists, in a league which they terme holie, albeit it be most unholie in verie truthe, for the subversioun of the true religioun, in all the realmes throughout the whole world? This is a mater so manifest and notorious to you all, even by the report of the smallest merchants that travell, as it doeth dilate itself, though I were silent.

"These leagues of whom I speeke are composed of Frenche men and Spaniards, assisted with the King of Spaine and Pope's money; solemnlie sworne to performe their enterprise before they leave armes. The performance wherof we ought to resist, for three causes: to witt, for conscience, honour, and love of ourselves. For if they may atteane to their purpose, as God forbid, ather will they destroy and roote out us, our wives and childrein, and whatsoever we possesse, if we remaine constant; ather must we rander Christ Jesus, and suffer our soules, which is the noblest part of man, to be bound with the bonds of idolatrie and inordinat pleasure. But since the love of ourselves and our honours can not permitt the one, and our consciences, and the reverence we ought to God, can not suffer the other, I crave, my lords, your best and soundest opinions and advices, what yee thinke meetest for the remedie therof. But if yee desire, first, to have my opinion, it is this in few words: that, as sindrie Christian princes have alreadie counselled

me, a contra league sall be made, not onlie in termes, but in effect whollie, for joyning together all true Christian princes, to defend themselves incace of others' invasioun; a thing hurtfull to none, profitable for ourselves, acceptable to God, and wise in the sight of the world. By this meanes sall our consciences, honours, and lives, be preserved, and God and his religioun glorified and advanced. And in respect of the Queene of England's nighbourheid, consanguinitie, and good will, I thinke it meetest in my opinion, that there be a league first and most strictlie made with her; for which caus, I have made and sett doun a forme of act to be subscrived by you all, wherin yee promise to ratifie and approve in Parliament whatsoever I, or anie in my name, sall conclude with the Queene of England, or anie in her name, forthe making and effectuating of the foresaid league. But since the act itself will more amplie informe you, it sall be presentlie read in all your audiences.

"We, the nobilitie and estats presentlie conveened, understanding the course of proceedings in forrane parts, and that diverse princes and potentats, terming themselves Catholicks, have joyned themselves under the Pope's authoritie in a most unchristian confederacie against the true religioun and professours therof, with full intent to prosecute their ungodlie resolutioun with all severitie, not onlie in their owne estat and dominioun, but also in other kingdoms, where they can pretend no lawfull power nor authoritie to deale; a practise of long time projected, though heertofore covertlie contracted; and now, at last, by open and joyned forces of manie confederats plainlie manifested to the world, what hath alwise beene intended by former covert and craftie courses, which now they have begunne to putt in executioun in diverse places, with verie hard effects: And since it hath pleased God to blesse this realme with the sincceritie of his Gospell, the defence wherof is the most lawfull caus that Christians can mainteane, nothing is more requisite, than not onlie to unite our selves sincerelie and truelie, and joyne our whole powers, forces, and meanes, which God hath granted unto us, under our most religious and most choice soverane, for the better assuring of our estate, and more peaceable enjoying of so

'great a benefite of God; but also,' for withstanding of so pernicious and dangerous a eourse, generallie intended against all true professors of the truthe, it is necessar that a generall and Christian confederacie of all princes and estats sincerelie professing the Evangell, were oppouned to the ungodlie conspiracie of the enemeis of God's truthe; and speciallie, that the two crowns of Scotland and England, naturallie joynned by blood and habitatioun, and of one religioun, and thereby alike subject to the malice of the commoun enemeis, (by whose union, no lesse suretie may be expected to both their estats, than danger by their divisioun,) were unseparablie united by more firme and strict league than hath heretofore beene between anie princes, their progenitours, als weill for preservatioun of themselves, as also for the better maintenance of the true, ancient, and Christian religioun which they now professe, against all that sall attempt anie thing against them, or either of them, for the professioun and maintenance of the said religioun: We, therefore, the nobilitie and estats under subscriving, considering the great necessitie of the said league, and how the samine must no longer be protracted, nor without perell differred to a more solemne conventioun of the whole estats in Parliament, and reposing our selves upon the singular wisdome, discretioun, and circumspectioun, and most earnest zeale borne by the most noble and mightie prince, King James the Sixt, our soverane lord, to the advancement of the said religioun and maintenance therof; for us, and in name and behalfe of the whole estats of this realme, whose bodie in this present conventioun we represent, fullie giving and granting, and by the tenour heerof we, for us, and in name forsaid, give and graunt to our said soverane lord, his counsell, or so manie therof as his Majestie sall choose, our full power, priviledge, assent, and authoritie whatsomever competent to us and the estats foresaid, to treate, or caus treate, conferre, contract, and conclude, the said Christian league, and all heeds, points, clauses, and articles therof, betuixt his Majestie, his Hienesse' deerest sister and consingnesse, the Queene of England; and to nominat and appoint commissioners to that effect, to meete at suche times and places as his Hienesse sall agree unto,

"with commissioners to be directed from his said deerest sister, of alike ranke and honour, whose electiouns, nominatiouns, and instructiouns, we have remitted, and heereby doe remitt, to our said soverane lord; and whatsomever his Majestie sall agree unto, and whatsomever the said commissioners sall promise, contract, subscrive, or seale, toward the said league, and articles therof, agreing for their instructioun, we, for us, and in our name forsaid, now as then, and then as now, ratifie, approve, and confirme, and by the tenor heerof, by our greatest and solemne oathes, and upon our faith and truthe, promise to allow, ratifie, approve, and confirme, by our consents in the nixt Parliament, without questioun or contradictioun whatsomever; providing alwise the said league be without infringing or prejudice to our former league, or alliance betuixt this realme, or anie other old freinds and confederats therof, except onlie in maters of religioun: Wherin we doe fullie consent the league be defensive and offensive; and doe solemnlie avow, in querell and maintenance therof, nather to spaire lands, lives, goods, nor geare, or whatsomever it hath pleased God to grant to us. In witnesse wherof, in presence of his Hienesse, we have subscrived these presents with our hands. At St Andrewes, the last of Julie 1585."

LORD RUSSELL SLAIN AT A DAY OF TRUCE.

This act was made rather to bleare the eyes of the English than upon anie sincere intention. The banished lords beginne almost to despaire, the queene had conceaved so good an opinioun of the king, for his act made at Sanct Andrewes. In the meane time, the Lord prepareth a way for their libertie. The pest rageth to the utter vastatioun almost of the principall touns, Edinburgh, Sanct Andrewes, Sanct Johnstoun, &c., in so muche, that the commoun clamour of the people was raised against Arran and his ladie. There died of the plague at that time, in Edinburgh, twentie thowsand. There was with all suche tempest of weather and raine, that the people beganne to crie, that the Lord's hand would not

stay till the banished lords and noble men were brought home again: which, when their freinds perceaved, they advertised them that they might draw neere to the borders. But there was difficultie in obteaning the licence, which their unfreinds confederate with Arran would not suffer to be granted. Yitt when the Lord Russell, the Erle of Bedford's eldest sonne, was slaine, upon Moonday the 26th of Julie, at a meeting in the borders in Tiviotdaill betuixt the Laird of Phairnihirst, wardane, on the one side, and Sir Johne Foster on the other side, the queene would no longer be deluded with pretences. He was shott with a dag at the day of truce, which may be rather called a day of treacherie, and died the day following. This fact was diverselie interpreted. Suche as favoured Phairnihirst said, that it was done on a suddantie, or by some privat persons seeking a revenge of the slaughter committed latelie: for the English came in with 700 hors, about the middest of Julie, slue ten men, and tooke away twentie. But the English, specialie in and about Londoun, cried out upon treacherie, and called this fact the first fruict of the new league: that the tratours knew what a faithfull and loyall subject he was to her Majestie: that he was of that consociatioun which sould have beene, as they were, indeed, most faithfull for the preservatioun of her royall person. And whereas some of these nobles who were contrarie minded were apprehended, and their devillish purposes detected, they thought to quitt the same, by killing of this nobleman. Arran had said to the borderers who came to compleane of the slaughter committed ten dayes before, "What needed them to compleane to the court; might they not take a revenge themselves?" Phairnihirst said to the Lord Russell, he was sorie his lordship was there that day, and counselled him to depart: William Ker of Ankrome said the like; but both out of time. After Sir Francis Russell was shott, there were about twentie shott. The Scots cryed, "Lay on the tratours and theeves!" Some were taikin prisoners; so manie as were brought to the wardane were let loose. Phairnihirst desired Sir Johne Foster to depart; the other said, "Nay; ather yee sall goe with me, or I sall goe with you." Some sus-

pected Sir Johne Foster, becaus he was familiar with Arran, that he had some foreknowledge of the slaughter; others purged him, and accused Phairnihirst of ingratitude toward Sir Johne Foster, who had fostered him, and beene a speciall freind to him in former times.

The Queene of England compleaneth to our king, by her ambassader, Mr Wotton, upon Phairnihirst, alledging that Sir Francis was slaine at the suggestioun of Arran. The ambassader craved that Arran and Phairnihirst might be committed to waird, offering to prove that Arran was guiltie of art and counsell of the slaughter. The nobilitie was incensed at the great discredit and disgrace the countrie receaved. The king consenteth that they sall be wairded, and seemeth to take it heavilie in heart that the Lord Russell was slaine; cast himself upon his bed, and tumbling upon it, said, that it had not greeved him so muche if ten thowsand men had entered in the countrie, and spoiled to Edinburgh. Arran was committed to waird in the castell of Sanct Andrewes; Phairnihirst was confyned in Dundie. The king promised, if they were guiltie, to deliver them to the queene. He confessed his evill course he runne before; beganne to acknowledge the knaverie of the bishops, speciallie Sanct Andrewes. In the meane time, no word of redresse or annulling of their authoritie. But the Maister of Gray, in the meane time, was tickling in his eare, "Let all bygans be bygans, and faire play in time to come." In the meane time, Arran sent a letter to Maister Secretarie, which Phairnihirst had sent to him, wherin Phairnihirst alledged that the slaughter fell out by instigatioun of the lords who lay at Londoun; which was a false calumnie. The king setteth Arran at libertie, and beganne to deale with the Queene of England for Arran. The queene was not a little incensed, and gave licence to the noblemen to returne home to their owne countrie.

About the end of September, a Scotish Jesuit, surnamed Schaw, was taikin at Tinmouth, with diverse letters which he had with him, which were sent up to court.

A MEETING OF COMMISSIONERS AT BERWICK.

Upon the thrid of October, the commissioners of England and Scotland conveened at Berwick, to treate upon redresse of the murther of the Lord Russell. But the Scottish commissioners were so limited that no justice was to be looked [for.] The queene had appointed Huntingdon and some others to meete with some of the Scotish nobilitie at Berwick, to contract a perpetuall amitie betuixt the two realmes. But the meeting was deferred till the succesee of this meeting were seene, which, indeid, tooke no effect.

THE AMBASSADER'S INFORMATIONS.

Mr Wotton, English ambassader, informed his mastresse, the queene, that there was nothing but double dealing and deceate in our court, and therefore desired to be recalled home; that Duntreth, being now set at libertie, had writtin to the king and to him, that he was not onlie suborned, but also threatned by Arran, to depone that which he had deponed against the lords.

MR A. DOWGLAS PARDONED.

Mr Archibald Dowglas getteth the king's remissioun for all offences committed, under his seale, included in the commoun termes of *Super Inquirendis*, and that by the moyen of the Maister of Gray and Justice-Clerk. Yea, howbeit he was guiltie of the murther of the king's father, and solicited others to that villanous fact, he was entrusted with the king's effaires, and appointed to be his agent in England; wherat manie did wounder.

THE ENGLISH AMBASSADER DEPARTETH QUIETLIE.

The English ambassader, perceaving that his staying here was to no use, went out of Stirline quietlie, at nyne houres at night,

upon the 12th of October, and was neere Berwick before it was knowne to manie, the king being in the meane time in Kincardine, at the Lord Fleeming's briddell.

THE KING INTENDETH TO PERSUE MAXWELL.

Maxwell being denounced rebell, and putt to the horne, through the malice of Arran, wageth souldiours for his owne guarde. All the lieges are commanded by proclamatioun to meete the king upon Crawfurd Moore, upon the 24th of October, with threttie dayes' victuall. His intentioun was to persue Maxwell. In the meane time, the banished lords, Angus, Marr, Maister of Glames, and Lord Hammiltoun, banded togetlier with Maxwell.

THE BANISHED LORDS COME TO THE BORDERS.

After the lords had gottin libertie to returne, they keeped a verie earnest exercise of humiliatioun at Westminster, where manie teares were powred out before the Lord. The Erles of Angus and Marr, with the Maister of Glames and their companeis, and with them Mr Andrew Melvill, Mr Patrik Galloway, and Mr Walter Balcalquall, tooke journey from Londoun, and came to the borders, where they mett with the Lord Hammiltoun, and these that were in Berwick.

Patrik Forbesse, Laird of Corse, now Bishop of Aberdeen, then a fordward man for discipline and the banished, sent this letter following, dated at Berwick, the 24th of October, to Mr James Melvill, yitt still remaining at Londoun :—

" After duetie remembred : I thought good to recompense the shortnesse of your brethrein's letter, by writting to you at greater lenth. Which I might doe so muche the better than they, as my haste to depart from this place was not so great as theirs, as by their letter yee may perceave. The Lord hath givin us a prosperous journey, praised be his name ; and I pray God send you the

like. The summe of other things yee heare in your commoun letter. The Lord Hammiltoun and Lord Maxwell sould meete the rest of our lords in Lanerik, and frome thence goe to Stirline. The Lord Hume is verie fordward, and so is Bothwell now, although he, at the first, gave not so good hope of his good will. The Goodman of Huttonhall taketh plaine part, and hath openlie interteaned in his hous the Lord Coldinghame. Cesfurde and Coldingknowes, in like maner, beare our lords continuall companie. Mr Andrew and the rest are past to the lords at Kelso, the 24th of October, upon Sunday; who, as we heare, are to remove frome thence upon the morne to Jedburgh, from that to Peebles, and so to Lanrik, where they, the Lord Hammiltoun, and Maxwell, meete and ryde fordward to Stirline. The Lord prosper their interprise. All men travell in the south parts of Scotland als peaceablie as ever they did. All the faithfull heere pray to God for good issue of this mater. We heare of no great preparatioun that the king is making against them, save onlie of the proclamatioun to all men to passe against Maxwell. Mr Johne Rutherfurde is deid in the pest, and hath glorified God by a notable confessioun of his indirect and evill dealing in the mater of his ministrie. All the brethrein and freinds heere have them commended to you. Commend us to Mr David Monypennie, Caldcleughe, Mr James Carmichaell, and your owne wife.

"TUUS PATRICIUS."

The Erles of Angus, Marr, and Master of Glames, came to Kelso, and remained there with the Erle of Bothwell two or three dayes, in which space, they mett with the Lord Hume, Wedderburne, Cesfurde, Coldingknowes, and other barons and gentlemen. With commoun consent they went to Jedburgh the 25th of October. Colonell Stewart was sent against them, with suche companie as he could gather in haste. He came als farre as Peebles, but returned with speed to tell tydings. They tooke their journey towards Lanrik, there to joyne with Hammiltoun and Maxwell's forces. They

justified their interprise by proclamatiouns made at Jedburgh and other barrow touns whither they went. The tenor of the most ample proclamatioun followeth:—

THE PROCLAMATION MADE BY THE NOBILITIE OF SCOTLAND, CONTEANING THE CAUSES OF THEIR REPAIRING TOWARD THE TOUN OF STIRLINE, TO THE KING'S MAJESTIE. THE SECUND OF NOVEMBER 1585.

"Whereas the king's Majestie our soveran's good naturall, and vertuous educatioun, is now plainlie understand to have been abused, and his royall qualiteis givin him by Almightie God, (which caused his fame, farre above the capacitie of his yeeres, to be magnified and worthilie praised, to the great confort of all his good subjects,) to have beene these yeeres past obscured, by the craft and subtiltie of so lewde and wicked persons of no desert or worthinesse; and for the most part of base linage, not borne to a foote breadth of ground, yitt, of a mervellous aspyring, wrongous, and cruell inclinatioun, who, under colour of freindship and blood, creeping in about his Majestie, and seeking allanerlie their owne particular profite and promotioun, shaiking off, as it were, not onlie all Christian and charitable nature, but even the generall points and offices of humanitie used amongst most barbarous people, without feare of God or man, as subtile foxes and bloodie woolves, by wresting of lawes and other deceatfull practises, have so waisted, torne in peeces, and devoured the whole bodie of this afflicted commoun wealth, that of the whole ancient forme of justice and policie, receaved of our antecessors, remaineth nothing, nather in spirituall nor temporall estat, but the naiked shadow and counterfoote maske therof; to our soveran's high dishonour, our opprobrie, who are a part of his nobilitie, and heavie regrate of all good men throughout the whole realme.

"It is evidentlie knowne what justice and quietnesse, what heartie love betuixt his Majestie and his subjects universallie, what

beautifull countenance the kirk of God had, with daylie hope of increasse; what expectatioun was of his Hienesse in forrane nations, before the arrival of Aubigney, afterward called Duke of Lennox, and the entering in credit of James Stewart, and Colonell Stewart, with their unhappie complices; and what hath succeeded sensyne, no true Scotish heart can remember without great dolour: for there is no part nor corner within this land at this time quiett or peaceable, but all replenished with particular feedes, or cruell revenges, without punishment. It is also weill knowne that where the wisest of his Majestie's most noble progenitours laboured, by clemencie, not by crueltie, to possesse the hearts of their subjects, and to keepe the strenths of the realme in their owne hands, (thereby meaning the better to preserve themselves against suche inconveniences as manie princes of that land, misgoverned and led by perverse counsell, have beene subject unto,) that the forsaid abuses had deprived his Majestie both of the one and the other, so farre as in them lay. For the cheefe strenths of the realme are in his hands who, bragging of his pedigree by descent from Duke Murdo, (one that was beheaded for treasoun against his soverane,) was not ashamed to say, (meaning of himself,) 'Heere standeth the person of King James the Seventh!'

"And to the end that the hearts of the people might be alienated from his Hienesse, and so, as appeareth, his Majestie made unable to punishe them, if at anie time heerafter he sould perceave their false and treasonable doings, what can be devised, more than the said seditious have done alreadie in that behalfe? seing, under his Majestie's name and authoritie, suche partialitie is used in all maters, suche extortioun, with crueltie and incredible dissimulatioun, throughout the whole land, that were not his subjects (upon the experience of his mylde and calme governement, before these lewde men entered in about him) perswaded that the caus of all these misorders ought to be imputed to them, and not to himself, they had long agoe, by universall malcontentment of the people, proceeding of the causes forsaid, procured a great distractioun of the king's liegis' hearts, and had cast his Majestie's honour, crowne,

and estat, into mervellous danger. Wheras, now, (blessed be God,) all his true subjects are certanlie perswaded, that if the said lewde persons were separated from his Majestie, he would returne againe to exercise his former clemencie and tendernesse, in everie respect, which hath beene these yeeres past mervelouslie eclipsed, by the craft of these tratours foresaid; who not onlie have sought, and seeke, for their particular commoditie, the destructioun of certan severall persons, but even, as it appeareth, have conspired against the whole bodie of the realme, in so muche that there is no estate of the land free of their persecutioun. The worthiest and most ancient of the barons and nobilitie, namelie, suche as have givin best prooffe of their forwardnesse in true religioun, and fidelitie to their soverane, are, by partialitie and wresting of the lawes, without mercie, ather executed, confynned, imprissouned, banished, or, at the least, debarred his Majestie's presence. Against the ministrie, schooles, and cleargie, acts and proclamatiouns are published, inhibiting their presbytereis and other assembleis, exercises, priviledges, and immuniteis, ratified by former parliaments, or, at the least, by laudable custome, permitted ever since the first reformatioun within this land, and without which, the puritie of doctrine and right forme of discipline can not long continue; as being the onlie meanes to trie and examine the lives, knowledge, and maners of everie person, and to reforme the same, if need require. With this, the most learned and of most unspotted lives of that number are ather compelled, for safetie of their lives and consciences, to abandoun their countrie, or ellis inhibited to preache, or deprived of their stipends: Jesuits, seminarie preests, and suche as be knowne practisers in diverse natiouns for executioun of the bloodie Councell of Trent, are intertcanned, and in great estimatioun; yea, some obstinat indured Papists are admitted on sessioun, to occupie the places from which the most godlie and faithfull senators have beene by them cast out;—an evident foreshewing of the overthrow of true religioun. And as concerning the estat of burrowes, by intrusioun of suche magistrats to rule over them, as nather are comburgesses, nor apt to discharge themselves of suche offices, but mer elected to

applaud and consent to the appetite of the seditious forsaid, their priviledges and ancient liberteis are so prejudicated, that without speedie remedie that estate (sometime a great ornament of the land) must needs suddanlie decay. So as these three powers, wherby the king and commoun wealth sould be preserved and upholdin, being waisted and undermynned in maner above-writtin, what can be expected but universall overthrow and ruine of the whole bodie of the estate, except God of his mercie prevent the same?

"Beside all this, the forsaid abusers, not resting content with the enormiteis above expressed, have practised, and daylie practise, to turne the happie amitie which now, a good space, hath stood betuixt the inhabitants of the whole Ile, in open hostilitie and hatred, without respect of nighbourheid and kinred betuixt the two princes, or regarde had to the benefites which her Majestie of England hath bestowed upon the king, our soverane, and his whole countrie; first, by planting of true religioun within this realme; and, nixt, by preserving of his Majestie, when as, in his minoritie, he could not tak in hand, nor interprise for himself. To this effect, they openlie dealt with suche persons as by all meanes sought her Majestie's destructioun, as by the confessioun of sindrie of her Majestie's rebells, latelie executed in England, is made manifest. But when as once they perceaved danger to arise, by opin dealing with her Majestie's enemeis, then, fraudfullie, to illude her Majestie, they have pretended these moneths past a great freindship and kindnesse; promising largelie in that behalfe, and offering to capitulat and conclude a band, offensive and defensive, to stand perpetuallie. But in the end, notwithstanding all these liberall promises, the effects by experience declare nothing to have beene in their mindes but falshood and crueltie, as by the late murther of the Lord Russell is manifested to the world; who, being a young nobleman, for his birth and qualiteis even honorable and vertuous, and of great expectatioun, and for his zeale to religioun, good affectioun to our soveran, and to all Scotish men in generall, one that merited great praise, love, and commendatioun, yitt he is murthered in most odious and treasonable maner, even when as greatest kindnesse is

pretended: which cannot but procure vehement suspicioun and slander, as weill against the king, our soverane, as against the whole countrie; to his great dishonour, and discredite of his innocent subjects, if condigne justice be not ministred upon the authors and executers of that horrible crime forsaid. Last, which is worst of all, and necessarilie craveth present reformatioun, the said abusers cover all their enormiteis with his Majestie's name and authoritie, thereby thinking to excuse themselves, and lay the burthein upon him. And, therefore, as it cannot but be verie slanderous and dangerous to his Majestie, if suche disordered persouns, who have alreadie made shipwracke of all honestie, be suffered to remaine in his Majestie's companie, so it is shamefull to be reported in other countreis, that suche a few number of beggarlie fellowes, replenished with all vice, sould extinguishe the beautie and flowre of the nobilitie, rule above the whole countrie, and keepe his Majestie thrall, to authorize by his royall power their abominable and execrable facts.

"For the causses forsaids, and manie others that might be justlie alledged, We, of his Majestie's nobilitie heere present, in the feare of God, our soveran's obedience, being through God's free mercie called to be professors of his blessed Evangell, and borne counsellers to his Hienesse, our soverane, being bound in duetie not onlie to hazard, raunder, and renounce our lives, lands, and goods, if need be, for the same Evangell and true religioun, but also, in conscience charged, to be carefull of his Majestie's honour, weilfare, and reputatioun, and to procure, to our abilitie, peace and quietnesse to him and his realme, having our lands and heritages for that effect holdin of his Majestie's progenitors, of worthie memorie; in consideratioun of the enormiteis and tyranneis before said, have gathered our selves together, for redresse and reformatioun of the same, seing the suffering therof hath alreadie wounded the estat of true religioun, dishonoured his Majestie, disturbed the whole realme, and had almost disjoyned, as weill the hearts of the princes, as of the subjects of the two natiouns. We thinke it, therefore, high time, and we are, in duetie and conscience, (all doubt and

perell sett apart,) to procure the separatioun and thrusting away of the said desperat and enorme persouns frome about his Majestie; that his Hienesse, being restored to his former libertie, may freelie, peaceablie, and wiselie governe his subjects, by advice of grave, modest, and indifferent counsellers, onlie respecting his Majestie's suretie and preservatioun; to the end the afflicted kirk within this land may be conforted, and all acts latelie made in prejudice of the same may be solemnelie cancelled, and for ever annulled; his Hienesse restored to his former libertie; the bodie of the commoun wealth, by punishing vice, cheefelie upon the authors of these misorders, and maintenance of vertue, may be once disburthened of the heavie oppressioun and injureis that they have, with no small greefe, so long susteaned, and the happie amitie with England reestablished and conserved; to the high glorie of God, honour of the king, our soverane, and universall contentment of all good men everie where. In prosecutioun wherof, we protest, before God and his holie angels, we sall nather spare lives, lands, nor goods, but franklie hazard and spend the same, as need requireth, during the time that the said abusers be ather apprehended and presented to justice, to suffer for their enormiteis; or ellis, if they cannot be found out, till they be debarred from his companie, and expelled his realme.

"Therefore, we command and charge, in our soverane lord's name, all and sindrie his subjects, als weill in citie as countrie, to fortifie and assist this godlie and most lawfull interprise; and to concurre, as they will give testimonie of their affectioun to the advancement of true religioun, his Majestie's suretie, weelefare, and publict quietnesse of the whole realme: Certifeing all and sindrie that doe attempt anie thing to the contrarie, or that will not tak open and plaine part with us, we will repute them as partakers and mainteaners of all vice and iniquitie, assisters of the traterous conspirators aforesaid, and enemeis of true religioun, his Majestie's authoritie, and of the publict quietnesse betuixt the two realmes; and will use them in bodie and goods accordinglie: And that all justices, as weill Lords of Sessioun as Commissars, and other in-

feriour judges, sitt and minister justice to the furtherance therof, according to the lawes of this realme, as they will answere upon their allegiance, and uttermost perell: With certificatioun to the disobeyers as is aforesaid."

THE TAKING OF THE CASTELL OF STIRLINE.

The lords with their assisters came to Fawkirk: from Fawkirk they went to St Ninian's Chappell, within a myle to Stirline; where they pitched their tents, and planted, as it were, a new toun, to the great terrour of their enemeis, upon the first of November. Their number amounted to nyne or ten thowsand men. The adversareis within the toun were moe in number, but not so fordward for the other partie. The king sent to the Erle of Bothwell, to require him ather to come in, or retire him, and abandoun the noblemen. Some report that he was in doubt what to doe, till the Erle of Angus by his authoritie reteaned him. Others report, that he was so offended with the messinger, that he had almost shott him through with a dag. Others were likewise solicited to abandoun them. But there was a band of associatioun subscrived by the whole lords, erles, barons, and cheefe gentlemen, and published in the campe: all querrells among them were committed to the decisioun of the cheefe men. The sincerest professors made a motioun to the nobilitie to injoyne abstinence from all effusioun of blood, so farre as was possible; which was accepted, and published in the campe.

The nixt morning, about the breake of day, they conveene, after a secreit signe givin to their companeis. Some were appointed to make shew to enter at a certan part of the toun, through some orchard on the west side: others to come by the ports, as it were, to assault the toun upon the castellhill side; but, indeid, to hold them off from anie conflict. In the meane time, the lords themselves, with the whole bodie of their armie, marched upon the other side; and passing the ditche at a certan mylne, entered through yairds and by a narrow wynde, where they could skarslie passe,

single man. The souldiours that were hyred by the Lord Maxwell, and were under the charge of his brother-naturall, Robert Maxwell, were ordeanned to passe before, to remove by shott anie that would offer to resist them. Within the toun they were not all of one dispositioun; for there were none enemeis in effect but James and Colonell Stewart, and the Erle of Montrose. The Maister of Gray, Sir Lewis Bellendine, Secretare Matlane, favoured not Arran and the colonell. Arran was once purposed, with his associats, the Erles of Montrose and Crawfurd, to have dispatched the Maister of Gray and Sir Lewes Bellendine. But they were weill accompanied, drew themselves to armes, and stood on their defences. The colonell was directed to keepe the streete neere the west port of the toun; Arran stayed about the bridge, and keeped the keyes himself, not willing to concredit himself to the castell; Montrose was directed to keepe the passage betuixt the parke and the castellhill. The lords entered by a closse above the west port. The colonell made some shew to have resisted. Some shott were delashed on both sides. One of the lords' side was killed in the yairds as they passed through; but it is uncertane whether by their enemeis, or by their owne souldiours, unskilfull in handling their peeces. But the colonell being fiercelie assaulted, fled to the castell. The Erle Marshall and Lord Setoun, to whom was committed the defence of the west port, stayed there, and invaded no man: Montrose and Crawfurd, understanding the toun was taikin on the other hand, retired to the castell. Arran fled by the bridge, locking it behind him, and casting the keyes in the water of Forth. Manie gentlemen that were in the toun joyned with the lords, as the Lairds of Keir and Glennegeis. The colonell was followed so hardlie, that Mr James Haddane, brother-german to the Laird of Glennegeis, overtooke him; and as he was laying hands on him, was shott by the colonell's servant, Josuah Hendersone. Being thus entered in the toun, the border men of Annandaill, who attended upon Maxwell, tooke violentlie the gentlemen's hors, not respecting freind nor foe; for the gentlemen had lighted on foote, and committed their hors to their boyes. The

2d of November they stayed in the toun, keeping watche about the castell. The provisioun was so skant in the castell, that they behoved to come to the toun for the king's owne diett. Robert Hammiltoun of Inchemauchane, whill he preasseth to escape through the parke, was espied, followed, and killed by * * * Johnstoun of Westerraw. This was the man that furnished false dittay against Drumquhassill and Maynes. The lords planted their ensignes before the fore blocke-hous of the castell.

The king, perceaving that he was not able to defend the castell, and how gracious the lords were to the people, sent furth the Secretare and the Justice-Clerk to the lords, to crave, First, That his life, honour, and estate, might be preserved; Nixt, That the lives of Montrose, Crawfurd, and Colonell Stewart, might be spaired; Thridlie, That all maters sould be transacted peaceablie. He offered, upon these conditiouns, to be governed by their advice and counsell in time comming. The noblemen answered to the First, That God knew they had never anie other intentioun than to preserve his Majestie's persoun, state, and dignitie, and to deliver his Majestie out of the hands of suche as, under pretext of his name and authoritie, had oppressed both kirk and commoun wealth, and had exposed to danger both his life and his crowne: that they were als readie to doe him service now as they did before, when his enemeis assisting his mother with displeyed banner, sought to deprive him of his estat and honour. As to the Secund, Seing the persons before named had troubled the whole countrie, they could doe no lesse for his Majestie's honour, and affectioun they boore to their countrie, than seeke the meanes whereby they might be putt in the hands of justice, to be used as they had deserved. As to the Thrid, That they themselves declared to the king, that they made humble supplicatioun to his Hienesse, that he himself sould take order, and see all things passe, and wrought peaceablie to the contentment of his subjects; promising all aide and assistance. They protested that they came not thus in armes, but through constraint, for saving of their lives and livings from the tyrannie of suche as sought their ruine.

The king's messingers being departed, the noblemen sent likewise to the king, to require three things: First, That he would consent to reforme the corruptiouns and abusses that were creeped within the kirk and commoun weale, by the evill governement of these who had abused his authoritie; and to that effect, that he would subscrive the short declaratioun which they had formed for their caus: and for their greater assurance, that the strenths and castells which the troublers of the estate had in their hands sould be delivered, to be keeped by suche as the estats of the realme thought meete. Secundlie, That the troublers of the estat sould be committed to them, to be presented to justice. Thridlie, That the guard might be changed, and suche a captan choosed as they sould name. All these things were granted.

Upon the 4th of November, about the evening, the lords entered into the Castell of Stirline, the gates being made patent, and presented themselves before the king, in the presence of manie lords, barons, and gentlemen. They cleered themselves of all imputatioun, and protested loyall respect to his Majestie. The king acknowledged there was no need of words: weapons had spokin loud eneugh, and gottin them audience, to cleere their owne caus, from which they were debarred before. He confessed he had beene too long abused: that it was the mightie hand of God that had brought them in with so small bloodshed; and welcometh them with cheerefulnesse, as it seemed. Securitie was taikin to the Erle of Montrose and Crawfurd, becaus of the particular inimities betuixt Angus and Montrose, for the death of Morton; betuixt Crawfurd and the Maister of Glames, for the slaughter of the Lord Glames. They packe up their particulars, so free would they have this worke to be of bloodshed. The successe of this interprise justified their former conventioun at Stirline, that they had no other intentioun, if the successe then had beene like. The Lord Hammiltoun is made captan of the Castell of Dumbartane; the Laird of Coldingknowes captan of the Castell of Edinburgh. The Castell of Stirline was restored to the Erle of Marr; the Castell of Tamtallan was randered to the Erle of Angus; the Castell of Blacknesse was com-

mitted to the Justice-Clerk. The old guarde was changed, and the Maister of Glames appointed captan of the new guarde.

Becaus the proceedings of the court, since the comming of the Duke of Lennox to this countrie, are somwhat obscure, notwithstanding of all that hath beene alreadie said hitherto, I have heere subjoynned certane notes, to give light to the reader, collected by a judicious author, as followeth :—

NOTES PROVING THAT THE DUKE OF LENNOX AND ARRAN, OF OLD, ARRAN AND COLONELL STEWART, AND THEIR COMPLICES, OF NEW, RANNE, AND RUNNE SUCHE COURSES, AS CARIE WITH THEM, BESIDE THEIR OWNE PROMOTION, 1. THE WRACKE OF TRUE RELIGION; 2. OF THE KING'S MAJESTIE'S SOULE, BODIE, FAME, AND CROWNE; 3. OF THE COMMOUN WEALTH OF SCOTLAND; 4. AND AMITIE BETUIXT BOTH THE REALMES.[1]

I.

That the Duke and Arran sought of old the wracke of religion.

1. The commotiouns that have beene almost through all Europ these twentie yeeres past flow from the Councell of Trent.

Conferre their acts with the historeis of all countreis in this time, especiallie in France and the Low Countreis.—*Vide* Frenche Historie, Buchanan, Booke of Fast.

2. That their malice hath beene extended these manie yeeres against the queen's Majestie of England, als weill for professing and protecting true religioun, as aiding the afflicted everie where.

Manie conspiraceis onlie of Papists and pensioners of France and Spaine witnesse it.—*Vide* Thomas Norton's Discourses, Executioun of Justice, Throgmorton's Confession.

3. Scotland had their owne assaults, both to subvert religioun there, and to make a free passage to England in all quarters, under

[1] Throughout this long paper, the paragraphs are written in double columns, each comment ranged by the side of its text. As a similar mode of printing could not be adopted in the present instance, the comments are made to follow in a smaller type.

colour of suing, by indirect meanes, for the deliverie of the Queene of Scots.

Hired practisers by the Pope, France, Spaine, Queen of Scots, murtherers of the king and regents, assisted by them, the Parisian seminarie, famous libells of apostats.

4. For preventing of the said conspiraceis, Johne Erle of Marr, regent, with advice of commissioners, called out of all kirks for that purpose, to a Generall Assemblie; made good constitutions, which afterward the Erle Morton inacted in parliament; and used all meanes at home, and with forrane princes, to provide remedie against the same.

Both *in anno* 1572. Peruse the acts of that parliament against the enemeis of religioun, inviolablie keeped untill the comming of D'Aubigney. He choose certan of the most learned pastors to send to the conventioun at Franckefurd; and Dumfermline, ambassader to the queen's Majestie, in Julie 1578, to consult how, with commoun forces, the caus might be mainteanned.

5. That D'Aubigney was legat from them, to pervert his Majestie's good educatioun, alter religioun, and alienat his Majestie's minde from the amitie and ministrie; and to insinuat his mother in his favours, first, by procuring her blessing; then, his associatioun with her; wherof have followed all the troubles and confusiouns since happenned in that governement; with which practises he was charged at his departure by her Majestie.

His convoy to the shippe by the Duke of Guise, confederat of the Councell of Trent, his owne letter to Glasgow, and Glasgowe's letters to the Pope and Spaine; the warnings from forrane churches and Christian princes, Mr Randulph from England, William Melvill from the Prince of Orange, the King of Navarre by Wemes and Bothwell, with experience, proveth these things. And Alexander Seton, in his letter, confesseth, that in his course so muche was gained, that his Majestie's minde was alienated from the ministers.

6. And becaus it seemed a worke impossible to bring to perfectioun in the dayes of the Erle Morton, whose wisdome and force might best espie and withstand suche attempts; before all things, at his first comming to Scotland, finding the realme in great quiet-

nesse, he employed his witt and credit to stirre up all the fautors of the queen's caus, enemeis to religioun, the king's coronatioun, (the amitie wherof he was cheefe protectour,) and suche as had anie particular against him, although he was professour of religioun, (so farre were they blinded,) untill he was brought to the schambles, under colour of justice, charging him with the death of the king's father; using Arran as an instrument therin, and Sir James Balfour, condemned for the same fact, whome he called again into the realme, without the king's privitie. And where as a writting of the principall conspiratours of the murther was found by the said Balfour, in a desk of the Lord Bothwel's, the same, by the duke's advice, was suppressed, for that it tuiched some of these that were of his factioun. After imprissounment of Morton, the like was attempted against Gowrie, first by poysoning in Dalkeith, wherethrough he keeped bed a moneth, with inward diseases and inflammations in all parts of his bodie, casting his skinne, and yeerelie since was molested with pustuls in the face and hands, turning to white skruffe, against the which he was compelled to use the helpe of physick; secundlie, they intended to kill him at Perth, in time of Justice Air, in Julie 1582.

Morton was executed the same day that Norfolk was, at our queen's appointment, for revenge therof; wherof our bishop posted to his freinds.—*Vide* Thomas Norton's Discourse.

Of which crime Morton was als unjustlie accused, and by jurie convicted of art, part, foreknowledge, as sometime Bothwell was purged by his jurie. Two of the assise that cleansed Bothwell filed Morton of the murther; the Erle of Rothesse and Laird of Lochinvar.

Sir James Balfour's peace proclamed, 24th Aprilis 1581.

7. The companie brought with him were Papists by professioun, and, indeid, atheists, obstinat enemeis to the king's crowne and amitie; and were interteaned with him almost till his departure.

Montbirneau, Keir, Schaw, Charles Geddesse, Kilsyth, &c.

8. He had his agents in France, from whom he had his instructiouns before he came; and his new platts layed, and intelligence after his comming.

The quecne-mother, Guisians, the Pop's nunce, D'Entragues, Bishops of Glasgow and Rosse, Sir James Balfour.

9. No benefite was granted, manie priviledges diminished, lawes brokin and dispensed with in his owne person, and others by his procuring, since his comming to Scotland. And, first of all, he procured the title of the Abbacie of Arbrothe, without anie provisioun of the ministrie for everie particular kirk of that prelacie; contrarie to the tenor of the late act of parliament, appointing that none sould be preferred to the title of anie prelacie before the said provisioun.

Lett the acts of parliament be viewed from his comming, and letters to Assembleis and Sessioun of Justice, and whole proceedings; dispensatioun to himself not to be troubled for religioun for a whole yeere, that he might persue in judgement for the fruicts of Arbrothe and Lennox; and to the Lord Seton, to hold mercats on Sunday, contrarie to acts of parliament made in Morton's regiment, at Edinburgh, 26th Januarie 1572, cap. 3d, *et* 20th Oct. 1579, cap. 3.

10. He purchassed the gift of the superplus of the thrids of Arbrothe, as it stood *in anno* 1580, not onlie to stay all farther planting of ministers within the kirks of that abbacie, but also, to spoile the whole ministers not planted at these kirks, of the part of their stipends taikin out of that abbacie.

Superintendent of Angus, Mr Andrew Mill, Mr Johne Hepburne, &c. The acts of parliament, which provide that no prelaceis sould passe before the provisioun of their particular kirks; first brokin by him.

11. The manie letters purchassed from his Majestie to the sessioun, eldership of Edinburgh, the Provinciall and Generall Assembleis, conteaning faire promises mixed with obscure minassing, tending alwayes to admitt the *supersedere* according to his dispensatioun, troubled the kirk eight moneths before his subscriptioun.

The register of their sessiouns beare witnesse, and long processe, with his pulling to religioun: the king's letter to the Provinciall Assemblie of Lothian, from Stirline, 10th Aprilis 1580.

12. Having dispensatioun from the Pope to dissemble religioun,

(according to the commoun indult sent into Scotland,) without reading, and understanding little of that he heard, wherethrough he might be perswaded, yitt he subscribed the articles of religioun, and communicated. Under which shadow he keeped no small number of good professors blinded.

Frenche bookes givin him to his use were soone wanting, which he said were stollin: the receaving his sacrament, first, at the Bishop of Glasgowe's hands, and refusing it of a preest deing, or catholick; as Mr Johne Dowglas, Mr Johne Hammiltoun, and Tyrie affirmed, verifie his dissimulatioun, least his sonne sould be prejudged. He procured the freindship of others by letters of recommendatioun from the King of France, and others, with Frenche gold, brought home with him to that purpose, which was supposed to surmount to fiftie thowsand peeces; whereof a great part was furnished out of the holie treasurie.

13. After which time, he reformed never a whitt his owne hous; nather of them that were brought home with him, nor of the most obstinat Papists finding refuge in his familie, never having a man fearing God in office nor credit in his hous.

Wherof, William Schaw and others avouched Papistrie in presence of the Assemblie, which none before durst doe. He reteaneth Mr Robert Spence, who had served Don Johne d'Austria and the Spanish king in the Low Countreis, against the Protestants, and other Papists and enemeis to the king's authoritie, in his civill warres, to be captans of his souldiers, levied at the executioun of Morton.

14. So that, albeit he promised to procure and mainteane on his expenses a minister, he never had so muche as one boy to read one chapter, or say grace at the table.

His offer to the Generall Assemblie by Keir, and their letter directed to the Frenche kirk, together with her Majestie's ambassaders for the time, beare witnesse.

15. There flocked home, within half a yeere after the time of his pre-eminencie, with his colleague Arran, or rather burrio and executer of all his devices, manie Papists, they being fullie perswaded before they came from France, that by his meanes the masse sould be erected, or libertie of conscience procured.

Mr William Lumsden, Mr Robert Abircromie, younger, Mr William Crichton, Mr Johne Morton, Mr Johne Hay, Jesuits, Mr William Skeene, seminarie preest. His wife could not come to him, whill libertie sould be granted to bring home a masse preest, and libertie of conscience.

16. He brought manie of these in credit and familiaritie in court, how unhonest so ever they were, who before durst not be scene in the countrie; notwithstanding manie admonitions, and promises to reforme the same.

The old Bishop of Dunkelden, called Crichton, restored to his pensioun, and of late to his bishoprick; Cuthbert Ramsay, and manie others.

17. Then, to detract the ministrie, and raile against the Word, was a cheefe means to make court; and zealouslie to professe, and speeke in their favour, and be familiar with them, compted just caus to decourt all men. So that Arran confessed at Ruthven, after the duke's returne to France, that he knew of his wife, (who was more familiar with him by reason of her Frenche language,) that the duke had a hid interprise against religioun.

The Laird of Fadownside was accused by the duke to his freinds, for favouring the ministers. He solicited the Abbot of Halyrudhous to sett the tithes of Boughton to his enemie. A gentle man of Fife was removed out of the duke's hous, for free speeking in the assemblie of the kirk.

18. Famose libells, confessiouns sett furth falslie, under the names of the Bishops of Sanct Andrewes and Glasgow, (then living,[1]) directlie contrare to the King's Confessioun; calumnious questions printed, dispersed, and sent from France, seene then in courteours' hands; citatiouns to wairne the preachers and professours to flitt; pardouns and indulgences, matine bookes, beeds, oyle hoasts, croces, Agnus Dei, altaria, portatilia, and other monuments of idolatrie, brought in the countrie, against acts of parliament. When redresse was craved therof, it was heard with laughter and scorne, without punishment of the persons nominated guiltie therof.

[1] Probably that forged confession of which a copy is given in vol. iii. p. 511.

Manie suche like brought the Ladie Phairnihirst and Maister of Gray from France with them. He bestowed liberallie on cappes also. Frier Leitche confessed the using therof, made his publict repentance; and after, excommunicated therefor, without anie civill punishment. There was brought into Scotland 200 indults,[1] accompanied with suche reliques, wherof eightie were scattered into England. The same Leitche yett remaineth in Fowlles and Milhill, in companie of the Master of Gray, together with two of the Ladie Athol's preests, and Sir Thomas Gray, sometimes preest of the queen's colledge in Scotland, and others excommunicated preests, by whom masse is said, contrarie to the lawes of God and the realme.

19. Other practising preests have returned both to the North and South parts; some, under pretence to visite freinds, others, to injoy their native air, for reccaxing their health, others, to crave in their old debts.

William Archibald, to crave in silver lent by the Bishop of Glasgow to some noblemen; Mr William Crichton, to crave 300 frankes from Setoun, for his sone's boorde; Mr Johne Hay, Jesuit, author of the calumnious questiouns.

20. Some bussie gentlemen, pensioners of the queene-mother, imployed to shew their diligence in these practises, having large furniture also of the holie treasurie of Trident.

The Maister of Gray, the Laird of Fentrie, who have perverted sindrie young gentle men.

21. The duke in his owne person fretted, and was enraged that he could not be avenged on the ministers, who would not beare with his hypocrisie and adulterous life, wherewith the land was polluted.

He intended to putt hands in Mr Patrik Galloway in Perth, Mr Johne Davidsone at Libberton, and Johne Durie at Dalkeith. In a French passion he rent his beard, and thinking to strike the boord, strake himself in the thigh, crying, "The devill for Johne Durie!" which Montbirneau learned for the first lessoun in the Scotish language.

Of which number of his harlots was Armestrong, Fawcon, and diverse others openlie detected.

22. As he alienated his Majestie's minde from the ministers, un-

[1] Papal indulgences.

quietting them all his time, so he brought in credite and purchassed protectioun to Jesuits and practising Papists to lurke in Seton, to infect and confirme the noble men repairing thither to banketting and pastymes; and gave intelligence from other nations of their platt. So that Alexander Seton (restored to the pryorie of Pluscardie, 22d Aprilis 1581, and one of the Lords of the Articles in the parliament, October 1581) writeth to the Prepositor of the Jesuits at Rome, that the reverend father, Mr Holt, had remained there a good space, with great satisfactioun and consolatioun of all these with whom he had dealt and negociated.

Huntlie, Crawfurd, and Maister of Gray, repaired thither, and sometimes the king and the duke also, who had intelligence and secreitlie conference with certan Jesuits and others evill affected persons, her Majestie's unduetifull subjects; and namelie, not long before his departure out of Scotland with one Breereton, and another called Markenfeild, a Yorkeshire man, condemned tratour in feild against her Majestie. A Scotish preest, apprehended at Mauchline, confessed that foure Jesuits had beene sent to the duke into Scotland, whom he meant to use for his purpose.

23. He brought in greater credit and more frequent familiaritie with his Majestie than his owne cheefe noblemen, sindrie naughtie and cruell strangers; and speciallie Montbirneau, Le Croy, and Sieur Paul, the horse-scorcer, inritched in the pluck up faire of Sanct Barthlemew in France, who, under colour of a present of eight horses to his Majestie, might farther corrupt his Majestie's maners, and affectioun to religion. So that at Perthe, in the Inche, a gentleman of the North, of love and pitie toward that present estat, signified that his Majestie would offer some occasioun of mislyking to his nobilitie, for so great and long familiaritie with that stranger, they standing aloofe and farre off, without countenance at his hand.

The duke said to the king, he sould hang the Lord Yester over his owne balke,[1] for refusing his chaine, which he would have given to this Sieur Paul.

This gentleman, examined before the counsell, Who had instructed

[1] The cross-beam that supports and unites the rafters of a house.

him so to doe? answered, He was moved in conscience, without anie counsell, to speeke it.

24. The puncheons of powder and bullet sent from France portended little peace to the kirk and countrie. Which familiaritie betuixt the king's Majestie and the Duke of Gwise, confederated with the Councell of Trident, who sent the admirall's head of France embalmed, in a present to the Pope, was mislyked of all men.

They sent presents, to hold his Hienesse occupied in gazing upon the noveltie therof, whill with time they might draw him further in their intended snare.

25. When indirect courses and coloured craft could not serve, they tooke a plaine banner; banding in expresse and open words against the kirk, and would abide none that were under familiaritie with the ministers: disgraced and discredited, molested and oppressed them, (so farre as in them lay, for feare of the people;) reserving his full rage till farther opportunitie.

He plucked imperiouslie Lindsey by the cloke, from his Majestie in Dalkeith, the time that the eldership of Glasgow was charged to come thither.

26. He not onlie disposed small benefices to unworthie and unqualified persons, selling them for money, but also, he past the bishoprick of Glasgow in an unaccustomed forme, *pleno jure*, and without admissioun of the kirk, against all lawes and practise of the realme, for his owne gaine, unto one Montgomrie; a man, ambitious, perjured, seditious, and manie wayes infamous, for the which most justlie he was excommunicated.

That he might obteane the baronie of Glasgow in few-farme, to the wracke of moe than five huudred persons. Which, whill he sued with great rigour from Mr James Boyd, the last incumbent, he hastened his death through displeasure. And so, this Montgomrie sold him the best bishopric in the realme, before he was provided to the title therof, for five hundred pund by yeere; which simoniacall pactioun nather conscience nor good lawes could allow.

27. To the end he might sow seditioun in the kirk, he prosecuted

this title with all violence, so that the provinciall assemblie of seven eldership in Lothian, and afterward the whole Generall Assemblie, was discharged, under paine of rebellioun, to proceed in the accustomed discipline, by letters importunatlie impetrated of his Majestie.

The duke wrote his letter to the Bishop of Glasgow, which was read at his table in Parise, that he had found out one who would find all the ministers in Scotland eneugh to doe.

28. Command was givin, not to proceed in the executioun of the ecclesiasticall censures against manifest and obstinat offenders.

29. They caused his Majestie to take upon him and his privie counsell, to be judges in cognitioun of maters mere ecclesiasticall, and concerning the doctrine of the preachers.

30. Acts of counsell, and proclamatiouns published, for suspending and annulling the sentence of excommunication orderlie pronounced; and the person excommunicated familiarlie interteaned, as weill in D'Aubigney's hous as in court; with command to the Lords of Sessioun to grant him letters conforme, notwithstanding the said sentence, against all lawes and practise.

The long travell and processe, als weill before the Lords of Sessioun as particular and Generall Assembleis, declare these troubles largelie.

31. The eldership of Edinburgh, Linlithquo, Dalkeith, travelled to Stirline: the eldership of Glasgow, now to Stirline, now to Edinburgh, now to Dalkeith, and last to Perth; putt to importable expences; ather delayed from place to place, or dismissed with minassing and mocking.

The king's Majestie confessed he did not know of their calling at some times. They were called twentie-nine severall diets to one place or other. Mr Johne Davidsone was minassed to be killed for excommunicating of the said Montgomrie, so that, by the space of ten Sundayes, he was frequentlie convoyed to the kirk with his freinds.

32. (1.) Some for not satisfeing his desire, contrarie to law and conscience, were layed wait for, to be trapped in the way. (2.) Some suspended from preaching, and banished from their flockes. (3.)

Others beaten, had their blood shed, sitting in judgement; and after were imprissouned, *indicta causa.* (4.) Others being summouned to the chamberlan air, to make them and their doctrine odious, (wherin their partie was judge,) could looke for nothing but extreme rigour and death, when before time the libertie of the lawes (commoun to all others) were refused to them, by expresse commandement of the said D'Aubigney.

(1.) Mr Andrew Hay, Mr Thomas Smeton. (2.) Johne Durie sould have beene killed by the duke at Dalkeith, if the king had not withstood it; and sindrie times was layed for at other places. (3.) Mr Johne Howesone and others; some barons' childrein, schollers, as Edward Cunningham, sonne to Drumquhassill, Thomas Davidsone. (4.) Mr Andrew Hay, Mr Thomas Smeton. These having purchassed advocation to the Justice-Generall, (whose judgement they meant never to declyne,) the receaving of their suretcis in the ordinarie maner was differred and refused, that they being denounced rebells, their escheats might be disposed on.

33. For the withstanding of their attempts, and for reproving their vice, sindrie of the ministrie were accused in counsell with a fearefull countenance, hardlie escaping their violence, their death being conspired.

Mr James Lowsone, Mr David Lindsey, Mr Walter Balcalquall, and Johne Durie.

34. D'Aubigney caused Mr David Makgill penne a most slanderous and untrue proclamatioun, and induced his Majestie to caus publishe and print the same, traducing certan of the nobilitie and ministers of seditioun and other heynous crimes; and another proclamatioun immediatlie ensued, wherin all Assembleis of the kirk were discharged. So, during the time of his abode in Scotland, he held the whole ministrie in continuall warefare and inimitie.

This flowed from the counsell which William Archibald brought home immediatlie before, namelie, that the cheefe patrons of religioun sould be first riddo out of the way.

35. He had concluded to change the most learned and zealous ministers planted in most populous congregatiouns unto the

most barbarous theeves in the dales and borders; to make his forged bishop, Montgomrie, modifier of their livings at his discretioun, according to the counsell of the said Montgomrie, which was found in Dalkeith, writtin with his owne hand, yitt extant to shew.

36. When complaint was offered by the commissioners of the Generall Assemblie, of all these, and manie other greeves, in stead of redresse, new injureis were added: and these religious counsellers moved his Majestie, to the greefe and dolour of all his good subjects, publictlie, in Perth, upon a Sunday, before noone, in the kirk, to tak upon his Majestie to be the author and doer of these forsaid perellous proceedings, and not to cast the burthein therof upon his cousine; and privatlie, to subscribe a commissioun of the 2d of August, directorie to the chamberlane, for punishing the expelling of the excommunicated person out of the toun of Edinburgh, (done according to the lawes,) upon the magistrats, ministers, and cheefe professors within the toun of Edinburgh. Which was concluded to be, by pulling out of the pulpit of Edinburgh the cheefe minister, and planting of the said excommunicated bishop in his roome; besides great crueltie and tyrannie in bodie and goods upon the best inhabitants, unlesse God had, in mercie, prevented the same.

He threw out manie proclamatiouns bo times, to blind the eyes of the people; protesting his professing of the true religioun, which rather increassed suspicion than purgation of himself.

Lord Seton, privie of all the intended conspiraceis, having an aunt of his, of the hous of Gosfurde, latelie before maried to a minister, Alexander Foster of Tranent, sent secreit word to her, that he was sorie that she had maried a minister; for, if she had knowne that he knew what was to come on them, she would not have maried one of them. Which thing she told her husband.

37. The duke being admonished often times, privatlie, and sometimes publictlie, to remove from his companie the excommunicated person whom he interteanned, preferred at the table to the ancient nobilitie, professors of religioun, yitt he would not reforme. And at one severall time, admonished from the pulpit of Perth, attempted to raile against the minister, calling him "Pultron, villane;" and had in-

sisted therin, if he had not beene stayed by the king, who putt his hand on his mouth: and by Mr Peter Young and James Murrey, who pulled him doun in his seate; and after sermon, declamed in great rage against the whole ministrie, and speciallie avowing that the whole world sould not save that minister of Perth, but he would thrust him through with a rapper. Whom he caused to be called and accused before the Secreit Counsell, and discharged from his owne pulpit, withholding the king's Majestie from hearing preaching all the while he was in that toun.

38. Arran, after the duke's departure from Scotland, confessed privilie to sindrie, that he was so farre moved for love toward religioun, the king and countrie, through the manie abusses of the said duke, that he would putt violent hands upon him, and declared the same to sindrie of the nobilitie; promising, that if they would but afterward allow the act, to brickwall two bullets in his bellie.

39. Whill these things are done in Scotland, (in the same day that D'Aubigney had sent Montgomrie with a number of the guarde to intrude him in the pulpit of Glasgow, and expell Mr David Wemes, minister therof,) was the Prince of Orange shott, with the foreknowledge of D'Aubigney; and conspiracie at Dubline in Ireland; and Mr William Crichton, Principall of the Jesuits, at Lyons, sent into Scotland, for the great work that was in hand. So weill did the enemeis accord to subvert religioun, with commoun intelligence at one time in all countreis.

It may surelie be proved that Alexander Stewart of Blacknesse and others, the duke's cheefe familiar counsellers, spake it on the morrow after, when by no speed intelligence could be had therof. If the historeis of France, Germanie, Spain, and England, be marked at the same time, the enemeis sall be found bussie also. Mr William Crichton was charged by the Catholicks to returne, under paine of losse of his pensioun out of the Queen of Scotland's rents.

II.

THAT THE DUKE AND ARRAN OF OLD SOUGHT THE WRACKE OF THE KING'S MAJESTIE'S SOULE, BODIE, HONOUR, CROWNE, AND ESTATE.

Soule.

1. Of the former notes, their diligence and intentioun is cleerlie proved, to pervert his Majestie's educatioun, and avert his Majestie's minde frome religioun, the ministrie, and all good men; and so, first to kill his soule with Papistrie, idolatrie, superstitioun, or atheisme.

2. Before the repairing, first of Captane James Stewart to the castell of Stirline, and soone after of D'Aubigney into the countrie, it is certane, no disciple was more obsequent to his maisters, no youth more abhorred banning, swearing, filthie communicatioun, lees, flatterie, intemperancie, dissimulatioun, suspicions, covetousnesse, ingratitude, breache of promise, and suche vices which might ather corrupt his Majestie's minde and maners, or staine his princelie reputatioun.

This was in the 13th yeere of his age.

D'Aubigney, the 8th of September 1579, came into Scotland. Soone after the duke's comming, he intended to transport him to Dumbartan from the castell of Downe, and so to have taikin him to France; which purpose failing, by prevention of the nobilitie about him of the hous of Mar.

3. But after their familiar accesse to court, his Majestie's chaste eares were frequentlie abused with unknowne Italian and Frenche formes of oaths, the maistresse of all bawdrie and villanie; then Ladie Marche infected the air, in his Hienesse' audience; the punishment appointed with his Majestie's domesticks before, for oaths, lees, and flatterie, were remisse and forgottin; dayes were turned into nights; misreports and suspiciouns of all men resusci-

tated, without place left to purgatioun, (unlesse it had beene deerelie bought;) each one shew their cunning in craftie componing lees; that Matchiavellian principle, *Qui nescit dissimulare, nescit regnare*, continuallie beaten in his Majestie's eares by Arran, past doctor of that art. They used faire words, with counterfoote countenance, to them against whom present mischeefe was intended; cruell covetousnesse tooke place to take possessioun, before the death or convicting of the owner; requitting all good offices with evill keeping of promises, as they might serve the turne. In which infamous exemples and monstrouous maners, it was more than mervellous that his Majestie's good nature had not beene caried aside, if God, of his goodnesse, had not upholdin his heroicall inclinatioun in the middest of so manie tentations.

Arran and Ladie Marche made their acquaintance in Stirline. She was no better keeper of the sonne's bodie, by countenance, gesture, and unwomanlie behaviour, than the Ladie Reresse was to the mother.[1]

The commoun saying was, that the king might take some bonnie lasse, were not the ministers would find fault with it; and named in speciall his minister's daughter.

They hanted Dalkeith and Kinneill, and other places, careing their harlots about with them; and so whoordome was more frequent than princelie exercises.

4. Alwise these two foullie misused his tender age, travelling (so farre as in them lay) to hazard his Hienesse' honour, and to staine his good fame, amidst his owne subjects, and all forrane natiouns.

Where the most godlie learned in Europ dedicated bookes to his praise, they doubt now in silence where to this new nurture sall come.

Bodie, Crowne, and State.

5. The said D'Aubigney, carelesse of his life or death, indanger-

[1] This Lady Reresse was the principal attendant and female favourite of Queen Mary, who, after having been the mistress of Bothwell, promoted his intrigues and marriage with her sovereign. Her licentious character and shameless proceedings form a considerable episode in Buchanan's "*Detectio Mariæ, Reginæ Scotorum.*"

ed his Majestie's persoun, committing the same to the furie of most untamed horses.

He fell off a hors that ranne away with him, above Montrose, his foot hanging in the stirrop.

6. He traffiqued, without advice of the counsell, for associatioun with his Majestie's mother in conjunct authoritie, whereby his title and coronatioun might be questionable, so solemnelie before confirmed in Parliament; and that all things past in kirk and policie might be cast in non-entrie, and be turned upside doun. Which associatioun, the queen-mother, and Mr Nans,[1] her secretar, confessed, albeit they deny it, and the Maister of Gray, in the king's name.

George Dowglas, brother to Lochlevin, confessed that he was imployed unto France about this practise, and that the duke had cheefelie directed him thither; and also, that the said duke sent letters to the king's mother, and receaved letters from her, about the same associatioun.

7. To this end, he moved his Majestie to receave the most notorious changers of court, and perellous practisers, as onlie counsellers; who brought the good regent, the Erle of Murrey, to [the] grave, and his mother to exile, and had wearied their witts and pennes traffiquing with France and Spaine, to plucke the crowne off his head.

Sir Robert Melvill, and his brother, James, Mr Johne Matlane, Sir James Balfour, Mr David Mackgill, advocat, the Lord of Downne.

8. That they might pay home again, and requite his Majestie the wracke of themselves and their freinds in the Castell of Edinburgh, and civill warres betuixt Edinburgh and Leith, wherof his Majestie had beene the head. For who can beleeve that they will not call that to remembrance, and preasse to be avenged on his person, for that which they can never forgett nor forgive in others; or that they, who had beene counsellers and actors in the murther of the father,

[1] Or, more properly, Naue.

grandfather, and tutors, will spaire the nephew or sonne, or like to see the puple continue long in prosperitie?

9. These pernicious plagues intised his Majestie to cast off his old and most constant freinds, preservers of his person, with hazard of their owne lives, lands, goods, effusioun of their blood, and losse of their freinds, so that all they that had done most valiantlie in his service were discredited; they who had receaved for their service anie office, pensioun, or other rewaird, were spoiled therof; manie banished; the names of the nobilitie that sould have suffered were in all men's mouths. So did the successe prove, that it was no foolish feare made them suspect their owne perrell; the death of others conspired; one of his most trustie regents and counsellers (who sett and held the crowne on his head, and punished the murther of his father and two regents) beheaded for his rewaird; upon whose fidelitie and wisdome his Majestie might safelie have stayed himself, in all his civill and forraine troubles.

Command being givin to repossesse some of them that were forfaulted before that their pacificatioun was allowed by parliament, and that no suspensioun sould be granted against the same, notwithstanding the lawfull causes preponed.

10. By the contrarie, they induced his Majestie to admitt familiarlie to his presence all the old enemeis, invaders of his life and crowne, with displeyed baner and open hostilitie; mainteaners of the murther of his father, grandfather, and regents; wherof manie were brought home and restored, and some rewairded with the lands, rents, and offices of others, upon whom (as for the most part Papists, untrue to God, and so not true to man) his Hienesse can never soundlie repose himself. Whereby it sall come to passe, that upon anie substantiall commotioun, (in this inverting the settled estate of his commoun wealth, and renting asunder the realme; changing his sure freinds into malcontents, who now can not leane upon his Majestie's good affectioun, and by the contrarie, turning his old foes in new dissimulate freinds, upon whom his Majestie can not depend,) his Majestie's royall persoun and crowne, of necessitie, sall be cast in suche an inextricable labyrinth, *ut ipsa salus, si vellet salvare, nequeat.*

III.

NOTES PROVING THAT THE DUKE OF LENNOX AND ARRAN OF OLD SOUGHT THE WRACKE OF THE COMMOUN WEALTH OF THE REALME.

1. The duke being a stranger, so impyred above all the peeres of the realme, that he bragged and held them abandouned, as slaves to satisfie his inordinat appetit; and used them onlie so farre as they might serve for his owne commoditie.

2. The king's domesticks in all offices changed at his pleasure, without anie recompence for long service, almost upon their owne expences.

3. The maters of estat were not governed by advice of nobilitie, but as was concluded in a cabinet, with a few of his mother's counsellers.

4. He obteaned an act, that nothing passing without his subscriptioun and advice sould be valuable; intrusing himself, as viceroy, that his gaine might be the greater, for making merchandice of justice, his Majestie's care, and of all things occurring, so that nothing could be done but by his mediatioun, which must be by some interpreter deerelie hyred.

5. They left no meane unassayed which might make money, or anie profite unto them, in so farre as they oppressed the whole estate to mainteane their ambitioun, and prodigalitie in superfluous apparell and delicacie, so that, by justice courts, the poore of the countrie (without difference of the guiltie from the innocent) were sold and ransomed at hundreth punds the score. In which judgements, the Papists (noted with some infamie) were constituted judges for the wracke of the Protestants, whom that monster of nature, called Countesse of Arran, sitting in judgement, controlled at her pleasure.

It is shame to heare what was spent upon one goose, a pycke, one measse of long kaile, and ordinarilie on butter, consumed in the fire.

This ladie sitting in judgement, commanded the ignorant to answere directlie to her; and caused sindrie to be hanged that wanted their compositiouns, saying, What had they beene doing all their dayes, that had not so much as five punds to buy them from the gallows?

6. Not onlie knowne Papists, but also some partakers in the murther of his grandfather, were intruded magistrats over burrows, who had beene cheefe defenders of the king's authoritie; to trouble the kirk and studies of the schollers, and wracke of the mainteaners of the king's caus, persued by them.

As Phairnihirst over Jedburgh, others over Glasgow.

7. The best burgesses of Edinburgh were banished in good numbers often times from their houses, never being called nor convicted of anie crime, but onlie delated by the malice of their evill willers; who behoved to redeeme their libertie with great bribes in money, jewells, and other coastlie geir. And he had the names in scrolls of the most zealous burgesses in all the realme, to handle them after that or some more cruell maner, in the chamberlane court.

8. For their owne particular commoditie, they so tossed and raised the money, changing it for bribes in suche sort, that that which was coined and current the first yeere was cryed doun, and commanded to be brought again to the coining-hous the nixt yeere; to the commoun losse of the whole countrie, and to make the king to sucke the blood of the poore, in scraipping their goods, wherof he sould be the defender.

9. They stirred up and fostered inimitie and deadlie feed through all the corners of the countrie, to purchasse the more dependers upon their service, to make the fatter escheats to fall. They made plaine oppositioun to the agreements of parteis standing at variance.

They fostered the feed betuixt the merchants and craftsmen, as speciallie in Edinburgh, to be mainteaned by the one, and bribed by both.

10. They enarmed with blanke letters the most cruell men in the countrie, who had committed sindrie deteastable murthers with their owne hands, to take and apprehend whomsoever they pleased; to

raise fire, seige houses, kill, without cognitioun of the guiltinesse of anie crime in them, expreslie against good order used in the dayes of his Majestie's noble progenitours.

William Stewart, &c.

11. Thus, the order of justice and policie of the realme was miserablie inverted, and one might have espied the livelie image of a disordered commoun wealth; in so muche as they spaired not to threatten the Senators of the Colledge of Justice, for not satisfeing their partiall sute, against lawes and practises, and turned the seate of justice into a merchant's shoppe. So that, in their gracelesse governement, they looked for nothing but when they sould have beene taikin, one and one, out of the judgement-seate, and committed to prissoun, or banished, when anie thing proceeded contrare to their appetite and intentioun, or where they favoured and requeisted.

12. The best men of all estats in the realme were called, accused, and, upon supposed faults, manie wise afflicted; when libertins, murtherers, adulterers, incestuous persons, had free accesse to court, counsell, and sessioun, and no fault found with them.

The Laird of Innermarkie, fugitive for a foule murther, was brought home and pardouned for a bribe, with manie others.

13. In the meane time, that the duke and Arran bare swey in court, of verie manie bloodie shirts shewed unto the king, few committers of the slaughter were punished, but borne out and sold, according to their affections and favour.

14. By running the Frenche course, they will, in the end, abandoun the whole countrie to the tyrannie of France, from the which, God of his mercie delivered us, in the late memorie of man.

15. By the associatioun with his mother, and pendicles therof, they most certanlie conclude, that whatsoever was done by his faithfull servants since his Majestie's coronatioun, sould be compted plaine usurpatioun, seditioun, and conspiracie; and they who merited best in his Majestie's minoritie, in his service, sould be esteemed tratours and rebellious; on the other part, they who mainteanned his mother and her crueltie, to be richelie rewarded, as

good and loyall subjects. Of which sall ensue the utter overthrow of the one, and best halfe of the realme, not onlie of the nobilitie, barons, and burgesses, but also of the commonaltie; their lands, goods, and offices, to be appropriated to their enemeis, to tyrannize the more freelie over the whole.

16. The duke proponed in the three moneths lingering, to have murthered the nobilitie remaining at Halyrudhous for the time, if his treasonable conspiracie had not beene discovered, the verie night appointed for the executioun therof. All which things are so cleere that they admitt no contradiction.

He intended to sticke Angus, Lindsey, and Glames, and hang Gowrie and Blantyre.

IV.

NOTES PROVING THAT THE DUKE OF LENNOX AND ARRAN SOUGHT OF OLD TO BREAKE THE AMITIE BETUIXT BOTH THE REALMES.

1. The lovers and fosterers of the kindlie amitie betuixt his Majestie and the neerest princesse to him in blood, neighbourheid, lawes, maners, conditiouns, and customes, language, and religioun, were hated, discredited, disdained and banished, or under colour of justice murthered.

The Dowglasses, Gowrie, Marr, Boyd, Lindsey, Maister of Glames, Forbesses, and the whole ministrie, &c., Morton, regent.

2. The cheefe invyers and invaiders of the said amitie onlie lived in credite, or rewairded with the offices, rents, and livings of the other.

Crawfurd, Seton, Maxwell, Ogilvie, Livingston, &c.

3. Horses and other presents, cheefelie taikin and givin with France, their horse-keepers weill interteaned and rewairded for no good offices.

Montbirneau, Le Croy, Sieur Paul, &c.

4. Her Majestie's ambassader in their time misused with famous libells affixed on his doore; narrowlie espied who did repaire to

him, and some punished for resorting to him, by procurement of the duke and Arrane. He had no good countenance of the cheefe courteours, by whose procuring, further crueltie was attempted against him, *contra jus gentium.*

Mr Randulph. A hacquebutt charged with two bullets was shott in at his chamber-window, where he usuallie satt, while he loodged in Alexander Clerk's, Proveist of Edinburgh, who compleaning, no searche was made for the offender, as apperteaned.

5. Her Majestie was not suffered to send an ambassader of hers into Scotland, whill daylie packetts and messingers were thankfullie receaved from France.

6. A proclamatioun was made, inhibiting anie her Majestie's subjects to repaire into Scotland; and another proclamed, that none sould carie victuals to Berwick, or repaire into England with anie kinde of vivers, under paine of death.

Mr D. Lindsey and Mr J. Lowson, having commission to plant the eldership of Chirnside, were accussed for traffiquing with England, albeit they mett no man of that countrie; Mr Patrick Simson and Johne Cairns found fault with for shootting at Berwicke.

7. Mr Alexander King, a malicious Papist, after his returning frome France, having made an oratioun in the Tolbuith of Edinburgh, that greatlie tuiched her Majestie and the commoun peace, was so borne out by the duke and Arran, that he receaved more allowance than mislyking therefor, notwithstanding the complaint made therof by Mr Randulph, her Majestie's ambassader, resident there for the time.

8. Since the time that the duke and Arran boore rule in court, the wounted course of justice for redresse of disorders in the border was not duelie ministred, as before the duke's repaire thither; but rather all occasiouns offered to the neerest nighbours (incace they listed to have beene contentious) to stirre up warre, than anie countenance shewed for interteanement of peace and amitie of forrane princes; neglecting the freindship of all others, except suche of whom no favour can be obteaned, without losse of religioun.

9. The ryding, clothing, language, and civilitie, of Frenchemen is praised with great admiratioun, and preferred to all others; so

that nothing can smell in their nose but that which proceedeth from the Papists in France, to whom they are whollie addicted.

10. Their whole secreits and courses were disclosed to France, when England was used onlie for the fashioun, and as may serve for their present turne, to blind their eyes (if it were possible) with words.

11. These two, and their complices, compted the small favours shewed to his Majestie's mother and their factioun by France, a cheefe pleasure, worthie thankfullie to be requitted with all good offices, as occasioun can be offered.

12. But her Majestie's manie good offices shewed from his infancie most liberallie, (as, speciallie, the aide of men and money, for preservatioun of his life, libertie of his royall crowne, punishing the murther of his Majestie's grandfather, father, and regent, for reducing his strenths unto his Majestie's obedience, and repressing diverse rebelliouns attempted against his person and crowne during his infancie,) were by them reputed in his Majestie's eares cheefe displeasures; for the which, they not onlie laboured to ālienat his Majestie's minde, by all meanes possible, from her freindship, but also incitated his Hienesse to be avenged, (if it be possible,) after the subduing and controlling of the cheefe patrons of the said amitie.

13. Whether D'Aubigney had beene sent to breake the amitie betuixt the two realmes; consider S^r. De la Mot his petitioun at his removing, wherin he prayed the king, that the duke being so good a subject to France and Scotland, might remaine with him, for the better and more willing interteaning of the points of the amitie and confederaceis betuixt them and their realmes; or if that could not be, to have licence to abide at his hous; seeking thereby to give occasioun of new troubles.

14. There wanteth not probable arguments of consent of some counsellers, to returne the duke with France's forces, to disturb the quiet estat; and using of some blankes in France, surreptitiouslie impetrated at his departure. And Colonell Stuart affirmed, that the king could not in honour but call home againe the duke, ac-

cording to his promise made to him before his departure: and some were re-entered in court who beated in his Majestie's eares, that he could never be restored to his former honour, nor be thought at libertie, except he did call both him and Arran to his companie, and sequestrat himself from their companie that were then about him. And, indeid, they so farre prevailed, that they conqueissed his Majestie to their opinioun.

15. At his comming to France, his rebooke susteanned of his agents, *male gestæ legationis*, detected plainlie the end wherfore he was legat in Scotland.

16. Albeit his Majestie had franklie offered to apprehend the two English practising Papists against her Majestie, who were with the duke, and had past a commissioun to the Lord Boyd to that effect, yitt these pernicious counsellers their agents abiding in court, suborned his Majestie to direct one to the duke privatlie, desiring him to provide with all possible haste for their safetie; and would not let the commissioun be directed out to the said Lord Boyd, till they heard that they were departed to France.

THE REFORMATION OF THE FORSAID DISORDERS AT RUTHVEN, THE 23D OF AUGUST 1582.

1. The best affected nobilitie to religioun, king, countrie, and amitie, repairing to his Hienesse, craved, with all humilitie, redresse of these former, and manie moe enormiteis; which being granted by his Majestie, the feare of the violence, in the mercie of God, now removed, his Majestie being delivered from that unhappie companie, returned againe to suche commendable actiouns within his realme, and shewing glade countenance to all his subjects, and speciallie to these of the religioun, mainteaners of his owne just caus in his youth, and best merite of the commoun wealth, and also, offering suche thankfulnesse to her Majestie, as her manifold benefites had justlie deserved: so that libertie was renewed to the ministers to preache the Word, exercise discipline, and assemble for consultatioun of the ecclesiasticall effaires; Papists, Jesuits, ex-

communicated persons, licentious libertins, and enemeis to his crowne and freindship standing betuixt both realmes, ather left the countrie, or ellis the court, or ellis stouped in silence, with externall reverence to the Word, under the discipline of the kirk; the ministers were restored to their flockes, the feare of the crueltie intended against the nobilitie and all estats did ceasse; the Senators of the Colledge of Justice restored to their honours; justice in Sessioun, Counsell, and borders, renewed; finallie, ambassaders from her Majestie and the inhabitants of England had free accesse, at their pleasure, to Scotland, and the wounted intelligence and freindship betuixt both the natiouns, with great joy and contentatioun of all good men, was renewed.

2. Which intentioun of the said nobilitie was not onlie gratiouslie accepted by his Majestie as lawfull, honest, and good service, with promise, that the interprisers therof (with whose companie he was weill pleased) sould never be accused, nor persued therefore; but also was ratifeid, 1. By attestatiouns in his princelie words; 2. By act of Privie Counsell; [3.] and of the free and solemne conventioun of the estats; 4. Publict proclamatiouns at mercat croces needfull; 5. With promise to ratifie the same in the nixt parliament, for their securitie; 6. By conference with her Majestie's ambassaders, Sir George Carie, Mr Robert Bowes, Mr William Davidsone, with credite to them, to testifie his owne good lyking, and of his estats, of the same interprise, and the attempters therof; 7. By two legations from his Hienesse, first, Mr Johne Colvill alone, and therafter, by him joyned in commission with Colonell Stuart, as their instructions beare, signed with his hand and counsell; 8. Sindrie certificats writtin to her Majestie with his owne hand; 9. His owne affirmatioun publictlie before the counsell, and her Majestie's ambassaders, to Monsieur De la Mott Fenelon, and by the answeres writtin and subscribed to his propositiouns unto the King of France; 10. But also, by the Generall Assemblie of the kirk, upon significatioun of his Majestie's consent givin by commissioun; 11. Besides, his Majestie's command to the ministers, to proclame in pulpit, in the most famous places of the realme, his good lyking

and contentment, both of the attemptat forsaid, and authors therof, for satisfactioun of the people. Which warrants are all yitt extant to shew.

1. In which course his Majestie worthilie continued in word, writting, in whole actiouns, (and his nobilitie, as most peaceable subjects, reposed themselves upon these assurances, when no farther warrant could be joyned,) from the said 23d of August untill the 28th of June 1583 immediatlie following; the which day Colonell Stuart, after his returning from his message in England, upon high contempt and disdaine conceaved, through refusall of the lands perteaning to the Ladie Margaret, sometimes Countesse of Lennox, in a maner led captive his Majestie in the Castell of Sanct Andrewes, without advice of his nobilitie, (a mater in itself most treasonable and odious,) professing in word the maintenance of the former reformatioun, and to follow a most quiett course, with advice of the most wise and grave of the nobilitie, barons, and ministrie, but in verie deid, a violent and subtile retreatting of all things, and altering the whole forme of governement solemnelie established.

The alteration at St Andrewes.

2. He prevailed so farre above his tender age and simplicitie, that he induced his Majestie to call againe to court the Erle of Arran, the wounted disturber of the whole estat, and to rander himself subject to their deborded appetits.

3. By which diumvirat so erected, they called in doubt the foresaid interprise as treasonable, under colour of his Majestie's captivitie, and adjudged the authors and executers therof to be persued as rebellious persons; and not onlie renewed all the former abusses and disorders with great rigour and violence, but also joynned innumerable more, no lesse dangerous against religioun, the king, countrie, and peace of both the crowns: setting aside all promises, acts, proclamatiouns, words, writts, they turned all in the contrarie, for exaltatioun of themselves, and the wracke of all others.

4. First, they moved his Hienesse to illude her Majestie, by letter of the secund of Julie, conteaning a narrative, that he had with-

drawin himself to the Castell of Sanct Andrewes, for suretie of his owne person; being advertised of a conventioun in feare of warre of some specialls of the nobilitie divided in particulars amongst themselves, till some good order might be taikin for removing of the inconvenience appearing to ensue therof.

At this time, the Laird of Drumquhassil and Mr J. Colvill were wairded.

5. Conferre this former narrative with the first proclamatioun, conteaning the declaratioun of their intentioun givin at Perth the penult of Julie, plainlie giving out, in his Majestie's name, another pretext, unmindfull of the former; to witt, that his Majestie, of his owne proper motioun, tooke purpose to passe from Falkland to St Andrewes, upon mislyking, displeasure, and offence of that fact which fell out the former yeere, and all that succeeded theron, which he had borne moderatlie, for preservatioun of publict quietnesse; making choose of (1.) counsellers to tarie with his Hienesse, to deliberat farther in all things needfull; permitting (that is, charging) (2.) others not writtin for to passe home.

(1.) Crawfurd, Huntlie, Matlane, Melvill, Segy. (2.) Marr, Angus, Garvie, Bothwell, Argile, Marshall.

6. After these faire generalls, craftilie propouned for sylling the eyes of the noblemen conveened, promising to take a quiett and moderat course, with advice of the most wise and grave of the nobilitie, barons, and ministrie, as said is, wherethrough all men might see their owne suretie, without hurt or perrell to their lives, lands, or goods, for anie offence past.

7. The rest of the proclamatiouns were more captious and contrarious to other; craftilie entering peece and peece, creeping fordward degree by degree, till they utttered shortlie their whole meaning, seeming, after they had proceeded one steppe, to relent their course, and by separating themselves, to neglect all things, being most bussilie occupied in the meane time to lay platts, to be executed at their nixt meeting.

8. The nixt proclamatioun, givin at Falkland, the 21st of September, exponed the former, after one month's deliberation, wherin

they offered more speciall pardoun to them that would in time acknowledge their late offence with humble and penitent hearts.

Dumfermline comming to court upon promise of his securitie, by word to two noble men, was taikin by the colonell, and caried captive to Lochlevin, immediatlie after he had beene interteanned with faire words and glade countenance of his Majestie.

9. The thrid at Stirlin, the 24th of October, offered remissioun to suche as sould crave the same before the 1st of December, in effect, compelling all men to tak remissioun for the deid so manie wayes allowed.

Lochlevin, Cambuskenneth, Paisley, Wemes, Buchan, were commanded to warde. But Cleish refused to enter, till he had obteaned free remissioun for all his good service made to his Hienesse since his birth.

10. The fourth proclamatioun at Stirline, the last of October, charged all that were in danger of lawes for the Road of Ruthven, to crave and obteane remissioun therefore, and to passe the seales, with certificatioun they sould be invalide that passe not orderlie, before the first day of December; and the course of justice sould proceed against them.

Manie foreseing such untrue dealing, and fearefull forerunners of greater confusioun, were moved voluntarilie to procure licence to withdraw themselves for certane yeeres from their native countrie.

11. The seventh of December, an act was subscribed at Halyrudhous, declaring the said Road of Ruthven to be treasoun, and the committers therof, with their assisters and fautours, to be persued that will not acknowledge their offence.

12. The last of Februarie, commandement was givin to the devisers, interprisers, and executers of the said attempt, to use their licences, and to depart from Scotland, England, and Ireland, and not to returne themselves; and that others sould no wise intercommoun with them, send or receave missives to or from them, without speciall licence, and a strait discharge of their fautors to resort within tenne myles of the court; to the end, that they being once all removed from the realme, might be severallie called home

againe upon twentie dayes, and appearing in judgement, might be accused and punished at the discretioun of the king's mother, or ellis for their absence might be forefaulted.

13. Wherby it came to passe, that that part of the nobilitie professing religioun, and best affected in the king's caus, the commoun weale of their countrie, and amitie betuixt both the realmes, are all putt out of the king's grace, wherof some are, 1. ather hid in holes, and not seene at their owne houses, (*metus causa, qui potest cadere in constantem et innocentem virum;*) 2. or are captives; 3. or having libertie to France and Flanders, have their licences converted in proscriptiouns, and in effect banished, and under feare to be called home to a Spanish inquisitioun; 4. others banished.

1. As my Lord Drummond and Cathcart, the Master of Rothesse, Lindsay, Boyd, Oliphant, Forbesse, Abbot of Inchaffrey, Laird of Banheth, Provest of Dundie, Fadownside.
2. As Lindsay, Dumfermline, Bishop of Murrey, Tutor of Cassils, Coldingknowes, Wedderburne, Glennegeis, Mr William Leslie, George Flecke, James Ruthven.
3. As the Lord Boyd, the Abbot of Cambuskenneth, James Dowglas, Priour of Pluscardie, and Archibald his brother, the Laird of Cleish, the Constable of Dundie.
4. Angus and Marr, Maister of Glames, Abbots of Dryburgh and Paisley, the Laird of Carmichael, Carnock, Buchan, George and James Douglasses, sonnes to George of the Parkheid.

14. The order is onlie altered from the former proceedings, that first they sall beginne at the nobilitie, to the end that they whose authoritie or vertue they feare to withstand their attempts, being dispeshed by one meane or other, the poore people with their pastors may be a more easie prey.

15. This platt, first devised by the duke's agents in France, was sent home with William Archibald, (as it is said,) which the duke prosecuted so farre as he could in his time, with the advice of his said counsellers, and left the rest in testament (5.) to these his executers, having the same agents and counsellers instructed from the Counsell of Trident to be furnished with the execrated treasure appointed for the mainteanance of that warre.

(5.) The Dowglasses, Gowrie, Marr, Lindsay, Boyd, Dumfermline, and whole ministers expresslie conteanned in testament.

16. How farre they have proceeded in this their course of the subsequent deductioun, according to the order sett doun in the former discourse, sall appeare; and to the end it may the more breefelie be contracted, I wishe the reader to looke backe to everie particular in the former, and apply the same to this secund diumvirat, except a few that be proper to the duke alone, or Arran alone, or both conjoynned.

I.

OTHER NOTES PROVING THAT ARRAN AND COLONELL STUART RUNNE SUCHE PERRELLOUS COURSES IN SCOTLAND AS DRAW THE WRACKE OF TRUE RELIGIOUN WITH THEM.

1. So farre inverted and confounded is the progresse of the Evangell, that the more zealous the preachers be, the more constant that the professor hath beene, the greater is the feare, disdaine, contempt, and perrell. By the contrarie, the more malicious and perverse that the Papist hath beene, the greater is his credit, favour, boldnesse, and joy; a visible argument that he is a courteour necrest to honour and preferment.

2. The cheefe doctour and maister of the educatioun of the youth in knowledge of the tongues and theologie was accused before the Counsell, his partie making them judges of his doctrine by the absolute power clamed to themselves; his accuser was admitted witnesse in his caus, and more credited than the sealed and subscribed testimonialls of the rector and whole universitie, magistrats, counsell, sessioun, and eldership of Sanct Andrewes: accesse refused to the commissioners of the Generall Assemblie, craving to be heard for their interest; and being purged of all things layed to his charge, upon forged allegatiouns, was decerned to be wairded upon his owne expences in the Castell of Edinburgh, (which place, without advice of counsell, was changed to Blacknesse,) and ordeanned to be further punished in bodie and in goods, that he being so incarcerated, his life might await on their will. A

plaine platt layed for destructioun of the cheefe schoole of theologie within the realme, latelie repaired, as a counterscarpe and bulwarke against the Parisian Seminarie. In respect of which most partiall proceedings, being weill certified of their further malice and crueltie against him, he withdrew himself from their tyrannie, preferring libertie to boundage, and life to death, untill suche time as God sould grant opportunitie to make his owne apologie.

Mr Andrew Melvill, Principall of the New Colledge of Sanct Andrewes.

3. After the which departure, their rage uttered more of their minde, affirming they would rather have givin ten thowsand punds than he sould have escaped, (so muche did they feare his voice and penne,) avouching that they sould tak another order with the rest, not to putt in their choice to abide or goe, but first to tak and imprissoun before they give anie warning by citatioun. Which promise they keeped indeid; for others of the ministrie of best zeal and learning (whose authoritie they feared most, and who of a long time had susteanned the wrathe of the former diumvirate) were threatned to be apprehended before they could espy the perrell; having nothing ellis justlie to lay to their charge but their zealous care over the whole kirk, and continuance of the sinceritie of the Evangell to the posteritie, and for discharging their owne consciences with constancie and boldnesse to their owne flockes in time convenient: disclosing the evident perell to religioun, the king's estat, the commoun wealth of their native countrie, and the freindship of Christian princes, so long confirmed by unitie of religioun.

4. And some, before they could returne from the Generall Assemblie at Sanct Andrewes, were searched with great violence by captans and their souldiours, their beds being thrust in with rappers. Which comming to their eares, by true informatioun of the beholders, they retired themselves, for avoiding their furie, to the most sure girth and place of refuge commoun to all the afflicted members of Christ through Europe; so to reserve themselves, to

the further confort and commoditie of the kirk of God, untill occasioun sould be offered of more convenient time, and lesse suspected counsellers sould be constituted judges in their caus for triell of their innocencie, according to the precept of Christ to his disciples, ratifeid by his owne exemple, and imitated and practised by them.

Mr P. Galloway, Mr J. Davidsone, Mr J. Carmichaell, Mr Andrew Polwart, and others.

5. The rest abiding with hazard of their lives, (trusting more their owne imaginations concerning the moderat course promised than their owne eyes,) are ather alreadie trapped and taikin, or ellis compt everie day and night which they escape to be so muche gained of their libertie, not long looked for. And if they be spaired, it is rather to be imputed to laike of leasure in their great bussinesse than to anie good will. So that the most part of the preachers, whose wisdome was perceaved to espie their craftie courses, or their boldnesse to find fault therewith, or their pennes feared to paint them out in their colours, are ather lurking in feare for their furie, or ellis voluntarilie have withdrawin themselves; and the whole remnant, who seemeth to injoy greatest libertie, are preassed to be bounded within suche limits as may serve their pleasures and appetits: And the libertie of the Spirit of God, which cannot be bound, but must speeke freelie in his messingers, so farre controlled and abandonned, as the infirmitie of weake vessells can be brought unto.

As Mr D. Lindsay, Johne Clapperton, Patrik Gates.

6. The mouths of the rascalls are not onlie opened with allowance to blaspheme God, slander his truthe, raile against his messingers; but also, the hands of manie dissolute persons, suche as adulterers, fornicators, murtherers, whose corrupt lives could never abide ecclesiasticall discipline, loosed, to invade the lives and shed the blood of the ministers of God's Word, wherof lamentable exemples are in sindrie corners of the countrie.

As Mr Thomas Storie, Thomas Dowglas, Thomas Greg, James Reid, &c.

7. Privat missives were directed to stay the commissioners of the kirk to execute acts of parliament committed unto them; namelie, concerning manses and gleebes, made at Edinburgh, 26th Januarii 1572.

In Marche last, Alexander Carrick of Northberwick purchassed one.

8. As tuiching the censures and discipline of the kirk, the memorie of the execution of the lawes at Edinburgh against the wrong forged bishop, are in suche vigour and severitie renewed, with full intentioun to retreate the excommunicatioun pronounced als weill against him, as that bussie traffiquer against religioun, the king's coronatioun, and amitie, the Laird of Fentrie; and the former executioun of justice so highlie aggravated, that scarcelie is there anie hope of redeeming the lives of anie suspected to have medled therin with great summes of money, especiallie of the professors within the toun of Edinburgh.

According to his Majestie's commission, signed at Perth, the 2d of August 1582. Fentrie is familiarlie conversant in court, as though he were not excommunicated.

9. They have called to remembrance, and begunne to punishe with wairding, banishment, and in goods, the good affectioun of the best affected to religioun in the king's estat, and concord with Christian princes, within the toun of Edinburgh, who joyfullie receaved, with prayer and singing of psalmes, their pastor, having his Majestie's licence signed to returne to his flocke.

As Adam Foullerton, Johne Bleckburne, Johne Fergusone, Thomas Richartsone, and manie others.

10. It is provided by Act of Parliament, at Edinburgh, 20th of October 1579, cap. 10, that these who travell furth of the countrie sall sue and obteane licence before their departure, with provisioun, that they sall remaine constant in the professioun of the true religioun, and sall doe nor procure nothing to the prejudice therof, nor his Hienesse' authoritie, under paine of barratrie; and also, that within the space of twentie dayes after their returning, sall offer to give confessioun of their faith, or then remove themselves furth of

the realme within twentie dayes. Contrarie unto which acts, Papists and practisers against his Hienesse' crowne returning, are thankfullie receaved in court and countrie, and mainteaned in their Papistrie and practising in despite of the kirk.

11. The late actioun of Ruthven, and enterprises therof, having so manie warrants of his Majestie's lyking and allowance, as is before expressed, and speciallie the act of the estats conveened at Edinburgh, the nynth of October 1582, the verie adversareis (after solemne attesting by their oaths, that they sould reasoun and vote according to equitie and good conscience) voting and consenting with the rest without contradictioun. My Lord of Paisley, upon the 12th of October following, in name of the noble men, interprisers of that action, authorised with commissioun, gave the Generall Assemblie of the kirk (then more frequentlie conveened than at anie other time) to understand, that the grounds moving them to their actioun simplie were, the danger they perceaved the Kirk of Scotland and religioun into, the evident perell they saw the king's Majestie and estat to stand in, and the confusioun and misorder of the commoun-wealth. Wherof, as they doubted not to feele good testimonie in their owne consciences, so would they, the Assemblie sould shew their good lyking of the same, and give ordinance to everie minister, at his particular kirk, to lay out their good ground and actioun to their flockes; exhorting all noble men, and others faithfull whatsoever, to concurre with them in the said good caus.

12. Which informatioun being weill considered by the whole Assemblie, it was thought verie expedient, in particular, to inquire and vote if the said perrells, and everie one of them, were seene, and perceaved to have beene, by the whole brethrein; and by full consent and vote of the whole Assemblie, without anie contradictioun or countenance to the contrarie, declaratioun was made, that the whole brethrein understood the concurrence of all the said dangers. Which, with publict fast and humiliatioun latelie exercised throughout the whole realme, the whole faithfull earnestlie prayed unto God to be redressed; and now, had no lesse caus to give thanks unto God for hearing their sighes and sobs, and so graciouslie grant-

ing their requeists, and sending his mercifull deliverance, than at anie time since the reformatioun of religioun within the same.

13. And to the effect that the king's Majestie's minde also might be gathered, tuiching the same, directioun was givin from the whole Assemblie to Mrs James Lowsone, David Lindsey, Johne Craig, Johne Duncansone, to passe to his Hienesse the nixt day, before noone, to reason and conferre tuiching the said dangers, and to open up the same at lenth unto his Majestie, and to report his Majestie's answere therin.

14. Report of the conference of the brethrein directed to his Majestie was made the 13th of October 1582, in these words: That his Hienesse had confessed that there was a perrell to the religioun, and an indirect course runne to the hurt therof, wherunto his owne perell was joyned; for he esteemed his standing to be joynned with the standing of religioun: As also, he acknowledged sindrie abusses in the commoun weale, before the late interprise of the nobilitie; and that all good men sould concurre, of duetie, to tak away the danger from the kirk, his person and estat, and the commoun weale.

15. Which report it pleased his Majestie to repeate to Colonell Stewart, instructed with subscrived commission, together with Mr James Halyburton, Commendatare of Pittenweeme, and Proveist of Dundie; wherupon the said Assemblie thought it agreeable to good conscience and their office, to give their judgement of the said fact, in suche sort recommended to them by his Majestie; and so sett doun a speciall act, after matufe deliberatioun, to satisfie their former petitions, as at more lenth is conteaned therinto.

16. After the craftie creeping in credit of the said abusers, eight of the ministrie were called to Sanct Andrewes, the 23d of August 1583, upon his Majestie's letter, with whom great travell was taikin, and meanes made, to move them to agree to their new course, and submit themselves to the wills of their new re-entred governours; and speciallie, to consent to the retreatting of the said act. Which purpose being withstood with manie reasons, they purposed nixt to have stayed the whole ministers' stipends, in December, untill the

deleting of the said act. And last, Mr Johne Grahame, instructed with commissioun from their counsell, insisted in an unaccustomed maner; minassing the Generall Assemblie conveened at St Andrewes, the 24th of Aprile 1584, first under paines of rebellioun, nixt of treasoun, to annull the said act, and by a contrarie act, to condemne the said actioun as treasonable; and travelled with the magistrats of the said toun, to putt in captivitie so manie pastors as were conveened, refuising to doe the same; preassing thereby, if they consented, First, To blott the whole ministrie with perpetuall infamie, as inconstant persons, moved at everie light wind, to retreat their conclusiouns, and alter their sentences in the contrarie, to satisfie the appetits and pleasures of men, how ungodlie so ever they were: Secundlie, To make the new consent of the Assemblie an argument to traduce the said actioun and interprisers therof, as abominable before all nations: and, Thridlie, To trap the whole ministrie with treasoun, who once had approved their said interprise; or, if they disassented to their petitiouns, to bring their bodeis and goods in extreme danger, and to be judged as tratours, standing in defence of that fact, which they condemned as treasonable the 7th of December preceeding.

17. And to the end that the ministrie might the more easilie be intised, in this Assemblie, to the satisfeing of this, and manie other their unreasonable desires, they discharged by publict proclamation the rest of the commissioners of the countrie and particular provinces, who, since reformation of religioun these twentie-five yeeres past, have ever had free accesse and libertie to vote therin as elders, and a part of the said Assemblie; and to consult for the discipline of their countreis, and reteaning the puritie of the Evangell amongst them.

18. And when these most captious and unreasonable petitiouns, espied to be contrarie to conscience and the duetie of faithfull pastors, were not satisfied according to their humours, they have discharged in effect the whole Assembleis, and purpose to compell everie eldership, for their owne part, to give their consent to the retreating of that act. And to the end the more easilie they may

compasse their purpose, they have begunne to select of everie eldership the most learned, to intreate them according to their pleasure, and evill will toward them.

19. How farre these confederat enemeis to God's everlasting truthe have abused the tender age and simplicitie of our king's Majestie, lett all and indifferent readers judge, when they induced his Majestie suddanlie to repaire to the preaching in St Giles' Kirk of Edinburgh, upon a Sunday, in the moneth of Marche last past, of a determinat minde to make contradictioun and publict oppositioun unto the minister, being in the pulpit; to the discouraging of all good men, and giving mater of rejoycing to all the enemeis of the truthe, whom they labour to gratifie; and to make that invented prophecie, wherewith they feede themselves, to be verified, that a young king in the north sall be turned to the obedience of the Romish Church.

20. And least anie sould longer doubt what mischeefes they muse, to the wracke of true religioun, and utter extermining of the professors therof, lett all that feare God meditat, to what other end the Lord Seton hath beene choosed, and preferred before all others, as one most meete to be sent in ambassadge to France; who being an apostat from that religioun which once he did professe, hath alwayes shewed himself the most conjured enemie that ever religioun had within the realme; not onlie delighting to raile against the truthe, to slander the teachers and the professors therof, and to condemne all discipline, but also to receave and interteane these manie yeeres the cheefe practisers against religioun, and speciallie Mr Holt, whom he interteaned, before and since his captivitie in the Castell of Edinburgh. *Vide* his citatioun before the Presbyterie of Hadinton, provinciall assemblie of Lothiane, accusatioun for interteaning of these, [1.] and excommunicated persons; banketting Phairnihirst in time of public fast; interteaning mercats on the Sabbath day; not communicating these twentie yeeres; his sonnes, Robert and Johne, excommunicated for Papistrie. In a Generall Assemblie, 13th Augusti 1573, sess. 7, the said Robert and Johne Setons gave in supplicatioun, desiring to

be absolved from the sentence of excommunicatioun pronounced against them for Papistrie. The Kirk ordeanned the Superintendent of Lothian, with so manie ministers as he would assume to him, to take order with them, and if they will obey, submitt themselves, and subscrive the articles of faith, and sweare to the obedience of the king's Majestie, to receave them to the bosome of the kirk, according to the order therof. It followeth, therefore, that they being absolved, that first they subscrived the articles of religioun, and submitted themselves to the discipline of the kirk, appointed a time to communicat; wherin they are truthe breakers and apostats.

[1.] As namelie, Johne Markinfeild, Mr William Crichton, calling himself Maxwell, Robert Collinwood, William Holt, naming himself Mr Pater.

21. His sonne, Alexander, through hypocriticall professioun of religioun, (admitted in the Pope's dispensatioun,) being repouned to the Pryorie of Pluscardie, hath uttered, not obscurelie, his practising against religioun; and in one massacre, to cutt the throats of the professors therof, as his letters, directed to the Generall Propositor of the Jesuits at Rome, of the date, at Seton, 9th Novembris 1582, intercepted with William Holt, cleerelie testifie, wherof these are the words following:—

22. "Therefore, when there sall be anie interprise to execute, for the reformation in these parts, (whereto I would your Fatherhood sould endeavoure day and night,) it sould be needfull, that both there, and in Spaine and France, all things sould be readie prepared before we speeke a word heere; becaus things heere are so mutable, and subject to so manie alteratiouns, that these things which to-day make for us, to-morrow may be revolted to the contrarie. Yitt, for all that, I doe not thinke that the alteratioun of maters can be suche, but that they may finde both places and persons, and other commoditeis, to serve to our purpose, so that they be taikin in time. The Reverend Father, Mr Holt, who had remained heere a good space, with great satisfactioun and consolatioun of all these with whom he hath dealt and negociated, can

informe your Paternitie more particularlie and fullie of all these things. Therefore, remitting myself to his information, I will heerewith ceasse. Taking my leave, I kisse your hands, recommending myself to the holie prayers and sacrifices of your Fatherhood, with commissioun, to present my most humble dutie to his Holinesse, desiring his most holie blessing."

Lett the reader consider, whether his father had beene acquainted with these letters and practises, or not.

23. And yitt, this papisticall prelat, and pensioner to the Pope, not onlie injoyeth the patrimonie of the kirk, but is accompted most worthie to be collaterall, and joynned in commission with his father, in this solemne message: who both standing under the discipline of the kirk, and danger of the lawes of the countrie, dissemble not their malice against the cheefe preachers and professours of religioun.

24. Yitt these new found counsellors have thought these most meete, with whom his Majestie sould direct most friendlie letters, writtin with his owne hand, to the King of France, the queen-mother, Duke of Gwise, and to the bishops justlie forefaulted, for repyning against his authoritie.

25. What may be conjectured of Sir Johne his sonne, a Spanish knight, (De la Bocko,) and pensioner, negociating presentlie in Spaine, by privat commissioun, is partlie disclosed, and in time will more evidentlie appeare.

26. Besides this, another bishop called of St Andrewes, who never entered in at the doore, but craftilie creeped in, like a foxe, through begged missives, being suspended from preaching for his schismaticall doctrine, consulting with witches, his filthie and idle life, untill, upon farther prooves, he might be deposed and excommunicated, is found out as the more apt to be instructed with commissioun to travell, not onlie to sett the counsellers and bishops of England by the eares with the ministrie within this realme, but also to steale and beg letters and sentences from the ministers of the Frenche kirk at Londoun, Thedore de Beza, Gwalter, and other learned men ellis where, against the forme of discipline

within the realme, (which his corrupt maners could never abide;) to which end he had, according to the poysoun of his owne malicious minde, thowed, perverted, and collected some maimed portiouns of the Discipline of the Kirk of Scotland, in odious positiouns and articles, to bring the ministrie in contempt by lees and slanders, that thereby he might take occasioun, at greater libertie, to inveygh and oppugne, as he giveth out, the Discipline of the Kirk of Scotland, (wherof he is ignorant, and wherewith he never vexed his braine;) but in verie deed, to refute his owne forged and captious cavillatiouns, excogitated, as said is; to the end that he might live unpunished, the more licentiouslie and ambitiouslie impyre above the kirk of God. In which journey, he hath disclosed his venome conceaved against the truthe, and shewed not obscurelie, that he hath made shipwracke of faith and conscience, when as he hath affirmed, that permitting of libertie of conscience within Scotland sould serve best for the king's standing, and quietting of his subjects.

I.

NEW NOTES PROVING THAT ARRAN AND THE COLONELL RUNNE SUCHE COURSES IN SCOTLAND, AS DRAW WITH THEM THE WRACKE OF THE KING'S MAJESTIE'S SOULE, BODIE, HONOUR, CROWN, AND ESTATE.

1. As these candie captans have intised his Majestie alreadie to consent to many things careing with them (if they be prosecuted) the utter ruine of true religioun, so, it is not any more to be doubted, but by continuance of these two pernicious persons, his Hienesse, by reasoun of the tendernesse of his young yeeres, sall be compelled by their perswasiouns to admitt and committ manie things, including in them remedilesse danger not onlie of his bodie, fame, crowne, and estat, but also his sowle.

2. What is it to perrell his soule and bodie, if this be not?—to bait his Majestie with the blood of two of his noblemen, and neerest

kinsmen, who have lost the lives of their deerest freinds in maintenance of his crowne and authoritie? The first, at his last words before famous witnesses, spake these words:—"Lett never God be mercifull to me, if ever I meant, directlie or indirectlie, hurt to the king my master, but meant alwayes his weale; and I sall never aske God mercie, for anie evill that ever entered into my heart against the king. Yea, there was nothing I regarded in this life more, than that he sould be brought up in vertue and godlinesse; and I say more, if I had beene als carefull to serve God, and walke in his favour, as I was to serve the king, I had not beene brought to this point." The secund wished, at the houre of his death, that nature had granted a window in his breast, that his Majestie might behold his tender love and good affectioun toward his Majestie, together with his earnest care for his preservatioun, and peaceable establishing of the crowne in his hands, and his surname.

They payed his Majestie's debts aughtand to Gowrie, as Sir James Hammilton was payed in the dayes of King James the Fyft.

3. What can be more prejudiciall to his Majestie's honour, than to make his Majestie freelie to remitt the murthers of his father and deerest regents; and in favours of them and their heyres, to violat Acts of Parliament, and dispense with all lawes; and in the meane time, never to be appeased with anie having art or part of the just punishment of Seigneur David, that notable abuser of his father, the whole nobilitie and countrie?

4. What can more staine his credit and royall reputatioun, than to move his Hienesse, so lightlie to regard the breache of all promises made, ather to his owne subjects or forrane princes?

5. Who caused his Majestie, after he had promised to the Master of Forbesse, to write to the Erle of Huntlie, for exempting of him, his servants, and freinds, from his lieutenantrie, and caused him forme the letter in that same sense to be subscribed, so suddanlie to alter his opinioun, and to write to the Erle Huntlie in the flatt contrarie; to putt so manie good men in worse cace than

they were before, when as they looked, according to his Majestie's promise, that the said letter had beene directed unto their competitor?

6. Who impelled his Majestie to committ the Lord Lindsey, the first patron of religioun in Scotland, and cheefe protectour of his person and crowne, the manfull avenger of the murther of his father and regents, in the hands of his deidlie enemie, Mr Johne Matlane, to be transported to Tamtallan, in the custodie of the Hepburnes, old invaders of his owne crowne, after he had beene so lovinglie called to his Hienesse' person and service, by letters writtin at his command, and others subscribed with his hand, besides publict proclamations?

7. Who did, and have blotted his Majestie's name, word, and princelie promise, but even these who, as craftie Achitophels and deceatfull Gangelons,[1] imployed their witt, counsell, and credit, to fetche the forces of France and Spaine, and Papists of England, against his established authoritie, to subvert the same, together with the true religioun and freindship begunne betuixt both the realmes; and yitt daylie invent new meanes to draw his Majestie in suspicioun with his nobilitie, or to stirre up some jealousie in their hearts concerning his Majestie's evill grace toward them; now to trouble his whole estat, or shorten his happie governement, which then by no open force they were able to doe?

8. They have drawin a new young, insolent companie about him, without gravitie, wisdome, or experience; and so, by word or violence, moved the ancient and white haired counsellers, ather to denie their presence, or excuse, by one shift or other, their absence from court and counsell.

9. What could tuiche his honour more with the note of ingratitude and inhumanitie, than to recompence the long service of so manie domesticall servants, (who had spent their time and living

[1] Ganelon figures in the romances of the middle ages as the traitor who occasioned the overthrow of the French at Roncesvallos, and the death of Orlando, the celebrated Paladin. On this account, his name became synonymous with treachery and baseness.

in hope of rewarde,) by suddane removing from his presence; and in place of the zealous Protestant, to plant a perverse Papist; in stead of one who hath constantlie mainteaned his cause, to make choise of him that arrogantlie oppugned his authoritie; and for favourers and fosterers of the Christian amitie, to admitt a pensioner to the Pope, and King of Spaine or France, or his Grace's mother; and to promote licentious and insolent libertines in the office of grave, modest, and godlie men?

20th Julie 1583.

The Lords Cathcart and Paisley, Laird of Wemes, Carnock, Dunipace.

William, Michael, and James Elphinstons, James Preston, William and James Murrey of Drummond.

10. What stratageme could be more craftilie devised, for altering his estat, and erecting his mother's authoritie, than first to grant a letter of Lieutenentrie to the Erle Huntlie, whose father was actuall with Bothwell at the cruell murther of his Majestie's father, in the yairds of the Church Feild, to sitt and judge upon the Erle Marshall, the Lord Forbesse, the Lairds of Buchan, Drum, their freinds and remanant in the North, that had best served his Majestie in his youth, when the Maister of Forbesse and the Laird of Buchan were denounced rebels, and banished their houses and countrie?

11. Secundlie, Another letter of the Provestrie of Dundie, and lieutenantrie in Angus, to strenthen the Erle of Crawfurd against the Maister of Glames, the old Proveist, and Constable of Dundie, and suche others there as have givin good prooffe of their fidelitie to his Majestie, when his crowne was in greatest danger; the said Maister of Glames and constable being banished the countrie.

12. Thridlie, A letter of the Bailliffrie of Glasgow to the Erle of Montrose, by vertue wherof, he might command the Lord Boyd, and all the weil affected in the West of Scotland, having charge to the Castell of Glasgow to be randered into his hands.

13. That Arrane sould be possessed with the keeping of the castell and provestrie of the toun of Stirline, which were offices these manie ages proper to the Erle of Marr and his progenitours, after

that the said Erle of Marr, being called to St Andrewes, (under pretence of an amitie betuixt him and Arran,) had hardlie escaped their furie; and was commanded, first to remaine in Argile, and nixt, bound by suretie to depart the countrie within short space.

14. As the said colonell led captive his Majestie's person in the Castell of St Andrewes, so hath he, with his collegue and their complices, deteanned his Majestie als weill in minde as bodie, howsoever they pretext his libertie, aggravating his former estate, with the stile of captivitie. But lett anie indifferent and unsuspected judges pronounce decreet, whether his Majestie appeared to be then captive, having about with him faithfull preachers and professors of the Evangell, who, with hazard of their lives, reft him out of the hands of the murtherer of his father, after the murtherer had maried his mother, and entered in possessioun of his kingdome; who putt and held the crowne upon his head, his person in the meane time not being restrained so muche as a moment without his owne pleasure in one place, nor stayed frome going abroad als freelie and quietlie as ever he did before or since; no commander nor souldiour in his guarde, nor other servant being intrused in his service or companie, but suche as he elected himself; no offensive word pronounced in his audience, no instrument nor art being sett doun to the prejudice of his honour, amongst his subjects or forrane natiouns, or that in reasoun could have beene refused in anie free conventioun of the estats; no violence being attempted, for the hurt of anie of his subjects; especiallie calling to minde his Majestie's manie privat and publict declaratiouns, by word and writting, in presence als weill of his owne estats as the ambassaders of England and France; and, namelie, that his Majestie gave for answere in writting to Sieur de la Mot, in Februarie 1582, that he was then in als great libertie and suretie of his person, without anie appearand danger, as ever he was in his owne time, or anie his predecessors before him; and that all his subjects had free accesse to his Majestie without feare or suspicioun, the forme of governement remaining in the owne integritie, without anie noveltie or

alteratioun, in their hands; that the last parliament had committed it unto whose service his Majestie had good and long experience of, so that none can pretend just miscontentment in the mater of estate.

15. Or lett them declare, if his Majestie be not rather now in captivitie, when he is environed with Atheists, Papists, neutralls, libertins, old enemeis to his authoritie, and disturbers of the commoun peace, when ather they had power themselves, or could procure helpe of strangers, to invade it; devisers, executers, heires, and lineall successors to the murtherers of his parents; being not onlie stayed from libertie of bodie, but also forced, after manie refusalls, to agree and subscribe most perellous maters highlie tuiching his honour, crowne, and ancient liberteis of his Hienesse' subjects in all degrees; especiallie by the violence of these latelie nobilitated gentlemen following their fortunes, and aspiring to high honours, to the wracke of the whole ancient nobilitie, who will not abandoun themselves to their unhappie courses.

16. And as tuiching the associatioun, Seigneur de la Mott Fenelon, after he had excused the Frenche king, that he could not visitt him by letter to that time, pretending he could not stile him with the title of a King, whill his mother had first allowed therof, he had in commissioun to congratulat with his Majestie, that his mother had associated him with her in conjunct authoritie, and had agreed that he sould be called with the title of a King during her lyfe time, which sould make his governement lawfull, and without all contradictioun, and to be weill approved of all other Christian princes; which mater he desired to be published throughout the whole realme, in forme of declaratioun, to putt away the partialiteis and divisions that therin might be. Wherin, how farre the said ambassader privatlie then was satisfied, openlie bursteth furth now in effect.

17. Finallie, to crowne this their worke, tending to the overthrow of his crowne and whole estate, they move his Majestie to take upon him all these strange attempts, to be author of his owne wracke; and to compt it a worthie mater, whereby praise may be

conqueissed, that by his owne ingyne he hath found out this exquisite forme of proceeding against religioun, his best subjects, and craftie colouring for a seasoun the continuance of the amitie which, in effect, they intend to convert in open hostilitie.

III.

NEW NOTES PROVING THAT ARRAN AND THE COLONELL RUNNE SUCHE COURSES, AS DRAW WITH THEM THE RUINE OF THE COMMOUN WEALTH OF THEIR NATIVE COUNTRIE.

1. Considering that the cheefe prosperitie of commoun wealths consisteth in the defending of the good, and punishing the evill, according to justice, the miserie of Scotland is more than manifest; wherin no good man is undistressed or without feare, no evill man molested or without joy; permitted to use himself unpunished, as he pleaseth.

2. Barons, prelats, burgesses, and other free holders, allured by word or writting, before they be accused or convicted of crimes, are charged to free warde; or ellis apprehended, and committed to prison, contrarie to all writtin lawes, practises, and custome.

3. How farre hath the commoun wealth beene damnified, in breaking doun the fynnest silver, and turning it in lower money, procuring thereby an artificiall dearth, to the impoverishing of the realme, the purses and garners of manie, after their maner doe compleane, although their tongues darre not so livelie expresse the same. Which hath beene done in a coacted maner, by obtruding a coine to the countrie, by the briberie of some two; in the meane time, the whole estate of the burrowes opponing themselves with uniformitie of voices, and weightie reasons in the contrarie.

4. Was not the exercising of justice stayed through the whole countrie for the space of a moneth, that none might persue nor defend in judgement, before that libertie had beene deerelie bought at their hands, not onlie that the more monie might be brought in their boxes, but also that the whole causes belonging to them-

selves, their freinds and favourers, might be first concluded, wherin often times, by minassing or otherwise, they tooke or bought decrees to themselves? And since this restraint of justice is made commoun to manie, that impudent Arrane ladie hath found out a shamelesse scafferie, in taking angels, crownes, and (ere she want all) thrittie shilling peeces, to be soliciter for calling of bills.

5. Concerning the estat of burgesses, what it hath beene, and what yoke of slaverie they have susteaned of their cruell impyre, these three quarters of a yeere, they will not forgett manie yeeres following, not onlie by manie publict taxes and greevous exactiouns, beside the particular poulling of manie, wairding, imprissonment, universall feare of all good men, but also expelling of their godlie magistrats and counsell lawfullie choosed, and intruding of others, Papists, deadlie enemeis to religioun, the king's coronatioun, and the amitie of England; fervent followers of the queen's factioun and forrane courses, for their particular commoditie. Which craft in subduing the burrowes they seeme to have borrowed from the practise used in France, preceeding their troubles and massacres.

6. All querrells have beene picked, and occasiouns sought out, to bring the wealthie burgesses in snares, for filling the emptie purses of new and hungrie courteours. So that they hounded out the pages to provoke the prentises, within the verie gates, and sometimes at the mercat place of Edinburgh, to skirmishing. And when by patience they must digest that melancholie, and other contumelious injureis, at last, they intreatted the most godlie burgesses and modest lawyers, beating them like slaves on the calsey. But these, as beginnings of evills, were light and tolerable.

Michael Gilbert, Mr Thomas Craig, Mr Thomas Bannatyne, George Todriche.

7. What sall be said of the ungodlie malice of him that is called Arrane, (albeit against all lawes, equitie, and reasoun,) who, thinking it not eneugh to defile himself with the wife of one living erle, the living of another, and lives of two, unlesse that he move others to be partakers of the like adultereis, murthers, and unspeakable op-

pressioun; intysing some of the nobilitie, with the seminarie of discord, to shaike off their lawfull wives, and marie others; to take hold on the livings of others before they be convicted, or denounced rebells; and to stirre up others to accuse another sort, of odious and treasonable crimes, to make manie fellowes of his maners, that is, erles, lords, or barons, of no better conquesse than his owne?

8. The treacherous and adulterous life, wherewith Colonell Stewart hath polluted England and Flanders of old, and Scotland of late, wold require a more severall historie than this breefe deduction will admitt.

9. The earth cannot beare the impietie and intolerable pride of these two startups, who, albeit they be borne inheritours to nothing, yitt have they devised opprobrious titles and ignominious stiles upon everie one of the nobilitie, and others of his Majestie's most notable subjects; and have laboured, with unsufferable lees and injureis, to deface and upbraid all men, so that few or none almost have escaped some contumelie or violence of the one or the other.

10. The commoun table talke bewrayeth the poysoun of atheisme in their hearts; for out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speeketh. Arran using religioun as may serve the time and turne, as his maister, Machiavell, hath taught, spaired not to affirme, that rather than he sould laike his honour or commoditie, he sould putt the king, the commoun wealth, yea, and religioun it self, on six and seven. And again, if he sould serve the devill, he would not be his kitchin knave, but his eldest sonne, and sitt at his first measse. The other, his sworne brother, hath no other defence in commoun talke, for all his violent robrie, than that he must follow his fortune, come after what so may, and careth for offence of no man. With which ethnick and brutish sentences, and other such like, familiar to desperat brigants and pyrats, who say in their heart, There is no God, it is more than mervellous that that tender plant sould not be further polluted than becometh a Christian prince.

11. When all things are ruled at the becke of these new shaiped noblemen, desperatlie and ambitiouslie aspyring to be great, in what miserie and perplexitie the kirk, king, and countrie, are wrapped,

men may more greevously lament than easilie amend. So muche the more pitie!

IV.

NEW NOTES PROVING THAT ARRAN AND COLONELL STEWART RUNNE SUCH COURSES, AS DRAW WITH THEM THE BREACHE OF THE AMITIE BETUIXT BOTH THE CROWNES.

1. Albeit her Majestie had all wayes weill merited of his Hienesse from his youth, as his Majestie confessed by word to her ambassader, and wrote with his owne hand, promising, as time and occasioun sould be offered, to requite with gratuitie her benefites, yitt these companiouns have provoked, indeid, his Majestie to offer too much caus of suspicioun of his ingratitude: which can not be imputed to his owne inclinatioun.

21st October 1582.

2. The privat in cabinet, and publict speeches ellis where, of the Frenche king's maners, person, and people, deserving nothing at his hands, are alwayes honorable and loving, without despitefull scoffing or taunting, &c.

3. What choose is made betuixt England and France and their amitie, the thankfull entreating of Monsieur de la Mott, and Manningvill banketted in Edinburgh, Seton, and ellis where, commanded by letter their departure with privat satisfactioun, (as short time hath proved;) and the small countenance shewed to her Majestie's ambassaders, none having libertie, without feare of their indignatioun, to receave them to hous, to speeke or shew them familiar, their unkindlie, and thraward interteanment during their abode in Scotland, and their departure wished, having small caus of contentation, evidentlie certifieth them that are not blind, they did engyre themselves, and come unsent for, seeking hote water under cold yce; uttering little good lyking of the princesse or her message, whose ambassader they so unreverentlie, and in contempt, named by his surname alone.

If the distressed nobilitie had beene als homelie with la Mott and Manningvill as they were with Mr Bowes and Mr Davidson, they had not incurred so high indignatioun.

4. Was not a commoun skold, called Kait the Witche, hyred for a new plaid, and six punds in money, at one time, and with halfe marke steiks, not onlie to raile against the ministrie, his Majestie's most assured and ancient nobilitie, and lovers of the amitie, but also sett in the entrie of the king's palace, to revile her Majestie's ambassader, at Edinburgh, St Andrewes, Falkland, Perth, and everie where, to the great greef of all good men, and dishonour of the king and countrie?—a deid worthilie meriting more just punishment to the hyrer than to the hyreling. Yitt she, being imprissouned at Perth for a fashioun, and large allowance bestowed for her interteanement, was speedilie releeved, and brought to her wonted craft, after the departure of Sir Francis Walsinghame, her Majestie's ambassader for the time.

She confessed that Arran gave the plaide, and Crawfurd the money. This kinde of dealing, joyned with that which was in the duke's time, declareth no more feare of God nor love of humanitie to have beene in them, than was in the princes that counselled the King of Amon uncourteouslie to intreate the messingers of David; which God left not unpunished, (2 Sam. x.)

5. The hearts of all these that feare God, wishe his Hienesse' honour, tender their native countrie, and feare the haistie infringing of the amitie, abhorre to remember the farre sought and foolish excuses, to cloke their deceats, and manifold breaches of promises, contrarieteis, and lees set doun in their answers, which they moved his Hienesse inconsideratlie to subscribe; seing the memorie therof is not onlie full of present reproach, but will be transferred by register to the posteritie.

6. Consider, good reader, and compare the ambassaders sent from these dissimulate freinds of the peace, to France and Spaine, to intreat in great affaires of that estat, and the others legat to England; the one bearing at least a name of nobilitie, (whom, nevertheless, Atheisme or Papistrie, conjoyned with cruell conspiraceis against Christ and his truthe established in both the realmes, hath

more stained, than birth or good maners hath nobilitated ;) the other, an infamous bellie-god, deboshed bishop, and knowne Holiglasse, 1st, Sent to make the ministers of God's Word, and the rest of her Majestie's best affected freinds within Scotland, odious; 2d, And to insinuat the present misguiders in court, (if it were possible,) in her Majestie's favour, by presuming to establishe a conformitie of discipline, and to deteane her Majestie, and certane of her Majestie's most honorable counsellers somwhat occupied therin, whill they are bussie compassing the mater of association, his Hienesse' mariage, and other weightie effaires of estate, with other nations, confederated against religioun, her Majestie's person, state, and kingdome, that under these colours or shadowes of travelling to other countreis for recovering of health, (which he never minded to doe,) he might traffick the more cunninglie with the Spanish and Frenche ambassaders, and other enemeis to religioun, (to whom he had frequent resort,) for supplanting of religioun, with commoun intelligence of the enemeis therof; intending, first, to overthrow, in one day, the discipline practised and established by lawes, (whereby, as with a most sure band, sinceritie of religioun without schismes or hereseis, and integritie of maners, have beene keeped these twentie-five yeeres ;) and nixt, to admitt libertie of conscience, wherof he tooke the patrocinie; and, last, the planting of Papistrie, idolatrie, and superstitioun, for the true worshipping of God; the rearing of the queen's authoritie in place of her sonne's; the repeating of the antient league with France, and renewing the woefull warres with England, now buried in oblivioun, through Christ, the author of peace and concord.

The Bishop of Sanct Andrewes, Mr Thomas Livingston, Cuthbert Armourer, and Roger.

The Policie of the Kirk, after long deliberation in many Assembleis, after manie conferences with commissioners directed from his Majestie and Privie Counsell, and their mutuall agreement in all things, (foure heeds being excepted,) was sett doun.

The order of presbytereis, dioceis, provinciall and generall assembleis, being proponed by his Majestie to the Generall Assemblie conveened at Glasgow, the 20th of Aprile 1581, by his commissioner instructed, the Laird of Caprinton, and were accepted and used

since that time without interruptioun, the acts of parliament approving the Generall Assembleis, the king and counsell authorizing the same ordinarilie by their commissioun sent.

7. There is no greater libertie granted to these who are licensed to goe out of the countrie, to enter in England or Ireland, than to abide in Scotland, the said countries, as contagious, excepted in expresse words, in their licences; and free choice givin to travell in France, their confederate countrie, lightlie regarding, although they fall in the hands of suche as spaired not their owne countriemen and freinds, if so be they escape the raging surges of stormie seas.

8. If we joyne the unkindlie dalliances that have beene used, and manifest breache of so manie promises to her Majestie, since the moneth of June last, 1583, unto these in the former discourse, they both sall make it als cleare as the sunne in the noone tide, that nothing ellis is meant but the violating of the amitie, (so soone as they can espie their advantage, and may have the opportunitie;) in compting wherof, none fearing God can take delectatioun, were not the said amitie being inseperablie conjoyned to religioun, it sould be treason to God, by silence, to betray his truthe for pleasure of fleshe and blood, and hazard of their lives.

9. First, They enforced his Majestie to approve the late alteratioun which was at St Andrewes, without her Majestie's privitie, contrarie to all the privat and publict assurances above mentiouned.

10. Secundlie, They have had little or no respect at all to his Majestie's fame and reputatioun, who advised his Majestie to direct a command, by virtue of a warrant to the Captane of the Castell of Edinburgh, for setting William Holt at libertie, delivering him at the posterne to two horsemen of the Lord Seton's; offering thereby just occasioun to her Majestie to conceave, that his Hienesse had more regard to pleasure Manningvill, (in respect of a secreit promise,) than to satisfie her Majestie, in bringing that practising Jesuit to triell, (a mater commoun to both,) according to his owne promise; and, in the meanetime, they caused his Majestie avouche

by writting, that which they had impudentlie givin out, to witt, that by accident he had escaped; as though these dealings were alwayes hid and covered. And seing in suche meane maters they move his Hienesse to triffle with her Majestie farre by his owne good nature, what hope sall they have of sincere dealing in maters of greater importance? There is no questioun, they will induce his Majestie to promise als liberallie as they advised his mother to doe, to the intent they may obteane their purpose: but upon what good meaning, it is more meete that prooffe alreadie past sould teache, than new experience, with greater perell, sould make feele.

The bearer and receaver of this warrant may be moved to confesse the truthe, if need be.

11. How may men judge otherwise of the rest of their treachereis? as namelie, their great inhumanitie and unrighteous dealing toward the Lord Secretarie, whom they bereft from his Majestie's eares, spoiled of his freinds and horses, and caried, more like a rascall cadger than honorable counseller, in prisson, not onlie against all ordinarie justice, but also his Hienesse' minde, signified by letter to her Majestie, and by word to the noblemen, whom he certified of his good grace toward him, and testified by word, by cheerefull countenance, clapping his head and cheekes immediatlie before.

12. As this violence was begunne on him, so was the like intended against manie others, whom they travelled to trap in their snaires. And when craft served not to compasse their purposes, they abused traterouslie his Majestie's guard, authoritie, eare, hand-writting, against sindrie noble men, and others weill affected to religioun, his Hienesse' service and amitie; compelling them to accept remissions for the fact at Ruthven, so manie wayes before approved, and speciallie fighting directlie against his Majestie's letters from St Andrewes, 2d of Julie 1583.

13. By the immediat removing of his Majestie's domesticke servants and officers, without anie stay to acquaint her Majestie therewith, they have done great reproache unto his Hienesse' honour, and contempt to her Majestie, to make him unmindfull of his pro-

mise givin by letter, being putt in minde therof, in her Majestie's name, by her ambassader there resident.

14. Albeit it might have had some appearand cloke of breaking the manifold promises and often assurances, particularlie givin to her Majestie, by commissioun and letters sent before the late alteratioun at St Andrewes, that Arran was called to court by his unquiett and aspyring spirit, to confound the state peaceably settled, yitt the letters sent from St Andrewes, after his deliverance from the former pretended captivitie, can have no seemelie subterfuge nor probable colour, wherin his Majestie promised not to call him againe to him, without her Majestie's speciall consent and privitie.

15. But what shifts and impediments they sought to delay the answering to her Majestie's letter with her owne hand, after sindrie his owne promises of good will to answere the same; and whether, after he had givin his hand to send her Majestie the copie of the associatioun, if the writtings were in Scotland, they made his Majestie's excuse, and to alledge they were burnt, although they were indeed with the advocat, their owne conscience beareth record, and her Majestie's ambassader can best report.

16. But to the end that all Christian princes may pitie the uncomelie captivitie, and unprincelie misusing of the honour and faith of this young king, in the hands of these soullesse souldiers, heere are sett doun some speciall sentences of his Majestie's letter, givin at St Andrewes, the 2d of Julie 1583, testefeing his owne faithfull meaning, which they have perverted and altered by violence, when other perswasiouns have been withstood; preferring their advancement to his honour and standing. Which being conferred with the premisses and their other actiouns, sall make their evill offices toward their king and countrie more abominable.

17. "Assuring you, that by withdrawing ourself to our castell of our citie of St Andrewes, nather minde we to controll nor remove anie of our nobilitie, or others that have faithfullie givin their dependance on us heeretofore, nor prejudice them in their honours, lives, nor livings, in anie sort, except they give us speciall occasioun

heerafter to the contrarie. Wherewith, alwise we minde to make you first acquainted before we proceed against them; and alwayes to conforme us to your good advice and counsell in that behalfe, it being our speciall meaning and intentioun, to use all our good subjects indifferentlie, and to grant them equall accesse unto our presence, except so manie as are presentlie debarred therefra; whome we intend not to call again unto us, without your speciall consent and privitie; nor doe in anie sort, whereby you may justlie conceave jealousie of anie of our actiouns or proceedings, but that, as most deservedlie you possesse our speciall liking and good will, before all princes in the world. So meane we to continue to you, and effaldlie to follow furth the good course which we have both professed sincerelie, and solemnlie promised unto you, by our former letters; praying you, therefore, (deere sister,) to conceave no otherwise of us, and our intentioun in this behalfe, than we have heere sett doun, and in our princelie word sall keep unto you. For so it is, and so it sall appeare, by the course of our whole actiouns, to be testified unto you from time to time, by your ambassader heere resident, who we have at more lenth, by our owne speeche, assured of our continuance and constancie in this behalfe."

18. By which promises in this and other letters to her Majestie, and in word to her Majestie's ambassader, and manie suche like made to his owne subjects by word, and publict proclamations, conferred with courses and dealings so farre contrarious, prosecuted by these godlesse guides for their owne gaines, or revenging their owne particulars, the commoun people, and ignorant of this forme of their secreit and deceatefull dealings, are moved not onlie to crie out on these miserable usurpers, and abusers of the whole estat, but also vehementlie to suspect his Majestie to have learned deepelie to dissemble, albeit, by his letters, and former actiouns, that appeared voluntarilie, he did meane no suche thing.

By which desperat proceedings, all men may see cleerelie, that nothing hath beene meant but the overthrow of true religioun, the king's Majestie's hazard in soule, bodie, fame, crowne, and estate, wracke of the commoun wealth, and breaking of the amitie betweene

both the realmes, (unlesse speedie remedie be espied,) and a cruell massacre to be looked for of the former favourers of all these foure, that papistrie may be restored, his mother, murtherer of his father, and her governement may be restored, the commoun weale abandouned to France, and the long peace turned to a cruell and fearefull warre with our brethrein in England.

Thus we have seene the rysing and falling of James Stuart, Erle of Arran, and Colonell Stuart. James Stuart, secund sonne of the hous of Uchiltrie, was first a captane in Sweden, and therafter, when he returned to the countrie, captane of the king's guard. He maried the Countesse of Marche, daughter to the Erle of Atholl, maried first to the Lord Lovatt, divorced from the Erle of Marche, great-uncle to the king, under colour of frigiditie. He was made first Tutor, and then Erle of Arran, and last Chancellor; a great guider both of court and countrie. Colonell Stuart was (as is constantlie reported) first a cloutter of old shoes. He went to the Low Countreis, where he served in the warres, first as a souldiour, then as a captane, at last as a colonell. He returneth home, and was imployed by the king to apprehend anie subject, in anie corner of the kingdome, that the court had anie querrell at. He wanted not likewise his rewaird, for he was gifted with the Pryorie of Pittinweme, and maried the Ladie Pitfirrane, not without suspicioun of the murther of her former husband. The court being changed by their fall, there followed great alterations, both in kirk and commoun weale.

About the end of November, warning was made by the Moderator of the last Assemblie to the brethrein of the ministrie, to conveene in Dumfermline, before the dyet appointed for the parliament. There was no other toun, at that time, so convenient, by reasoun of the pest in the principall burghs. The brethrein repaired from all parts to Dumfermline, the 23d of November. But the ports of the toun were shut upon them, by directioun of the Laird of Pitfirrane, provcist for the time, alledging he had the king's expresse command so to doe. The brethrein commended the wrong

to God, the righteous Judge. Within few yeeres after, he was found fallin out at a window of his owne hous of Pitfirrane, three or foure hous high. Whether he threw himself out of a melancholious despaire, or if he was throwed out violentlie by unkinde ghuests, it is uncertane. When he was takin up, his speeche was not so sensible as to reveele the truthe. He died within few houres after. The brethrein, so manie as might convenientlie, mett in the feilds, and appointed to meete again in Linlithquo, some dayes before the parliament. Whill as they were conveened in Linlithquo, Mr James Melvill cometh out of England, assuring himself of reformatioun of all things amisse. But, in the contrare, he found a number of heavie-hearted brethrein. They were out of hope to gett anie thing undone at that parliament which was done at the parliament 1584; for the king had sett himself against the ministrie, speciallie these who had beene with the lords. The lords were admonished to remember of their duetie and promises. They answered, they behoved first to be sattled in their owne places, and then they sould worke wonders. It was told them, that suche relenting would both weaken the caus, and discredit them before God and man. The Erle of Angus was willing, but could get no concurrence. The Maister of Glames, upon whose witt they depended, said, it was not expedient to throw out of the king, so addicted to the governement of bishops, anie reformatioun of the Kirk for the present, but to procure it by time, with his full consent and lyking. Besides this, there was a greater caus of greefe offered, by a bitter invective made by Mr Craig, before the king and states in parliament, against the sincerest sort of the ministrie; stirred up, as he alledged, by a sermoun made by James Gibsone in the pulpit of Edinburgh, against the subscriving ministers, of which number he was the cheefe. So there was seene the seed of a fearefull schisme, if God, by the meanes of patient and wise brethrein, had not borne doun the same, at the nixt Assemblie. Notwithstanding of these causses of their greefe, the conscience of their duetie to Christ and his church so upheld them, that they continued together till the parliament ended, howbeit miserablie loodged, in respect of the

throng. Mr Andrew Melvill had beene often plaine with the king diverse dayes. At lenth, the king desired the ministers to exhibite in writt what exceptions they had against the parliament holdin *anno* 1584. Whereupon they exhibited unto the King these animadversions following, together with a supplicatioun :—

ANIMADVERSIONS OF OFFENCES CONCEAVED UPON THE ACTS OF PARLIAMENT MADE IN THE YEERE 1584, IN THE MONETH OF MAY, PRESENTED BY THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE KIRK TO THE KING'S MAJESTIE AT THE PARLIAMENT OF LINLITHQUO, IN DECEMBER 1585.

"In the First act it is thought a great impairing of the libertie of the true kirk, in so farre as nothing is thereby granted unto the same, but the libertie of preaching and ministratioun of sacraments; seing the power of binding and loosing, which is called the power of the keyes of the kingdome of heaven, consisteth not onlie in these points, but also in judgement, jurisdictioun, and removing of offences out of the kirk of God, and excommunicatioun to be pronounced against the disobedient, by these that are office-bearers within the same. And so the whole discipline is left out, and this act restricteth the libertie granted by other acts of parliament of before, concerning discipline and correctioun of maners, which were established by a law in the first yeere of your Majestie's raigne. Our warrants out of the Word of God for this part of the libertie of the Kirk we are to bring furth when your Majestie pleaseth.

"As concerning the Secund act, the narratioun therof appeareth to be slanderous against some of the ministrie, which we would wishe to be reformed, or otherwise conceaved, except the truthe therof were verified. And as to the substance of the act it self, it attributeth to your Majestie a soverane power of judgement not onlie upon the persons of all your subjects, but also in all maters wherin they, or anie of them, sall be apprehended, summouned, or charged, &c. Which appeareth to be verie strange, the like wherof we heare not to have beene practised in anie Christian com-

moun wealth, and cannot stand with the Word of God: for although the persons of men are subject to your Majestie and civill judges, when they offend against your lawes, yitt, in maters meere ecclesiasticall, and concerning conscience, no Christian prince can justlie clame, nor ever clamed, to himself suche power to judge; seing the prince in this behalfe is but a member of the kirk, and Jesus Christ onlie the Head, who onlie hath power to give lawes in maters of conscience. And so said the godlie Ambrose, '*Imperator bonus* intra *ecclesiam, non* supra *ecclesiam est.*' And, to confound the jurisdictions civill and ecclesiasticall, is that thing wherein all men of good judgement have justlie found fault with the Pope of Rome, who clameth to himself the power of both the swords; which is als great a fault to a civill magistrat to clame or usurpe, and speciallie to judge upon doctrine, errours, and hereseis, he not being placed in ecclesiasticall function to interprete the Scriptures. The warrants hereof out of the Word of God we are likewise readie to bring furth.

"Tuiching the Thrid act, it appeareth to be obscure, but yitt the effect thereof to tend to this, that none desire alteratioun of the forme or custome of the conveening of the estats in parliament, as some have thought the same to be innovated. Sir, we understand that the ancient libertie of the said three estats is loveable and ancient. But likewise it is of truthe, that among other corruptiouns that were in time of Papistrie, the ecclesiasticall estate was corrupted, and appointed to be of suche persons who had no lawfull functioun in the kirk of God; and speciallie, ought not to have place, religioun being reformed within this realme: we meane of bishops, abbots, and suche like Popish prelats, in consideratioun, that by acts of parliament made of before, all authoritie and jurisdictioun of the Pope of Rome, and of others flowing from him, not agreeable to the Word of God, is abolished within this realme. Therefore we thinke in our conscience, and have oft suted it of your Majestie, that none sould vote in parliament, in name of the estate of the kirk, but they that have their calling of God, and are constituted in ecclesiasticall office and functioun, according to his Word. And,

therefore, discreit commissioners of the most learned both in the law of God and of the countrie, being of the function of the ministrie, or elders of the kirk, to represent that estate, at whose mouth the law ought to be required, namelie, in ecclesiasticall maters. And it is not the great rents, nor promotioun to great benefices, nor yitt the dignitie of kinred or blood, that carieth with it all knowledge or judgement. But other men, who are compted of inferiour ranke to the judgement of the world, may prevaile therein. And there is no inconvenient, that commissioners may be sent from the kirk representing the thrid estate, als weill as from the burrowes, to have vote in parliament. Therefore, we humblie desire your Majestie to declare the said act; and deny not unto us that libertie that God's Word, and the lawes of the countrie made of before, and equitie and reasoun in this behalf craveth.

"As concerning the Fourth act, the title therof is, Discharging all jurisdictiouns and judgements not approved by parliament, and all assembleis and conventiouns, without your Majestie's speciall licence and commandement. And in the narrative it appeareth, there is a slanderous report raised upon the Kirk, and office-bearers within the same, for using certane jurisdictiouns not approved by the lawes of the realme; and alledging an act made in the dayes of your Hienesse' grandshir, that all the lieges ought to be ruled by the commoun lawes of the realme, and by no other lawes. And, therefore, the said act dischargeth all judgements and jurisdictiouns, spirituall or temporall, accustomed to be used these twenty-five yeeres bypast, not approved by your Hienesse and estats in parliament; with threatning of executioun upon all persons that use or obey the same, as usurpers and contemners of your Hienesse' authoritie, and for convocatioun of your Hienesse' lieges. Sir, we most humblie crave your Hienesse' minde to be further declared heerin; for it appeareth to us to be verie strange, and a thing that cannot stand with the libertie granted by Jesus Christ to his kirk, and these that beare functioun and office within the same. And, first, as to the act of King James the Fourth, your Hienesse' grandshir, we say that the same act appeareth plainlie

to meane of the civill jurisdictioun, which he and his predecessors and successors may clame within this realme, by their royall power, and not of the ecclesiasticall jurisdictioun: for that law was made against these of the Isles that used the King of Denmark's lawes in civill maters. And, in your grandshir's dayes, there was another ecclesiasticall jurisdictioun within the realme, after the maner of Papistrie, used by these that were called kirk-men, untill the dayes of reformatioun of religioun, as hath beene used continuallie since that time, with which no fault was found. And it is of truthe, that there is a spirituall jurisdictioun granted to the kirk of God by his Word, (which maketh no derogatioun to the jurisdictioun of earthlie princes,) wherof the office-bearers within the kirk in this realme have beene in peaceable possessioun and use these twentie-four yeeres bypast, with the more wherof followed no trouble, but great quietnesse in the kirk and commoun wealth. And there hath beene more trouble in the ecclesiasticall estate within these two yeeres last bypast, than ever was since the religioun was reformed within this countrie. Alwise we offer us to prove, by good warrants of the Word of God, that it is lawfull to the ecclesiasticall estate to convocat Assembleis, and to hold the same, and to appoint an order, place, and time for conveening of the same; to treate upon suche maters as concerne the kirk effaires, which no wise impaireth your Majestie's civill and royall jurisdictioun, but rather fortifieth and decoreth the same; not denying, in the meane time, but it is lawfull to your Majestie and estats, when anie extraordinarie necessitie sall require, to call the members and office-bearers within the kirk, in few or greater number, and caus them to be conveened, to resolve upon suche things as concerne their estat and necessitie of the time. And further, concerning the Generall Assembleis of the kirk, there is an act in the first yeere of your Hienesse' raigne, ratifeing the authoritie therof, and decerning appellatioun to be devolved thereto, as to the last judgement, of maters concerning the kirk. The same argument we use concerning other assembleis, als weill particular and of the Presbytereis, as provinciall, by the paritie of reasoun, and good grounds of the

Word of God, which we offer us to shew; beseeking your Majestie to reforme or repaire and qualifie the act according thereto; for if it sall stand in the forme that it is, not onlie conventiouns for discipline, but also for hearing of the Word, will be thereby discharged.

"As to the Fyft act, we allow weill with our hearts that all these that are planted in the function of the ministrie, if they committ anie offence worthie of deprivatioun, that they be deprived both of their functiouns and revenues which they possesse for using the same. But to make exceptioun of persons, that they who have vote in parliament sall not be controlled in that behalfe, nor the like judgement executed upon them, we cannot understand how that can agree with reasoun and good lawes, seing we are able to verifie the most part of these in that estat, to be more scandalous, and worthie to be depriyed both of their functioun and benefice, than anie other. And as to the voting in parliament, who they ought to be that sould have place there, we have declared our judgement of before. Therefore, this act appeareth to make exceptioun of persons, which can not weill stand by the law of God nor man. As to the causes of deprivatioun, they require also a conference, which were over long now to putt in writt to your Majestie. Therefore, please your Hienesse also to advise better heerupon, and qualifie the same.

"Now, for the Sixt act, the dytter therof appeareth to be verie carefull that ministers sall await upon their functioun and office, and sall use no other functioun, judgement, nor office, that sall abstract them therefra. If it be simplie meaned, the act is verie good. But, with your Majestie's licence, they are verie farre in the wrong to your Hienesse that would burthein you with all functioun and jurisdictioun, both in civill and ecclesiasticall maters; being but one person, and muche lesse able to discharge, nor a simple minister of a kirk to discharge his cure. And farther, seing the same act, and other acts of this parliament, attribut jurisdictioun to bishops over manie kirks, and to be judges in civill causes also, they are farre more unmeet to discharge themselves therof,

nor a simple minister that hath one flocke or kirk, and, peradventure, a collegue with him in the same.[1] And farther, in so farre as the ecclesiasticall estat is one of the three estats in parliament, and as we are able to prove the office-bearers and ministers of the kirk ought to represent the said estate, it can not weill stand, that all judicators sould be taikin from them, seing it is the supreme judicator in this realme, wherin both causes civill and criminall are decided. And, therefore, to tak away this judgement from these that are of the ecclesiasticall functioun, it is verie hard, and can not weill stand with the libertie granted to the kirk of ancient time. As to the other civill judgements that may abstract ministers from their cure, we thinke they ought not to medle therewith, but so farre as they are called lawfullie by the prince, and are able to discharge the same.

"Passing over the rest of the acts, as not perteaning to the kirk, till we come to the Thritteenth, in the which the first yeere's fruicts of all benefices are decerned to be taikin to your Hienesse' use, and your guarde, no provisioun being made for the ministers that serve where that benefice lyeth. And the first yeere's fruicts were never craved within prelaceis before this act; and also a great yeerelie taxatioun is layed upon the benefices, as appeareth, both great and small, besides the thrids. Remedie would therefore be provided by your Majestie, how the kirks may be served sufficientlie, and the ministers not disappointed of their stipends; for the revenues of the kirk are alreadie so diminished, that, although new impositiouns be not layed therupon, it is difficill to keepe anie order within the kirk; which muche more sall be impossible if they be farther diminished. And as to the moonkes' portiouns, it would be a godlie ordinance to your Majestie to appoint the same, or ellis a good part therof, for bursars in colledges, as some time it was proponed, and halfelie granted.

[1] *Notandum*, That Mr R. Pont penned this animadversioun, and would have it thus in by (beyond) the judgement of Mr Andrew and Mr J. Melvils and others, who had beene upon session; and was of opinion then that so was lawfull.—*Marginal note in the MS.*

"So, passing to the Twentie act, the same giveth commissioun to Patrick, called Archbishop of Sanct Andrewes, and other bishops, or such as your Majestie sall constitute judges in ecclesiasticall causes, not specifeing of what estate they sould be, ecclesiasticall or civill. And siclyke, mentioun is made of some commissioners in the Sixt act, to which commissioners power is granted to putt order to all maters and causes ecclesiasticall, visite the kirks and state of the ministrie, reforme colledges, receave presentatiouns, and they onlie give collatiouns upon benefices; and that commissiouns sould be extended heerupon, under your Hienesse' great seale, conform to this. Which diverse commissiouns are directed with power to bishops, allanerlie in their owne persons, without anie assessors or assisters; and, namelie, to the Archbishop of Sanct Andrewes, within his whole diocie, or to anie his deputs and commissioners under him; with power also to depose ministers, which is not conteaned in the act, and likewise to place and displace ministers, attour the tenor of the act. Sir, to speeke our consciences plainlie concerning this act, we suppose your Majestie be of good minde that the same sall continue no longer nor this present parliament, but sall alluterlie be discharged; for so it is conteaned in the act itself, in the end therof, in expresse termes; whereby we thinke your Majestie and estats were of minde it sould not continue when it was first made. And, indeid, if it sould continue, manie and great inconveniences sould of necessitie follow to the kirk of Jesus Christ, and estate therof; for, first, to devolve that power in one man's hand, although he were never so wise, learned, and godlie, to doe all things in the kirke at his owne pleasure and authoritie, by himself allanerlie or his deputs, taketh away that libertie and good order which the Spirit of God, by the mouth of Paul, willeth to be in the kirk, and wherof we have manie other warrants in God's Word; for it apperteaneth to the ecclesiasticall senat, and not to anie one man, to doe these things. Nather is it a civill thing, and to be committed to a civill magistrat, and to whom they please, to governe the hous of God, which is his kirk, and can have no exemple of anie uncorrupt age or person. There-

fore, we suppose your Majestie will clame no farther to the same, nor yitt suffer suche men to abuse the kirk in that sort. And as to other judges to be constituted in ecclesiasticall causes by your Majestie, not specifeing of what estate they sould be, civill or ecclesiasticall, that is, indeid, to use the power of both the swords, which all men of good judgment have damned in the Pope. Sir, we ceasse to make farther discourse upon this act, or to declare the qualiteis of these to whome suche commissions are givin, becaus we suppose your Majestie will willinglie reforme and abrogat alluterlie that act."

CONCERNING THE ACTS NOT PRINTED.

"Sir, We find amongst these acts not imprinted, the act annulling the excommunication of Mr Robert Montgomrie, wherin your Majestie taketh authoritie, with your estats in parliament, to medle with that thing which can have no exemple that anie prince ever medled with, since the first planting of the religion of Jesus Christ. To pronounce excommunicatioun upon impenitent sinners, or to absolve them therefra, or to decerne the samine effectuall or not effectuall, can no more perteane to prince or anie civill magistrat, nor to preache the Word of God and ministrat sacraments, for they are both in like maner committed by Christ, our Maister, to the true office-bearers within his kirk, when, as he said, '*Dic ecclesiæ*,' &c. Therefore, among all other things, we cannot mervell eneugh who sould be so bold to putt in your Majestie's head to usurpe that power or meddle therewith, seing, for the like fact, Uzziah the King of Judah was so terriblie plagued, and his whole land shaiked. God forgive them that would so jeopard your Hienesse, without respect of conscience, or the feare of God. We beseeke your Majestie to revocke this, and meddle no farther therewith, as a thing not perteaning to your office, or anie civill magistrat. There is another act amongst the not imprinted, concerning the payment of the ministers' stipends, of the which we can speeke nothing, becaus we want the copie of it; beseeking your Majestie

to give commandement to the Clerke of Register that we may have it, and give our reasons in against it, if need be."

THE SUPPLICATION.

"Sir, We have, in the feare of God, at your Majestie's command, as shortnesse of time would suffer, givin our animadversions upon the late Acts of Parliament, May 1584, beseeking your Majestie to beare with our language, if in anie point it be not so perfytted and courtlie as some men would wishe; for we tend onlie to the end of these things, wherof we were in conference with your Grace, to open them up simplie and plainlie, and to speeke the truthe in our conscience; for it is not our dutie to dissemble with your Grace. When we have perused and read these acts over and over again, so diligentlie as we can, we cannot thinke in our judgement how the same can stand as they are formed, or how anie interpretatioun that can be made therupon, unlesse it were to containe contradictioun, which is an uncomlie thing in making or setting out of lawes. For the law itself sayeth, They that may speeke plainlie in making of lawes, contracts, or anie suche thing, and speeke obscurelie and ambiguouslie, suche contracts and lawes are to be exponed against the maker or former therof, *Quia potuerunt apertius dicere.* Therefore, saving the honour of your Majestie, and your estats, we thinke it more comelie to place new, reformed, and plain lawes in their rowme, nor to interprete these, which cannot be weill interpreted in anie good sense. We trust your Majestie will take this our simple meaning in good part, and doe that which is most meete according thereto. The Lord grant your Majestie the spirit of true and upright judgement: Amen.

"There is one thing farther, which in most humble maner we crave of your Majestie, that it be provided by Acts of Parliament, that like as your Hienesse is to restore these of the nobilitie to their honours and livings, so your Majestie will restore the Kirk of God and ministrie therof to their former possessioun, als weill in discipline, as their livings, rowmes, and offices, from which they were displaced by occasioun of the said Acts, or anie thing follow-

ing therupon; and their stipends, als weill bygane as to come, seing a great part thereof remaine as yitt untaikin up."

These animadversiouns and supplicatioun, penned aff hand, becaus of want of all commoditie, and presented to his Majestie by the ministers, the king tooke paines himself, by the space of twentie-foure houres, to take him to his cabinet, and, with his owne hand, both wrote and penned his declaratioun following, word by word.

THE KING'S DECLARATION AND INTERPRETATION OF HIS ACTS OF PARLIAMENT, SETT FURTH IN MAY 1584.

" *Nam ejus est explicare, cujus est condere.*

" The First maketh onlie mentioun of the preaching of the Word and Sacraments, not thereby to abrogat anie good farther policie or jurisdictioun in the kirk, but allanerlie to remitt a part therof to the acts ensuing; and the most, which as yitt are unagreed upon or concluded, I intend, God willing, to caus to be perfyted by a godlie Generall Assemblie of bishops, ministers, and others godlie and learned, *Imperatore præsidente;* and then sall the act be made more ample, according to the conclusioun agreed upon by them, both in policie and jurisdictioun.

" The Secund Act hath two parts; a narrative and a charge. The narrative hath two parts; one affirming that some of your vocatioun had appealed from me, as not being their judge. I doubt not, yourselves will not denie this, since some of yourselves did it, and I doubt be yitt skarce farre from it.

" The other part maketh mentioun of the treasonable, seditious, and contumelious speeches, uttered by some of your calling in pulpit against me and my progenitors. This part likewise cannot weill be denyed, since it is more than evident, that it hath beene the most part of some ministers' exercise these foure or five yeeres past. Alwise, how soone the whole ministers of Scotland sall amend their maners in this point, the forsaid act sall be rescinded. As to the Secund part of the act, it conteaneth a charge,

that none being summouned or accused by me sall declyne my judgement, in respect I am declared and confirmed judge by the Parliament over all persons within this realme, in all causses that they sall be apprehended or summouned for; and in the lyne end, it sayeth, that none sall declyne my judgement in the premisses. Now, say I, and declare, (which declaratioun sall be als authentick as the act it self,) that I for my part sall never, nather my posteritie ought ever, cite, summoun, or apprehend anie pastor or preacher, for maters of doctrine in religioun, salvatioun, hereseis, or true interpretatioun of the Scripture, but according to my First Act, which confirmeth the libertie of preaching the Word, ministratioun of the sacraments. I avow the same to be a mater mere ecclesiasticall, and altogether impertinent to my calling; therefore, never sall I, nor never ought they, I meane my posteritie, acclame anie power or jurisdictioun in the forsaids.

"The Thrid Act is so reasonable and necessar, that it needeth no declaratioun nor explicatioun, except onlie this, that my bishops, which are one of the three estats, sall have power, als farre as God's Word and exemple of the primitive kirk will permitt, and not according to that Man of Sinne his abominable abusses and corruptions. But I can not eneugh wounder where yee find that rule or exemple, ather in God's Word, or anie other reformed kirk, that some ministers, by commissioun of the rest, ought to be one of the estats in Parliament.' Weill! God purge your spirits from ambitioun, and other indecent affectiouns for your calling, and give you grace to teache in all humilitie and simplicitie his Word and Veritie.

"In the Fourth Act, I discharge all jurisdictions not approved in Parliament, and conventiouns, without my speciall licence. As to this discharge of jurisdictiouns, my meaning and declaratioun is, that they sall ceasse, whill a settled policie and jurisdictioun be established, according to the commissioun and lyne of God's Word. As to the discharge of Assembleis, they are not simplie discharged, but onlie ordeanned that they sould be holdin with my speciall licence. And surelie, I trust, that in all reformed kirks, where the

princes and magistrats were sound in religioun, yee sall find that the assembleis of the kirk were not onlie by their speciall licence, but even by their calling, and they themselves presidents and moderators of them. Yee doe evill in making your selves to be ignorant of your owne act, as to thinke the narrative of this act slanderous and untrue.

"As to the Fyft Act, it exeemeth the bishops onlie for this caus, for that it speeketh onlie of deprivatioun of bishops by synodall assembleis, whereas they sould be deprived by Generall. As to the causes of deprivation, they sall be agreed upon by the kirk, and therafter my act accordinglie qualified.

"The hindmost part of my declaratioun upon the Thrid Act exponeth, and with sufficient reason proveth the Sixt Act to be weill; and beside the forsaid Sixt Act, I am assured, nothing repugnant, but justlie agreing with the Word of God.

"As to the Thritteenth, my intentioun was ever that all benefices of cure, under prelaceis, sould be excepted, and so sall they be reserved in the act.

"As to the Twentie Act, it is indeid but temporall. And since it is made to endure onlie whill the parliament, and farther during my will, it may be als weill called backe without a parliament as with it: as, indeid, I minde, after farther conference with some of the ministrie, to take a solide order theranent. But in one thing yee misconstrue it: wheras yee alledge it giveth authoritie to one person to reforme the Kirk, which is not; but it appointeth everie bishop to reforme his owne diocie. And the Bishop of St Andrewes his owne declaratioun appointeth everie bishop a counsell of his owne diocie; so as, in effect, this act ordeaneth everie bishop, with his diocie, to reforme his owne diocie. And as to the commissioners not ecclesiasticall joyned to them, they are joyned to give their advices, and not to interpone their authoritie; as yee your selves have had sindrie men, mere civill, assisting your Assembleis; and as it will be most necessar that some men, learned and godlie, be yitt choosed out for sattling of the policie.

"As to the act concerning the excommunicatioun of the Bishop

of Glasgow, I must first debate the occasion shortlie, and therupon induce the act and meaning. After that he had beene oft cited, summouned, and admonished, under paine of excommunicatioun, to dimitt his benefice, and he, notwithstanding, still possessing the samine, depending upon me who gave it to him, at last some of the ministers, speciallie of the Presbyterie about Edinburgh, were called (as oft before they had beene for the same caus) before the counsell, and desired to leave off that forme of proceeding, whill it were tried by further conference whether bishops were tolerable in the kirk of God or not.[1] This desire was granted and promised by the whole ministers present. But immediatlie therafter he was excommunicated at the kirk of Libberton, a landwart kirk, against promise. They being called for again, and accused of their promise, they all denied the knowledge therof; and not onlie they, but the whole ministrie of Scotland, except that onlie man, Davidsone, that pronounced the sentence. The whole kirk then disallowing, and that onlie man avowing the deid, Christ saying, '*Dic ecclesiæ*,' and one onlie man stealing that dint in a quiet hole, the act of parliament reduceth the sentence for informalitie and nullitie of processe; not as judges, whether the excommunicatioun was grounded on good and just causes or not, but as witnesse, that it was informallie proceeded, against the warrant of God's Word, exemple of all reformed kirks, and your owne particular custome in this countrie. And, for approbatioun of the premisses, the forsaid bishop sall be produced before the first Generall Assemblie that I sall appoint; and, thereupon, the crimes that were layed to his charge sall ather be peremptorilie condemned or absolved.

"Then, shortlie, to end this my declaratioun, I minde not to cutt away any libertie granted by God to his kirk. I acclame not to myself to be judge of doctrine in religioun, salvatioun, hereseis, or true interpretatioun of Scripture. I allow no bishop, according to the traditions of men, or inventions of the Pope, but onlie according to God's Word: not to tyrannize over his brethrein, or doe anie

[1] "*Fides hic penes principem.*"—Note in the margin of the MS.

thing of himself, but with advice of his whole diocie, or at least with the wisest number of them, to serve him for a counsell; and to doe nothing him alone, except the teaching of the Word, ministratioun of the sacraments, and voting in parliament and counsell. Finallie, I say, his office is, *solum* επιςχοπειν *ad vitam*, having therefore some probatioun and dignitie above his brethrein, as was in the primitive kirk. My intentioun is, not to discharge anie jurisdictioun in the kirk that is conforme to God's Word, nor to discharge anie Assemblie, but onlie these that sall be holdin by my licence and counsell's. My intentioun is, not to meddle with excommunicatioun; nather acclame I to myself, or my heyres, power in anie thing that is mere ecclesiasticall, and not αδιαφορον, nor with anie thing that God's Word hath simplie devolved in the hands of his ecclesiasticall kirk. And, to conclude, I confesse and acknowledge Christ Jesus to be Head and Lawgiver to the same. And whatsomever persons doe attribute to themselves, as head of the kirk, and not as member, to suspend or alter anie thing that the Word of God hath onlie remitted to them, that man, I say, committeth manifest idolatrie, and sinneth against the Father, in not trusting the words of his Sonne; against the Sonne, in not obeying him and taiking his place; against the Holie Ghost, the said Holie Spirit bearing the contrarie record to his conscience. This muche for my declaratioun promised at our last conference, so farre as shortnesse of time would permitt; wherin, whatsoever I have affirmed, I will offer me to prove, by the Word of God, purest ancients, and moderne neotericks, and by the exemples of the best reformed kirks. And whatsomever is omitted for laike of time, I remitt first to a conventioun of godlie and learned men, and nixt to a Generall Assemblie, that by these meanes a godlie policie being sattled, we may uniformelie arme ourselves against the commoun enemie, whom Satan ellis, feeling the breath of God, maketh to rage in these latter dayes.

"JAMES REX.

"December 7, Anno 1585."

After the receaving and reading of this declaratioun, the Parliament posting to an end, and all men muche wearied in a colde winter, so ill eased, and finding no assistance nor confort, but contrare, both in nobilitie and brethrein, the ministers behoved to be content, and take that which for the present might be gottin. And so, after exhibitioun of this supplication following, the meeting dissolved.

THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE KIRK'S SUPPLICATION GIVIN IN AFTER THE RECEPT OF THE FORMER DECLARATION.

"Sir, Lett it please your Hienesse, we have seene and considered your Majestie's declaratioun and interpretatioun upon the mentiouned Acts of Parliament. We praise God, as becometh us, for your Majestie's judgement and knowledge; notwithstanding, we would most humblie crave, that in this weightie caus concerning the establishment of a perfyte policie and state of governement in the kirk, to stand to all ages and posteriteis to come, that the mater might be more deepelie and digestlie considered, by conference of the most learned and godlie of your Hienesse' realme, and if need be, with consultatioun of the best reformed kirks in other countreis; that thereafter, your Majestie, with advice of your estats, may establishe a perfyte and sattled law in parliament; and, in the meane time, or at least to the next parliament, your Hienesse will grant us libertie and freedome to hold our ordinarie assembleis, and use such discipline as we were in use of before these late acts, for governement of the ecclesiastical effaires; concerning which we sall be at all times readie to give an accompt to God, your Majestie, and good Counsell, if we doe anie thing beside our duetie, or to perturbe the commoun wealth, so farre as lyeth in us. And in this meane time, that your Majestie will grant to restore all ministers, maisters of schooles and colledges, to their rowmes and possessions; and speciallie, that our breithrein, Messrs Johne Howesone and William Watsone, be delivered out of waird; and that we be not troubled in the meane time, to suspend and stay all executioun of the late made Acts of Parliament mentioned so oft against us; and

that the bishops use nothing but that which they were in use of before the making of the foresaid acts, and perturbe not the kirk nor Assembleis."

THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE PARLIAMENT.

At this parliament the Erle of Angus suffered the duke to beare the crowne, contenting himself with a simple protestatioun, taiking instruments, that it sould not prejudge him in times to come. Siclyke in Stirline, when Angus and Hammiltoun tooke place before the duke, the king was greatlie discontented; sent the Pryour of Blantyre to them to require them to give place. They obeyed for the present, becaus they were not restored. The Erle of Angus had caused some of his servants seaze upon Dalkeith; but the king could not be appeased till they were withdrawin. The erle, to gett his restitutioun past at this parliament, suffered the young Duke of Lennox to brooke the lands of Dalkeith, expecting the king's pleasure, upon his bare promise to be restored thereto, so soone as anie occasioun fell out whereby to recompence the duke; which fell not furth till the Lord Methven deing without heyres-male, the lordship returned to the king, which he gave in contentatioun to the duke, restored the lordship of Dalkeith to the Erle of Angus, and ratified the same in parliament, *anno* 1587. The erle also suffered a decreet, givin in favours of the Laird of Phairnihirst, to his prejudice, reserved in his restitutioun, which was hardlie construed by manie. Yitt was the Erle of Angus the best affected of all the nobilitie to the weale both of kirk and commoun weale. The rest made it now seene that they were not so carefull of the weale of the countrie as they pretended, in their declaratioun published before the taiking of Stirline; for of all the wrongs mentioned in the declaratioun, they secke little or no redresse at this parliament. Everie one was carefull for their owne particular.

A CONFERENCE BETUIXT THE ERLE OF ANGUS AND MR DAVID HUME, UPON MR CRAIG'S SERMON.

When the banished lords came first in the countrie, the subscriving ministers seemed to repent, and to be willing to offer satisfactioun. But when they perceaved the lords negligent in the effaires of the kirk, and the king obstinat, they defended their owne fact. Mr Craig, in speciall, inveyghed against the exiled ministers, in a sermon before the estats in parliament. The Erle of Angus asked of Mr David Hume of Godscroft, after the parliament was dissolved, what was his judgement concerning Mr Craig's sermon. He answered, "If the cace of subjects to princes be suche as he sayeth, what can we doe but depend upon pleasure? Why did yee not expect the king's pleasure, and stay in England whill yee were recalled? Why come yee unsent for, and in suche sort as yee did? What is become of your proclamatioun, and all the faire reasons in it? Yee must goe backe again, and recant all, and crie *pecavi* for these things." "O," sayeth my lord, "that is another questioun, what we did of necessitie for our lives and livings, and to remove that violent tyrannous man, who had wracked king, countrie, and all; but he now removed, it is another mater to deale with our prince, to whom we ought suche obedience, he being among kings who are in the place of gods, who are called gods, and to whom is due the obedience to God. But, leaving the particular, lett me heare you in the generall, what you thinke of that sermon, and of the grounds. I know others also were not content therewith, but I would heare you." Having paused a while, he answereth, "Loath am I, my lord, to enter upon that heed to censure anie man, cheefelie a preacher. I like better to discusse a truthe, and dispute a mater, without tuich of persons, so farre as may be. But since your lordship draweth me to it, I confesse we all disclame implicite faith; and we are creatures reasonable, to weigh and consider reasouns, and yeeld so farre as they enforce; nather otherwise ought we, or can anie reasonable man enforce himself to consent, which

maketh me greatlie in maters of consenting (cheefelie of religioun) to eshew forcing and violence; for I thinke of others as I find in myself; the world cannot force me, no, I cannot force myself, to think otherwise than my judgement alloweth of. Alwise, to your questioun, I am farther than manie beleeve favourable to princes and monarchs. I compt it a heavie charge and burthein, that had need of much releefe and manie conforts, to recompence the paines; and can permitt muche to a good prince, yea, als muche as he himself pleaseth, (which will never be more than were good,) and all your estats and whole countrie to guide by himself, he would never with als absolute a power as anie spake of, and not thinke he had a haire breadth of power more for that. But to the questioun yee are upon. Your lordship remembreth the ground Mr Craig layed?"

"Yes, verie weill; the 82d Psalme, 'God sitteth among the assemblie of the gods.'"

"And what he bigged on it?"

"Yes, obedience to king's commands, and impunitie without controlment."

"Your lordship remembreth right, and soberlie reporteth his speeche in the fairest fashioun; obedience to kings, impunitie to kings; where his speeche was roundlie, obedience to tyranns, impunitie to tyranns. Which two, who make both one, doe great wrong to good kings. But however it be, call them tyranns, call them kings, of whom that psalm speeketh, who so infereth these conclusiouns, infereth conclusions contrare the drift of that psalme, which is nothing to advance them, but to abasse them; not to secure them, but to terrifie them; not to exeeme them from death, the lott of other men, but to lett them see they are subject to it als weill as others, and threatten them their death. Therefore, lett men big up power and impunitie to tyranns of what place of Scriptures they please, I darre affirme, this place is the most unfitt for it in the world. Never a word of obedience, never a word of impunitie, but, by the contrare, plaine punishment. Ay, but it is said, 'Yee are gods.' Ay, but it sayeth not the lesse, 'Yee sall dee.' Which what is it to say, but the one, to call to minde their duetie,

doe justice as God doeth; the other, threatning punishment, 'yee sall dee,' becaus yee doe it not. But that is meant of God; He sall punish them, not man. Answere, The text maketh no mentioun, whether God immediatlie, or God by the hand of man. But however it be, the drift is to abasse them; and who infereth their advancement, infereth a contrarietie to the drift of the text. Now, to come to the particulars of it.

"To what also was, at this time, the preaching of obedience to tyranns? Was it not eneugh to have taught obedience to good kings, proving his Majestie to be of that number, if he thought anie man doubted? Which was more honourable for his Majestie, more seemelie for a teacher, more easie to perswade men, nor to roote out the inveterat opinioun against tyranns. First, for the arguments, Was the first solide upon this, 'God sitteth in the assemblie of gods,' to gather this, Therefore tyranns sitt in the seate of gods? Lett it be true as it will, it followeth but ill, and even like unto this: When the king sitteth in the sessioun, the king sitteth in the assemblie of the lords; therefore, the lords sitt in the king's seate; when, by the contrare, the king being there, the king sitteth in his owne seate, and the lords rather in his seate when he is absent, as suppleers of his rowme. Also yee know, the presence of God is mentiouned there, not to authorize, but to controll them. Nather is the inference of the text, Therefore obey them: never a word of that heere. But, therefore sall they dee, becaus God sitteth, seeth them, eyeth, perceaveth them doe wrong, and abuse their power. Which is a ccatrare illatioun to his, and followeth better. 2. His secund argument. The people of God were commanded to obey Nebuchadnezar: he was a tyrann, therefore, all tyranns sould be obeyed. How hard, of a particular extraordinar, to inferre a generall ordinar rule! Admitt that preparative, will not men reply, God commanded Jehu, a privat man, to slay Achab; therefore, privat men ought, or may slay tyranns? 3. David slue not Saul; therefore, no man sould lay hands on a tyrann. The argument is verie loose, from authoritie and exemple negativelie. But the fourth, God placed the tyrann in that place,

therefore, no man may putt him out, though his wrongs be never so great: what thinke yee of it? A man's goods are takin by a briggand. Who doubteth, God hath givin them in the hands of the briggand? But sall it follow, no man, not the magistrat, may take it from the briggand, becaus God hath givin it in his hand? See farther, what inconvenient will follow upon that? If an usurper gett himself once placed in a kingdome, no man may ever displace him againe, to repossesse the lawfull king, becaus God hath placed him, without doubt. This were great prejudice to lawfull kings. The fyft was upon similcis. All men know how these crooke, yea, these same which he used, are used to inferre the plaine contrare: 1. For even childrein are made free from their parents by the civill Roman Law; 2. Servants from their maisters, by God's law givin in the Judges, as, 'If his ey be stricken out, lett him goe out for his ey;' 3. Wives from their husbands, if the essentiall causes of matrimonie be brokin. Why not then with a tyranne, the essential caus of obedience, the image of God's justice being cast off by the tyranne, why may not ceasse the obligatioun of obedience? And this for his arguments, which, you see, are verie frivolous and weake.

"As for his conclusioun, Men may not putt hand in tyranns, he will never deduce it out of this text. One word onlie seemeth to make for that; 'I said yee are gods.' But the nixt word plainlie ('not the lesse yee sall dee') testifeing, that name of gods is not to free them from punishment, but to admonishe them of their duetie; which, becaus they neglect, they losse the name, and incurre the punishment. That out of this, according to his owne forme of reasouning, if it follow weill, God hath placed them in the place to doe justice, therefore, man sould not take them out of it, though they play the tyranne; it will follow better, God appointeth them to dee: becaus they doe not justice, therefore they must dee; therefore man may make them dee, when they become tyranns. Which reason, if he thinke not good, then he must quite his owne reasoun, and leave this place, as nather exeeming them from punishment in the one word of being of gods, which telleth them what

they sould doe of duetie, nor yitt, having expresse command to men, to slay them in the other, 'Yee sall dee;' which showeth onlie what God sall doe in justice.

"He pretended the thing which moveth him (and others also pretend it in this cace) is, that if a libertie to disobey or slay kings be granted, then sall not good kings be obeyed, nor sure of their throne and lives, becaus seditious or ambitious (of whom there are ay anew) will call a good king a tyranne. But your Lordship may consider the impietie of that reasoun; for thereby we sall take away all lawes, and punishment of all vices and wickednesses; for if we permitt theeves to be punished, wicked judges will call an honest man a theefe. If yee permitt blasphemie to be punished, Jesabell will find a meanes to caus Naboth be compted a blasphemer. And if yee permitt seditioun to be punished, a tyran will call a good patriot seditious, free admonitioun treasoun, and a word of libertie rebellioun. Sall therefore seditioun be unpunished; sall thift, sall blasphemie? And certanlie there is more perell, and cometh ofter to passe, that a tyranne doeth call an honest man seditious, than that subjects doe call a good king a tyranne. The people suffer muche, what by custome, what by naturall love of their princes; comport with manie great faults, and seldome come to rise against them, without great, enorme, and intolerable injureis; that try when yee please, yee sall find they have comported more with wicked, nor ever they made insurrectiouns against good. Yea, I doubt if ever yee sall find anie insurrectioun against good; nather against wicked, but in verie extremitie of wickednesse, enorme and great occasiouns givin by the prince; wheras, upon small or no occasiouns, or forged lees, manie honest men have beene overthrowne by tyranns. That is an inept and ridiculous pretence for obedience, and securing of kings, to avouche obedience and impunitie to tyranns; as who would, for securitie of honest matrons, urge impunitie of harlots? Plaine follie! There is but one way for securing of honest weomen. Lett them be farre from whoorish fashiouns: for securitie of leill men, lett them be farre from breaking doun dykes and houses: and lett a good king be farre from tyran-

nous doings. So, and so onlie, can he be sure, if word and worke justifie him in the sight of God and man.

"And thus farre to your lordship's demand concerning Mr Craig. But since we are fallin in this purpose, lett me tell your lordship, how men, whill they will putt face on this mater, waver betuixt flatterie of princes, and truthe of reasoun, receaved and allowed by commoun consent of all men against tyranns; involve themselves in manie absurditeis. I will bring for all Bodin, a Frenche writter, in his booke of his Republick. Faine would he make even tyranns *sacrosanct* (as they speeke) and untuicheable, with all obedience to them; and concludeth them to be so, not to be tuiched by their subjects, but obeyed; and giveth his speciall reasoun, Becaus the subjects have no jurisdiction over them. Yitt finding it strange to make them without all feare of punishment, he casteth them in the hands of forrane kings, and exhorteth forrane kings to extermine them; commending it as a lovable act at the imitatioun of Hercules, who went through the world destroying these monsters of tyranns. Now, judge if there be a good reasoun to denie that power to the countrie it self, (pretending they have no jurisdictioun,) and give it to a forrainer, who hath no more jurisdictioun over another prince. And whether is there more perrell in the ambitioun of the countrie people nor of a stranger; and who of them ablest to pretend a specious caus to his particulars? Besides, what sall be the people's part in this cace, when a forrainer cometh to cut off their tyranne? Sall they fight against the forrainer? And who will hazard for their releefe upon that conditioun? Sall they joyne with him that cometh for their weale? Reasoun would so; but that is rebellioun, if we trow Bodin. Or sall they be spectators or neutralls? Yitt that is all one: it is disobedience. And yitt this same Bodin sayeth, 'They are monsters with monsters.' There is no societie, lett be bonds of subjectioun and obedience; yea, he sayeth, with pyrats there is no societie, becaus they violate the bonds of humane societie; and tyranns violat that farre more.

"The same man sayeth, 'A king may become a woolfe indeid; and that a great king in Christianitie was so when he pleased.'

I aske him, when he is so, sould he be obeyed? If he remained ever so, sould he be obeyed? Sould not his sacrosanct or sacred Majestie be reverenced, sett in his throne, fed, not lett dee for hunger, and that with child's flesh, becaus he would able eate no other, and delyteth most in it? Certanlie his reasons will import it; or, if shame putt him from that assertioun, and confesse it is lawfull to putt him from his kingdome who hath putt himself from humane nature, and can no more now guide a kingdome, what sall we say to the same woolvish nature, though in the shaipe of a man, cruell, wicked, licentious, subverting all, destroying all? Is it not als weill worthie to be deprived of a kingdome that he can not or will not guide right as he sould? And, certanlie, the reasoun is alike; for it is not the woolvish forme that men abhorre, (or not so muche,) as the woolvish nature. For prooffe wherof, suppone a king were by inchantrie, contrare his will, so transformed in shape onlie, keeping otherwise his reasoun, his speeche, his wisdome, justice, equitie, meekenesse, and all good governement, missing nothing that to a good prince belongeth, men would not so muche abhorre him as pitie him, expect how he might be amended, and certanlie preferre his humane nature in the shape of a woolfe, to a woolvish nature in the shape of a man, farre more tolerable, and farre more commodious to the commoun weale, the weale wherof is ever to be preferred.

"But will your lordship also heare what that great Doctor of Lawes, Mr Blaikwod, and professed patron for princes, sayeth in his treatise expreslie writtin for that effect; to witt, That it is an absurd thing to say that a prince's command sould be disobeyed: yitt if a prince command anie thing unjust, we sould not obey it. What then sould we doe? 'Even thus,' sayeth he, 'that in suche a cace, we must suppone suche a command not to be the prince's; but that it is, 1. Some counterfoote thing in his name; 2. Or stollin from him at unawars; 3. Or doing some other thing; 4. Or that the prince is ill informed; 5. Or mistaikin; 6. Or caried away with some passioun; 7. Or prejudice.' So, for controlling him, he will not abide that the sacred majestie, the seate of God,

be compelled or forced: yitt if he guide the countrie ill, and there be perrells to the estate of the commoun weale thereby, they must lay the wyte on his evill counsellers. These they may lay hand on, and take order with, hang if they please, putt good men about him, butt not tuiche himself; than which, I know not if he against whom he writteth hath said anie thing more hardlie. For if we may call his commands that are unjust stollin, and so disobey him, we need not to obey anie his unjust commands: and if we may take order with his counsellers, whom will he gett to counsell, or obey and execute his unjust commands? Yea, how can they doe either, but with a manifest forcing, since he will oppone the one and the other, and interpret all, and call all done against himself, so that neither of them can be done without controlling himself? And, in effect, all cometh to one.

"I will not omitt also heere to tell your lordship of another distinctioun they use against unlawfull commands. They grant they sould not give their Active obedience, (as they call it,) that is, sould not doe the thing that is commanded: yitt they must give them another obedience, which they call Passive obedience, that is, suffer what the prince pleaseth to lay on them for their refusall, be it a money penaltie, be it prisson, be it life, or what ever. But questionlesse, if the command be unlawfull, the penaltie inflicted for the refusall must be unlawfull, and the command of undergoing that penaltie also unlawfull;—therefore, no necessarie obedience to that command. Therefore, if a tyranne command an unlawfull thing under the paine of a pecunall summe, a man is no more bound to pay the summe, nor obey the command, for both are unlawfull; farre lesse if the penaltie be upon his bodie, as on his life, he is not bound to lay it doun; or prisson, which importeth his libertie, als deere to him as his life, and manie times draweth both his goods and life by consequence. If, I say, he can gett these things eschewed, he is not bound to undergo them, but may lawfullie eshew them. What sall he doe when he can not gett them eshewed, is not a questioun of ductie, but of prudencie; for that same questioun will arise against a briggand, when he hath no

obligatioun to obedience, if he be not able to resist him, how farre he sall yeeld. Putt the cace then, that the tyranne, for disobedience of his unlawfull command, would with weapons invade his subject, the subject is not so bound to this passive obedience but that he may flee from him: nather, if he cannot flee, is he so bound but that he may eshew the strokes, yea, that he may rebatt them, and putt them off; yea, that he may hold his hand, if need so constraine, that he cannot eshew otherwise. And what will these passive obeyers answere to them that putt the cace he were in a shipp, and would command it sould be bored through, whereby water might come in and drowne them all and himself; they would not doe it, would they say, for his command. But would they give a passive obedience, to suffer him to slay them for disobedience to his command; or to doe it himself, to bore a hole, whereby they all might drowne; or would they sett aside that ceremonie, and stay him calmelie, withhold the borehole from him, yea, take it from him, hold his hands, yea, if need were, bind him, rather to save them all and himself? Which, if it were right to doe in a privat shipp, what is it in the shipp of a commoun wealth, I pray you, if a tyranne doe suche things in it, as draw it in perell of drowning?

"Now, the ground of all this, that tyranns must be obeyed, that they must not be controlled, must not be resisted, but gett ever a passive obedience, no way deprived, least of all putt hand in, riseth of that, that they are gods; which name, they alledge, carieth all these consequences, obedience, none resistance, none depryving, etc. But how farre they come short of that, I have said before; that princes are not compared to gods becaus of the like obedience, but becaus they ought to imitat Him in justice. And to draw a comparisoun from that point, wherein things are compared to other points wherein they are not compared, is against the law of comparisons. Secundlie, they who dispute these things thus, dispute them onlie for Absolute monarchs, as they call them. But the name of God is not onlie givin to these absolute monarchs, it was givin to Judges in Israel, before they had kings. And the

Turkes yitt, to whom that phrase is familiar, when they sute other to law, 'Lett us goe to God,' say they. By which they meane, not their great monarch, the Emperour, but their under judges, called * * , who have the cognitioun of causses and pleyes among them. Whereby it is cleere that reasoun from the name whereby they are called gods, maketh no more for tyranns or monarchs nor it doeth for everie judge, being commoun to everie judge, even the basest; as no questioun the basest, even the shireff-depute, the toun bailliffe, the baron bailliffe, sitteth in the place of God, when he sitteth to doe justice betuixt parties, yitt no man vendicateth to them this absolute power for all that.

"Loe the ground of your lordship's caus, and this so worthie and notable fact done by you to your perpetuall honour, of rare memorie and exemple in anie age. Loe what yee have beene, not contemplating and disputing in schooles, but practising in the commoun wealth. For if it be not lawfull to disobey the command of princes in anie cace, even of lawfull and borne princes, then is this fact of yours verie unlawfull. If it be wrong to controll their wills, then is your fact wrong, and to be condemned. If it be not lawfull to remove from them wicked counsellers and instruments of iniquitie, then hath your fact beene unlawfull, wrong, inique, treasonable. But the world acknowledgeth, all men agree, and the prince himself confesseth, how yee have happilie atcheived a worthie worke, freing your prince from the mouth of these woolves or lyons, who went devouring the realme and his fame; how yee have restored his high expectatioun to him, him to his countrie, and to the Kirk of God in all the world. There resteth one exceptioun and doubt in men's mindes, if this hath beene your purpose and verie butt of your enterprise; or if it be but by accident, your butt being your owne particulars; for it is sure your particular was joyned with it. Yitt that is no fault, nather, it is your fact, yea, I compt him happie whose lott joyneth his estate with an honest caus, to stand and fall with it; or whose minde and resolutioun casteth him in it. But it is of great weight, which of the two he proponneth for his butt; his particular, or the caus. The proclamatioun which yee

have published speeketh much of the publict caus. But how men thinke that the actions and forme of doing, fallin furth since, answereth therunto, yee may perceave by this letter; to witt, they are begunne to thinke (whatever yee pretended in publict) your intention and butt hath beene but your particulars. Their reasons that make them so thinke, yee see are, yee have taikin order with your particulars; yee have done nothing for the maters of the kirk nor countrie, as yee may see in this letter. And it is observed, that of all parliaments that ever were holdin in this countrie, this last parliament is it onlie which hath no mentioun of the kirk, nather beginning therat, as all others doe, nather in anie other part therof. These neglects of estate of kirk and countrie, as they are compted deformatiouns of your fact, overthrowing the beautie therof, (witnessing that they were pretended in shew onlie, not intended in substance,) so is it compted an errour in politick and civill prudencie, to divide and separat your particulars from the caus of kirk and countrie. Which as they have beene the meanes to worke the restitutioun of your particular estate, so they are the onlie meanes to mainteane that restitutioun, and make it stand unbrangled."

He having thus said, my lord answereth:—"I know that questioun standeth undecided betuixt these that stand for tyranns, and these that stand against them, and is debated by lawyers on both sides; (as what is not debated, and called in questioun by them?) I see the continuall practise hath beene on both sides, and hath had name, as it gott successe; the nobilitie calling it tyrannie and misguiding, the princes calling the controlling seditioun, treasoun, rebelliouń. But if Doctor Blaikwod wrote that which yee say, he rightlie tuiched the point and fashioun of this countrie, whose commoun forme hath ever beene, that in suche cases, to tak order with the wicked counsellers, with all respect to their prince, as ever had anie natioun, yitt it drew at last to a direct dealing against the prince himself, whill he spilleth the caus, and ather is about to mainteane them or avenge them: that if he say, it be lawfull to punishe their wicked counsellers, he must need say, it is lawfull to controll themselves. Nather is he aware, that, in so saying, he

setteth the nobilitie or estats judges, whether these counsellers be wicked or not; whether their proceedings be for the weale of the countrie, which the prince will alledge they are; both themselves good servants, and their service profitable to him and his countrie. And these actiouns which they doe, and courses which they take, they doe them and take them, not as counsellers prescriving them to him, but as servants at his command; and that, therefore, what is done against them is not against them, but against him; nather are they wicked, but good and faithfull.

"Now, the cace standing thus, to whomsoever he giveth power to tak order with them as wicked, he giveth the power to cognosce them as wicked, to judge them as wicked, and that contrare to the judgement of their prince, who would never judge them wicked. And yitt, except it be so, when wicked men sall insinuat themselves about young princes, (ather young in yeeres or in judgement,) and abuse their names, or pervert their mindes, how sall the prince be saved from them or the countrie, whole estat, religioun, lawes, orders, and particular men from wracke, as hath beene practised profitablie and necessarilie diverse times before, in this our countrie and princes, and now, by us, on a flatt necessitie, and for his owne weale, and weale of the countrie? which, for my owne part, (I sall answere for one, and can not but for one,) hath beene no lesse regarded, than anie particular of my owne; and still sall be, by God's grace, so long as the life is within my bowke. I can not tell how long it will be, and the longest livers live but a short time; and I compt him not to live in effect, that liveth but to live or injoy anie thing that is no more nor in this life. This lessoun I have learned substantiouslie, (so my God hath schooled me;) and I speeke to you seriouslie, knowing to whom I speeke; nather sall ever my endeavoures have anie particular for the last end of them. That things are not so weill dono to this effect as need were, and cleerelie to the satisfactioun of the ministrie and all honestlie affected, it greeveth me als muche as anie; and I am not ignorant that these inconveniences follow, that we undergo the slander of particular regarde, of carelesnesse of the countrie, of the kirk, and

all commoun respects, as though all these speeches and proclamatiouns were but pretences; that if ever suche mater sall come again in questioun, our credit sall be lesse. Yitt not for these causes, but for the verie weill doing it self, is my desire, that everie thing sould be rightlie done, becaus it is right so to doe. But what can I amend it? I am but one of a societie, nather can I perswade them otherwise, nather am I able to compell them, neither were it good I sould; nather is it the forme of a societie so to doe, but to doe with a commoun consent, what may be obteaned, and to goe no farther, otherwise, it sould dissolve our societie, and draw us sindrie and in diverse factiouns among our selves, and joyne some part of us with others, to the overthrow of us all; which, if ever it come to passe, sall never come by occasioun from me.

"Men thinke my place is a principall; and yitt, so it is a principall, that it is but the place of one nather so principall, that there is not another als principall, equall, or perhaps beyond it, in respect of proximitie of blood, even to the kingdome, if it sould fall out so: (for no king, yee know, can be so neere to me; nather, therefore, anie whom I sould, or will affect so muche.) Alwise, this maketh no little swey; him (I meane the Lord Hammiltoun yee know) the Maister of Glames sweyeth. The Maister deliteth to be deepe in his counsells, and pleaseth himself in this fashioun yee see he useth. I have manie time told him and others my opinioun: I cannot perswade. Would I take a course to thraw him, what harme might it doe; yea, what concurrence would I gett, or of what freindship could I assure myself? Maxwell, yee know what regarde he hath; what religioun he is of. I can never forgett the watche-word he gave at Fawkirk, professing plainlie his dispositioun to superstitioun, 'Sanct Andrew.' And who wote what motioun he may carie privilie to the stile of his erledome? Of your cheefe, darre we hope better? My brother-in-law, how kittle is he! What paine had I to reteane him at Fawkirk, and yitt to keepe him in good order! There is one onlie of whose steidfastnesse and freindship I darre assure my self, as of my self; the Erle of Marr, loving, faithfull, and constant, yitt so tossed with

his troubles past, that he is loathe to involve himself of new, where it can anie wise be eschewed. And why sould I not be als loathe to putt him to hazard, or occasioun it, contrare his dispositioun? God forbid that I sould, and not be als carefull of him as he is of himself.

"Alwise, this fashioun we use, as I approve it not altogether, yitt darre I not condemne it altogether. We have to doe with our prince. What sould we not doe to wonne him with gentlenesse, and not so muche thraw his will, as draw his will to anie good effect: not so muche bend us contrare his inclinatioun, as calmelie wonne it from the evill temper it hath gottin. He desireth to be, and to be knowne to be, at libertie. It approveth our part it be so; testifieth our minde to him, love, and obedience. He promiseth not to withdraw, nor joyne him with others. Our trusting deserveth it sould be so, and by deserving, wonne his affectioun; a surer band than a guarde, which would interteane mutuall suspicioun, provoke to seeke meanes of freing himself therefra, and could hardlie be so strait, that one sett so sould not escape it; beside the charges, &c. Nather yitt need we to feare too muche: if anie suche meaning he had, we know who would, or could be our partie, and what force they have. That there are some suffered to remaine about him that are not good freinds to us, and have beene evill instruments, is of the same ground, that he and others may see his libertie, and what confidence we have in him. That the state of the ministrie is not brought to that point we wishe, we can not get it done suddanlie, except we would plainlie and directlie force him. To which how many would concurre? Yitt we hope to worke it with his consent, betime; for the ministrie thus insisting, and he committing them, we interceed, that his anger goeth to no extreme point, save a short wairding, of small time. In the meanetime, they have leasure to informe him; and he will wearie, of will, of suche continuall oppositioun. Which, when it sall come to passe, it sall be better and more steadfast than if it were now thowed out by anie compulsioun.

"These be the grounds upon which they build these workes, who

thinke themselves verie wise among us. Which, though they seeme not to satisfie everie one for the present, who knoweth them not, or, perhaps knowing, allow them not; yitt, when they sall see the effect, will thinke better of them. Nather feare they to want concurrence of honestlie affected men, incace we were putt at; for whom other would they gett to mean anie good in anie measure? Yea, whom would they not see to meane muche ill? And we, though we doe not all the good we would, yitt are we doing some, and hold off muche ill, which they will therefore rather assist and endure, than that all sould perishe. Yee may happilie thinke yee have muche to say against this. But, as I said before, though I approve not all, yitt I condemne not all; so I say now, though I report all, yitt I allow not all, and confesse muche more we sould doe, could doe; and it were better if we were all of one minde. But this is the wisdome of our dungeoun and deepest witted politicks, which I am resolved to crosse and urge no more, but take my hazard among the rest; and I hope God sall provide for me as for them, and my part to be als weill knowne everie way to honest men. And, therefore, we will have no moe objectiouns, and reasoun no more at this time."

"Weill, my lord, it sall be so then; we sall reasoun no more of the mater. Indeid, your part is best interpreted, save that they thinke your authoritie sould be of greater weight, and rather goe before than follow, as yee may see. This one thing give me leave to remember, tuiching the king, (not as some say lightlie, he is the best that ever man listed with,) but seriouslie, he is the best instrument that is in Europ, and therefore in the world, of whom we can expect greatest weale to the Kirk of God: the onlie king brought up in sinceritie of religioun; of so great expectatioun, and becaus of the expectatioun, so greatlie favoured and beloved over all who be professors; of great spirit, ingyne, and judgement, joyned with singular education, reading, and knowledge. A great pitie such a one were lost, ather by corruption that may (as is the nature of humane things) come in his owne minde, or by poysoun that may be suggested by others. You doe exceeding weill thus to cherish

him calmelie, gentlie treatting him, and submisselie dealing with him, the way how to wonne even wilde things voide of reason; more, reasonable men; most of all, princes, men in that degree not to be harassed, throwed, and thralled; so losing and spoiling them, as was done to King Alexander's hors, Bucephalus, by his father Philip's courteours, till Alexander perceaved their fault, and corrected it. And if ever yee intend anie great mater in this countrie, or yitt in Europ, loe the meanes; use it weill. The Lord grant and give you successe.

"But this, I hope, may be suggested to your consideratioun, whether this obsequiousnesse (so to call it) and calmenesse be the onlie meane yee have to use toward him; smoothing all, and allowing all; never mentiouning the abuses that have beene, and continue; or if it be fitt, also to remonstrat freelie, though reverentlie, what hath beene and may be amisse in religioun and commoun weale, in this or suche forme as heere, in the end of this letter, or to the like effect. And if it be fitt and tolerable for the right wonning of him to right, that men not meaning right have his eare, and be his most inward counsellers; and becaus I feare greatlie the meanes whereby they have perverted all, and may yitt use to pervert all, and have gained most upon his tender age, is the intentioun he hath to our neighbour kingdome, on which he hath a bent minde, and to which, no questioun, he hath right in successioun, but hath need of assistance to obteane; which he may thinke can not be gottin sufficient, without helpe of Catholicks, as they call them, in England, France, Spaine, Italie, Rome itself, they not gottin without hopes, or more than hopes, toleratioun, countenancing, cherishing, advancing. This will not, he may thinke, be obteaned with the sinceritie of the discipline and governement of our kirk, which may make him the more hardlie affected toward it, as good it were concealed, and the more inclyning to that of bishops. By which, as he sall please the statsman in England, so sall he the more restraine our preachers, and their freedome of speeches and admonitiouns, and the more freelie deale and traffique with Catholicks, mingle all sorts of people, as he may thinke all sorts necessar for his

use in acquiring of it. Where, not the lesse, not one of these are of great consequence. Papists out of the countrie, France, or Spaine, will never in earnest wishe him to be King of England: France for his neerenesse, to be so great, for his title to their owne crowne, for the want of the Scottish league and assistance from them, with an accessioun to England; Spaine pretend title themselves, which they will rather advance; Papists within the Ile are yitt none in a maner in Scotland, few in England, and of no resisting force, if they would concurre. Bishops there stand by the state, not the state by them; of meane birth, no great substance, lesse freindship and following, easie to be framed to what course so pleaseth, their lyfetimes reserved, or without conditioun. The force of that countrie are these that seeke reformatioun; and certanlie the wisdome of it, of greatest swey in favour of the people, and credit of the parliament hous, if man knew. Gaine them, gaine that countrie. This truthe, as it is of truthe, would be imprinted by fitt persons, and the contrare removed.

"Your lordship hath seene the letter directed to you all, from some of them, conteaning their judgments, not to be contemned certanlie, that by mingling of religiouns, or by the helpe of the contrare, he can not atteane unto that place. Happie is he to whom God hath made religioun even profitable for possessing his owne; for atteaning that other kingdome; for credit, favour, and authoritie in all kingdoms. Nather hath he need of anie politick, farrefetched course to take, for atchieving of that mater, but a plain effaldnesse, interteaning justice, peace, and religioun, in his owne countrie; and the more earnestlie and throughlie, the more to his credit, and advancing of that purpose. This joyneth him throughlie to your lordship, as the opinioun of the contrare is the most effectual cans to disjoyne him from you. Upon the same ground riseth it, if it be best to suffer him and the ministrie be at this debate, they finding fault with him, and he grudging with them; and, if it be not to be feared, that it sall gender in him a loathsomenesse of them, and in them and the countrie a wearinesse of him; and if, therefore, it be better to interpone your credite, to informe, and

speeke truelie and freelie, than to looke through your fingers, as they speeke, beholding the mater, and now and then procuring for some releefe to them; which fostereth rather the canker than remedieth it, thankes not being givin to him therefore. Certanlie, if I were a politick, with anie mal-talent toward him, I being desired to prepare a way, a secund intrant, I would take this same course to incense him against them; irritat him to committ, or at least foster his disposition therin, to bring him so to loath and be loathed; take from him that his great expectatioun, and seperat and disjoynt him from suche, and suche from him; thereon, bring in neutralls in religioun; then countenance men of contrarie religioun: then suspicioun, then alienatioun, and what not? As I am, out of my poor affectioun, I wishe they were taikin away: I wishe, I say. Lett your lordship see to it as yee will be served; and on that minde you spake, to have the honour to be neerer to no king that may come heerafter, and yitt may take this word again; for your lordship is in the same degree with the nixt apparent, my Lord Hammilton's childrein. Yett yee desire to see no change, I know, but to continue in the present race, as I thinke, in truthe, my lord himself hath no other minde, nather anie other good subject in Scotland. The mater is worthie of your lordship's considerance, so muche the more, as yee have seene heere how farre ill companie hath had power to make things goe on alreadie. I leave it and rest, as not my part, but to wishe weill, and follow, as your lordship goeth before. In the meane time, I have also receaved heere a note of a sheete or two of paper, tuiching the abusses of kirk and commoun weale, sent to me by Mr James Melvill, I know, to communicat it with your lordship, that yee may lay it beside you, and reade it, for a remembrance, when yee have leasure."

This he taketh, and reading it with a deepe sigh, "God knoweth my part," sayeth he; "I sall neglect nothing that is possible to me to doe; and would to God the king knew my heart to his weale, and would give eare to it. But," &c.

After the banished lords and ministers returned to the countrie,

the pest abated daylie, so that in the spring following all the touns, almost desolate before, were repeopled.

THE CONFERENCE AND REASONING BETUIXT THE KING'S MAJESTIE AND JAMES GIBSONE, MINISTER AT PENCAITLAND, THE 21ST OF DECEMBER 1585, AT LINLITHQUO, BEFORE HIS MAJESTIE'S COUNSELL.

First, at his Majestie's command, the said James was taikin at his owne kirk of Pencaitland, by a godlie gentleman called Williamsone, lieutenant of his Majestie's guarde, at whose hands the said James found great favour and good will; and safelie conveyed him to Linlithquo, where he was most sharplie accused by the king's owne mouth.

First, his Majestie speared at him, "How call they you?" *Minister.* "Please your Majestie, James Gibsone."

King. "Where are you minister?" *Minister.* "At Pencaitland."

King. "How long have you beene minister there?" *Minister.* "Seven yeeres, Sir."

King. "Have you beene in England?" *Minister.* "Yes, Sir."

King. "Who chassed you thither, or what moved you to goe away?" *Minister.* "If it please your Majestie, that which moved others moved me."

King. "What was that?" *Minister.* "Persecutioun, Sir."

King. "Persecutioun! Persecutioun! what call yee persecutioun? can yee defyne it?" *Minister.* "I were not worthie of my office if I could not doe that."

King. "What is it, then?" *Minister.* "Shortlie, Sir, it is a troubling of the sancts of God for professing a good caus; and namelie, for Christ's sake."

King. (*Speaking angrilie, and in great rage.*) "Say yee that they were persecuted for Christ's sake? Who was your persecutor?" *Minister.* "Captane James Stewart."

King. "The man you call so was als good in religioun as your self; for if he had beene als good in all other things as he was in religioun, he had not beene evill. And if you had called him so before the parliament, being one of my erles, I had said, yee had beene a leing knave." *Minister.* "Your Majestie may call me what you please; but he was never other to me, and to all good men, but an enemie to God and his truthe, and one in whome there is no goodnesse. I pray your Majestie with patience heare me, and charitablie judge upon me; and come to the specialls that your Majestie hath to charge me with."

King. "Have you taught in Edinburgh at anie time since yee came home?" *Minister.* "Yes, Sir."

King. "What was your text?" *Minister.* "Out of the sixteenth of Matthew, these words, 'If anie man will come after me, denie himself, and take up his crosse, and follow me.'"

King. "What moved you to take that text?" *Minister.* "The Spirit of God, Sir."

King. "The Spirit of God!" (*repeating thrise over, tauntinglie.*) *Minister.* "Yes, Sir, the Spirit of God, that teacheth all men, cheefelie at extraordinarie times, putteth that text in their heart that serveth best for the time."

King. "What gathered yee off that text?" *Minister.* "I can not now remember."

King. "Are yee so weake of memorie?" *Minister.* "No, Sir, I am not so weake; but if it please your Majestie to grant me a little leasure, with God's grace I sall repeate it all."

King. "Yea, but named yee no man's names in that text?" *Minister.* "No, Sir."

King. "What was the text yee had, when yee named these names, (*taking out a writting,*) Captane James Stewart, Colonell William Stewart, counsellers, and Ladie Jesabell?" *Minister.* "This was my text, the 27th Psalme, 'The Lord is my light,' &c."

King. "What doctrine gathered yee there, and how brought yee in their names?" *Minister.* "After this maner: David speek-

ing there in the person of Christ, comparing the kirk of God to an unmovable stone, that whosoever did rise against the same in anie age, to the dust they fell; as likewise, whosoever sould rise heerafter sould fall. This I proved by Scripture, by historie, and by experience without the countrie and within the countrie; and so came to the last that had fallin before this stone: and so, having occasioun to speeke of our present kirk, I said, I thought it had beene Captane James Stewart, Colonell William Stewart, and Ladie Jesabell, that had only persecuted the same; but I saw it was the king himself, becaus he passed fordward in that cursed course that they began."

King. "What! (*in great anger,*) call yee me a persecuter?" *Minister.* "Yes, Sir; so long as yee mainteane the wicked acts against God, and the libertie of his kirk, yee are a persecuter."

King. "Wherin is there anie thing betuixt you and me, but maters of policie?" *Minister.* "Yes, Sir; whosoever will intrude anie tyranns upon the kirk, and mainteane the same against the Word of God, he is a persecuter."

King. "What is that I mainteane against the Word of God?" *Minister.* "The tyrannie of bishops, and absolute power."

King. "Will yee reasoun in that?" *Minister.* "Yes, Sir, if it please your Majestie."

King. "I sent not for you to dispute." *Minister.* "Then, Sir, I pray your Grace, for the love of God, with patience heare me, and charitablie judge of me, and I sall answere truelie to anie thing your Majestie sall charge me with."

King. "Whom to compaired yee me?—to Jeroboam, and said, as he and all his were rooted out, so sould I be rooted out, and be the last of that race." *Minister.* "I pray your Majestie judge as I spake, and I sall declare it plainlie, accepting my conditions, as I spake."

King. "All your conditions sall be accepted." *Minister.* "Now, Sir, I speeke now in presence of your Majestie, as at all times before. First, I had never occasioun to speeke of your Majestie, but I made a solémne protestatioun, that I spake reverentlie and loving-

lie toward your Majestie, concluding with a prayer. Secundlie, I protest before God, for my owne part, as likewise for all the faithfull ministers of Scotland, we love your Majestie's weale in soule and bodie, and sall be found faithfull and loving subjects, when they that have informed your Majestie with wrong tales of us sall be knowne what they are."

King. "Speeke for your self." *Minister.* "Sir, I must speeke for them also, seing we are all one bodie: for when I am tuiched, they are tuiched, and when they are cleered, so am I; and so, we are accompted all together. Thridlie, Sir, I protest before God, I spake never more plainlie to your Majestie in no place than I did in your owne presence in Dalkeith, and yitt therin your Majestie was not offended with me."

King. "I will not give a turd for thy preaching! (*and that most proudlie,*) this is not the purpose." *Minister.* "If you will heere with patience, I sall make it agree with the purpose. At that time, having occasioun to bring in the exemple of Joas, I shewed, als long as he followed the counsell of Jehojada he prospered; but from once Jehojada died, that he followed wicked counsell, he made an evill end."

King. "That is true." *Minister.* "This I applyed to your Grace, that in Scotland there were manie Jehojadahs, and if your Majestie would follow their good counsell of God's Spirit, yee sould be young Joas, and if you would not, yee sould be old Joas. Even so as I spake at that time with conditions, so have I spoken since, praying your Majestie to accept them."

King. "They are accepted: say on." *Minister.* "Having occasioun to speeke of Jeroboam, I said, that as Jeroboam, for leading the people of Israel from the lawes of the hous of Judah, and from the true worship of God, to follow idolatrie, was rooted out, he and all his posteritie, so sould the king, if he continued in that cursed course, mäinteaning wicked acts against God, sould be rooted out, and conclude his race."

King. "Said yee that?" *Minister.* "Yes, Sir."

King. "How prove yee that?" *Minister.* "I proved it as I proved the secund."

Then angrilie he shewed out the written booke to them. Then I was dismissed for a time; and after advisement, was called in again.

King. "Know yee none of my late acts?" *Minister.* "No, Sir."

King. "Then yee are ignorant of them?" *Minister.* "Yes, Sir."

King. "Will yee subscrive this?" *Minister.* "Yes, Sir."

And he tooke the pen from Mr George Young, and subscrived the same. Then the said James made a new protestatioun, desiring his Majestie to suffer him use suche libertie as the Word will permitt.

King. "That will not be denied." *Minister.* "Then, Sir, in all maters of judgement, there are foure things to be considered: 1. A judge; 2. The person judged; 3. A caus; 4. Witnesses to prove the same. I am the person; the caus I have subscribed, oblishing my self thereby to defend it: but who sall judge? Not your Majestie, for you are no competent judge to my doctrine."

King. "Goe your way, Sir; we sall doe weill eneugh to that."

Then he turned to the lords, and tooke the honorable counsell to witnesse, that he hurt not the libertie of the kirk: "For," said he, "I declyne his Majestie's judgement, as no ordinarie judge to my doctrine." Then he turning away, his Majestie speared, If he was in the Castell of Dalkeith? He answered, "Yes, Sir."

King. "I trow yee went in there, as Johne Knox went in the Castell of St Andrewes, when the Cardinall was sticked."

So it was concluded, that he sould be committed in closse prissoun to the Castell of Edinburgh, to ly there on his owne expences. "Countriemen," said he, "I have subscrived, 'James Gibsone, Minister of God's Word.'" In disdaine of that style, the king said, "It is the commoun style of them all."

M.D.LXXXVI.

The Lord Maxwell caused sing and say masse openlie, in the kirks of Glencludden, upon the 24th, 25th, and 26th of December; wherupon, he and the rest of the hearers were charged to compeare before the Secreit Counsell. He compeered, and offered himself to triell. He was neverthelesse committed to waird in the Castell of Edinburgh; but soone after was sett at libertie, and at the king's command, past off the countrie.

The proceedings in the effaires of the kirk may be gathered out of this letter following, written by Mr James Melvill, the secund of Januar:—

"From Berwick I came directlie to court, and to the parliament, where I found maters so farre by my expectatioun, that I looked like one that had fallin out of the lift, I was so amazed. For where as I supposed that our folkes sould have used that authoritie which God had putt in their hands, and purpose throughlie to goe to reformatioun, I find all contrariwise; the king playing *Rex*, scorning and taunting all, boasting the poore, and bragging the riche; triumphing over the ministers, and calling them lownes, smaicks,[1] seditious knaves, and so furth. There was assembled a number of our best brethrein. We suted abrogatioun of the acts of parliament, and an act for establishing discipline. The lords sent us to the king, the king boasted us, and we gott no more. We gave in our animadversiouns upon the last acts, showing how they could by no meanes stand. But the king would have us contented with an interpretatioun and declaratioun of his, dytted by himself, the which, he alledges, sould be als good for us as an act of parliament; and when we gott it, it was but a dinne hummill kow.[2] At last, he promised a conference and Generall Assemblie to be convocated by him, *imperatore præsidente;* and so, we spent *operam et oleum.* In the meane tyme, Mr Johne Howesone made a good exhortatioun, telling the truthe, and meit for the purpose: but there was

[1] Contemptible fellows. [2] A dun cow without horns.

no remedie—he must goe to waird. Mr William Watsone followed after, and to gett him some liking and commendatioun, as appeared, spake raggatlie[1] the rough truthe; and he was chopped up beside the other. The king alledged, that it was the English ministers (so he termed us) that had stirred them up, and made Mr Craig, Mr David Lindsey, and the Minister of Linlithquo, to occupie the rest of the time. Mr Craig pleased the king in all points, and exhorted the lords and ministers not to stand upon their innocencie, but to fold their feete, and crave pardoun and grace at the king: so, justified the subscribers, and condemned these that had left their flockes. At last then was your mewche, the bishop, brought, and he taught, '*ecce quam bonum, et quam jucundum*,' and flattered all. What sall I say, man? I abode never suche a crosse in my life, as at this kinde of parliament. What could we doe? We ranne to the lords, everie one after other, and some times all together: we discharged our consciences to them; we threatned them, waried[2] them, and cursed them. But what? —everie one, severallie, confessed it was wrong; layed the wyte upon over muche wisdome. The wise said, it was not yitt tyme; but we sould see a redresse belyve, in another parliament. *Sed interim patitur justus*, and the curse of God lyes on them, for building of their owne houses, and suffering the hous of God to ly. The king would suffer nather living nor honour to be taikin from anie of the troublers; na, skairslie from Captan Candie James, lett be their lives. I feare nothing but a more heavie judgement upon the king, lords, and people, nor I have seene. As to the subscribing ministers, first, when the lords came in, and prospered, they seemed to yeeld, and offer satisfactioun. But how soone they perceaved the lords to be boasted, and give over that which God had givin them, and the king to stand stoutlie to the old marke, and Mr Craig to preache openlie against the peregrine ministers, they stoode stiffelie in their wickednesse, and insisted in the defence of their fact. James Gibsone spake plainlie, in the pulpit of Edinburgh, his minde of the king; and was called and accused, and is presentlie in waird in the Castell of Edinburgh. His accusatioun and an-

[1] Reproachfully. [2] Denounced.

swere I have sent unto you. Mr Andrew hath beene a sore traicked[1] man since he came home; ryding up and doun all the countrie, to see if he might move the brethrein to repent and joyne together, and waiting on court and parliament; and is now compelled, for one caus and other, to goe and rest in Glasgow. There is an act of restitutioun made in favours of all ministers, that within thir few yeeres past away off the countrie, to their livings and offices; and this is all that we could obteane at this parliament. But I live yitt in some hope of better, *per secundam navigationem*."

In the moneth of Januar, Lord Claud Hammiltoun, Commendatar of Paisley, returned to this countrie, and gott presence of the king, the day after his arrivall at Leith.

Upon the 2d of Januar, the king came from Innerleith to sermoun, in the Great Kirk of Edinburgh, made by Mr Walter Balcalquall, minister. The king, after sermoun, rebooked Mr Walter publictlie from his seate in the loaft, and said, he would prove there sould be bishops and spirituall magistrats endued with authoritie over the ministrie; and that he did not his duetie to condemne that which he had done in parliament.

There was a conference betuixt some of the counsell and some of the ministrie, at Halyrudhous, the 17th of Februarie 1586, where they agreed upon the heeds following:—

"It is condescended to in reasouning, that the name of a bishop hath a speciall charge and function annexed to it by the Word; his electioun to be, by a presentatioun to be directed by his Majestie to the Generall Assemblie, of whom he sall receave his admissioun.

"That he sall be appointed to a speciall kirk, where he sall keepe residence, and there serve the cure, as a minister, providing alwise that the particular flockes being forewarned, have place to oppone, as in the electioun of other ministers.

"That the Generall Assemblie sall choose out a senat or presbyterie of the most learned and godlie ministers within his bounds, to be limited to him, to have the oversight of in visitatioun, which sall be onlie used by advice of the presbyterie.

[1] Overtoiled with travel.

" By the senat's advice, he sall receave all presentatiouns of ministers within his said bounds, and by their advice proceed to their triell and collatioun; which collatioun sall be subscribed by the bishop or commissioner, and the greatest part of his said senat or presbyterie, in assemblie lawfullie conveenned; and by himself sall doe nothing, but that which a particular minister or moderator is astricted to by his office.

" If he be slanderous in his life or doctrine, he sall be answerable to the Generall Assemblie, to be appointed immediatlie, upon complaint made therof to his Majestie, by one or two of the ministrie. And if he be so found indeid, to be deprived by them. Wherupon another sall immediatlie be presented of new by his Majestie thereto.

" If he admit or deprive, without the consent of the most part of his senat, the deid to be null, and the doing therof a sufficient caus of deprivatioun to him.

" The number of the senat sall be appointed at the first by the Generall Assemblie, with his Majestie's advice. And if anie of the persons appointed therupon depart this life, another to be chosin in his place by the synodall.

" His power to be *ordinis causa, non jurisdictionis.*

" He sall be visiter within his owne bounds to be appointed to him; and where he may not convenientlie overtake the whole bounds, called of old the Diocie, commissioners sall be presented by his Majestie to the Generall Assemblie, and sall be tried and admitted by them to that effect, as the bishops are to theirs, and to be comptable allanerlie to the said Assemblie; and the bishops to have no power within the bounds committed to them, no more nor they have within his.

" The commissioners being elected, as said is, to have alike senat and power in the executioun of their office as the bishops have.

" The bishops and commissioners sall visie the presbytereis, and the moderator of the presbytereis sall visie the particular kirks.

" The same caus in life and doctrine to deprive a bishop that depriveth a minister.

"That presbytereis of persons ecclesiasticall sall be erected in convenient places by the Generall Assemblie, with advice of his Majestie or his commissioners; and the whole realme to be convenientlie divided to that effect.

"Where and in what presbyterie the person presented is to be admitted minister, upon advertisement made to the bishop or commissioner, he sall repaire thither immediatlie with his senat or presbyterie, and upon triell tane, admitt or refuse."

ASSEMBLIES.

"Synodall Assemblies to be twise in the yeere.

"First Synodall to be the 12th day of Aprile nixt.

"First Generall Assemblie the 10th of May nixt, in Edinburgh, or where his Majestie sall otherwise appoint, and to be convocated by his Majestie's proclamatioun, and missives to the bishops and commissioners in the said Assemblie, (where, God willing, his Hienesse himself mindeth to be personallie present;) his Majestie, by advice of suche of the number present as he sall adjoyne unto him, sall devise and sett doun a good and solide order, for their convocating, and appointing of all other circumstances belonging thereto, in time to come. Moderator of the first Generall Assemblie sall be chosin by maniest voices."

JURISDICTION.

"Jurisdictioun of the kirk consisteth in doctrine, ministratioun of the Sacraments, exercise of discipline, and correctioun of maners, by excommunication, and other usuall censures of the kirk, as likewise absolution from the same.

"That there are some offences which properlie perteane to the kirk to enquire upon, as heresie, apostasie, witchecraft, idolatrie, and all frailtie in the flesh, blasphemie, perjurie, usurie, abusing of the Sacraments, breaking of the Sabboth.

"That there are others that the kirk onlie may punish by the censures, and not cognosce upon, as slaughter, * * * * open disobeyers of their parents, smorers of childrein, and suche like, not-

withstanding that the civill magistrat have remitted the penaltie of the law to the committer.

" That Mr R. Montgomrie sall be re-presented to the Generall Assemblie, and there purge his offence, and be orderlie reconciled to the kirk.

" That Mr William Watsone, in his odious comparisoun of his Majestie to Jeroboam, and making him inferiour to him, is thought to have committed an offence worthie to be amended, and purged in open pulpit; and which the ministrie present wish and desire him to doe, the rather becaus of his promise made to the Laird of Largo, when he was sett at libertie, so to doe.

" *Apud Halyrudhous*, 19*th Februarij* 1586.

" It is agreed and thought meetest that the subdivisioun of dioceis, caus of deprivatioun, voting in parliament, commissioners' and moderators' stipends, and the setting of a steadfast and continuall order of the ministers' stipends, sall be remitted to a new conference, to be appointed by his Majestie heere at Halyrudhous, or where it sall happin him to be for the time, eight or ten dayes before the nixt Generall Assemblie; the same men of the ministrie, and some others, as his Majestie sall thinke meetest for the purpose, being warned thereto.

" Toward the fasting, the generall is remitted to the Generall Assemblie; the particular to everie particular kirk, according to their zeale and present occasioun."

Upon the 26th of Februarie, Mr Randulph came in ambassadge from England.

In the same moneth of Februar, Sir William Stewart of Monktoun, brother to the Erle of Arran, was taikin beside Strabrocke, by the Lord Hammilton's servants, caried to Hammiltoun, and after sent to Edinburgh to the Lord Hammiltoun, and then sett at libertie.

The provinciall assemblie of Fife conveenned at Sanct Andrewes in the beginning of Aprile, which was intermitted these two yeeres bygane. Mr James Melvill, Professor of Theologie, made the ex-

hortatioun, as moderator of the last assemblie, upon Rom. xii. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8. The assemblie being conveenned in the place accustomed verie frequentlie, and the bishop placing himself hard beside him, with a great pontificalitie, and big countenance, (as he bragged he was in his owne citie, and had the king his maister's favour, he needed not to feare no man,) after incalling of the name of God, he entered in the doctrine, and intreatted, First, the grounds and points of the true discipline, confirming the same by cleere warrants of Scripture; Therafter, refuted the contrarie corruptiouns, namelie, of the humane and devilish bishoprick; Thridlie, was discoursed the maner of planting and sattling, with most profitable, comelie, and confortable possessioun of the right and true discipline within the Kirk of Scotland untill these two or three yeeres last bypast. Fourthlie, it was deduced and declared throughout the whole ages of the kirk, since the planting thereof by the apostles, how that the presuming and swelling of the cheefe corrupt members, by avarice and ambitioun, had vitiated and wracked the estate of the kirk from tyme to tyme, bringing in sects, schismes, hereseis, and all kinde of corruptiouns, both in doctrine and maners. And, Last, comming in particular to our owne Kirk of Scotland, he turned to the bishop, sitting at his elbow, and directing his speeche to him personallie, he recompted him shortlie his life, actiouns, and proceedings against the kirk, taiking the assemblie there to witnesse, and his owne conscience, before God, if he was not an evident prooffe and exemple of that doctrine; whom, being a minister of the kirk, the Dragon had so stinged with the poysoun and venome of avarice and ambitioun, that, swelling exorbitantlie out of measure, he threatned the wracke and destructioun of the whole bodie, in caee he were not tymouslie and with courage cutt off. This particularlie confirmed and cleered exhortatioun was directed to the assemblie conveenned there, to play the chirurgian for preserving of the bodie, namelie, seing all meanes of amendiment had beene long since used upon that most corrupt member and monstrouous. And this was done with suche power

of the Spirit, and force of utterance, as it pleased God to furnishe for the worke he had in hand:

When he had ended, the bishop beganne with certane frivolous and forged questiouns and challenges against him, adding thereunto threatnings that he sould be made to answere before his Majestie for his doctrine offensive against the king, and acts of his Hienesse' parliament; but so dashed and strickin with terrour and trembling that he could skairse sitt, lett be to stand on his feete. But the assemblie, keeping their order, choosed a moderator, Mr Robert Wilkie, Professor of St Leonard's Colledge. Mr James Melvill humblie required, that in respect Mr Patrik Adamsone publictlie, in their presence, had alledged that in his exhortatioun he had uttered slanderous and offensive doctrine, speciallie against the king's Majestie and his lawes, that they would take triell of his doctrine, and if he were not found guiltie, that they would beare testimonie to the truthe; for it was to be feared that Mr Patrik, according to his accustomed maner, would not ceasse, by all meanes, calumniouslie to traduce the same before the king and counsell. Mr Andrew Muncreif, minister at Largo, and Mr Adam Mitchell, minister at Cowper, were ordeanned to wairne Mr Patrik to compeere before them to justifie his alledgances; with certificatioun, if he compeered not, after triell of his doctrine, they would give testimonie accordinglie. They report his answere, to witt, that the assemblie was no judge to him, but he to them, and that they were factiouslie conveenned. The truthe is, he was dashed in conscience, and terrified with the number of gentlemen conveenned, that, notwithstanding of his owne citie, and his maister's favour, he seemed to feare everie man he saw. Mr Patrik refusing to compeere, the assemblie (Mr James being removed) called to remembrance the heeds of his doctrine; and, finding it sound, consented to beare true and faithfull testimonie to the same, and ordeanned an act to be made therupon, to be produced before the king and counsell, if neid required.

Mr Patrik was summouned also to answere to sindrie complaints

of certane brethrein. Mr James Martine, Proveist of the Old Colledge, Mr Adam Mitchell, minister at Cowper, and Mr Andrew Muncreif, were sent to him again, to charge him to compeere, under the paine of contumacie and excommunicatioun. He refuseth, as of before, and sicklyke, the thrid time. Therefore, upon the 13th day of Aprile, afternoone, the provinciall assemblie conveenned, after incalling of the name of God, weyghing and considering the whole answers of the said Mr Patrik, finds, pronounces, and declairs the said Mr Patrik to be contumax, and disobedient to the voice of the kirk; and in respect therof, and of his disdainfull contempt of this assemblie conveenned in the name of Christ, not obeying the same, but rather claiming supremacie and judgement over all the brethrein; and also, considering the notorietie of the accusatiouns layed to his charge, namelie, the usurping of the functioun of the ministrie, being lawfullie therefra suspended by the Generall Assemblie holdin at Edinburgh in October 1583, together with his manifest impugning and overthrowing, so farre as in him lay, of the good order and policie of the Kirk of God, contrarie to the Word of God, and his hand-writts, finds him worthie to be holdin of all true Christians as an ethnick and publican; and, therefore, decerns him to be excommunicated instantlie. Notthelesse, to declare all lenitie, and, if it were possible, to bring him to the obedience of the kirk, the assemblie appointeth, *ex abundanti*, the Laird of Balfour, Johne Ure, minister at Leuchars, Mr James Melvill, minister at Arbrothe, Mr James Balfour, minister at Edvie, to passe again to the said Mr Patrik, earnestlie to travell with him, according to the effect of the former admonitiouns, and to intimat, before the pronouncing the proceedings of the assemblie, that he was judged worthie of excommunicatioun, and decerned to be excommunicated instantlie, in cace he continued still disobedient. Which persons returning backe, reported this his answere to the assemblie, as followeth:—That if the assemblie would give in to him the grounds of his accusatioun in writt, or ellis send one or two of the brethrein to confer with him, ather he sould satisfie them by the Word of God, or ellis humblie submitt himself to the

assemblie presentlie conveenned. The which answere, although the assemblie thought altogether insufficient, yitt, that none heerafter sould accuse them of suddantie or rashnesse in pronouncing the said sentence of excommunicatioun, ordeanned that Mr James Martine, Proveist of the Old Colledge, Mr James Melvill forsaid, and Mr Allane Lawmonthe, minister at Kennowy, passe again to the said Mr Patrik, commanding him, as of before, according to the tenor of the former admonitioun; and to conferre with him in certane of the heeds wherof he was to be accused, before the pronouncing of the said sentence of excommunicatioun: of the which heeds the tenor followeth:—1. Open transgressioun of the ordinance of the Generall Assemblie, whereby he was justlie suspended from all functioun of the ministrie. 2. His travell sensyne by all meanes to overthrow the whole order of the governement of the kirk of this countrie. 3. His proud contempt and disturbance of this assemblie. Last, His uttering, in face of the assemblie, slanderous untruthes against the brethrein, and opin avowing of antichristian Poprie and blasphemous heresie.

The brethrein above named reported his answere upon Thursday, the 14th of Aprile, to witt, that he would compeere in person. When he compeered, the generall heeds of his accusatioun were layed to his charge, wherunto he answered as followeth:—"I protest that in answering certan articles proponned to me, that I acknowledge not thereby the lawfulnesse of this assemblie, as otherwise conveened, than is agreed betuixt his Majestie and the ministers of the kirk; as, likewise, wherein a laick man is moderator; where, likewise, the votes of gentlemen (to whom the calling of the ministrie perteans not) is sought. And to the First heid I answere, that nather was I lawfullie summouned, as I ought to have beene by Act of Parliament, upon fyfteene dayes premonitioun, and upon a libelled precept conteaning the causes; and at that present, *reipublicæ causa*, his Majestie reteanned me with directioun his Hienesse gave me to England at that time. 2. The Moderater of the Generall Assemblie receaved my excuse, directed by the king himself, which was suppressed; which I now offer me to prove.

And, giving and not granting that I had beene summouned, yitt that discharge was nather intimated to me as it ought to have beene in so weightie a mater, nather was it pronounced by an ecclesiasticall persoun, but by a maister of a schoole, having no ordinarie functioun within the kirk. As to the Secund heed, it is generall, and the thing that I have done was openlie in parliament, wherof I have the testimonie of a good conscience, and desire an interlocutoriall whether anie will challenge me in my vote that is heere present. Answere to the Thrid heed, it is generall; and the Fourth likewise, it is generall; and the particulars givin in writt sall receave particular answere. And as tuiching antichristian Poprie, I have beene a publict enemie to it from my youth, (thankes be to God;) and if anie can otherwise verifie, am content publictlie to recant."

After the which answeres, the said Mr Patrik desired the Maister of Lindsay, as who had uttered in speeches some malice conceaved against him, and Mrs Andrew and James Melvill, his enemeis, to be removed. The Assemblie ordeans them to purge themselves of all partiall counsell against the said Mr Patrik, before God, and in face of the Assemblie, which they did before the brethrein; and therefore the Assemblie finds it not necessar that they be removed, but hath ordeanned that some speciall heids of the generall grounds of the foresaid accusatioun be propouned to him, wherof the tenor followeth:—

"As to the First heed, the Assemblie finds themselves not judges competent to the retreatting of the Act of the Generall Assemblie, and cannot but judge the same to be justlie pronounced; and as to the intimatioun therof, finds it lawfull in all points, becaus it was made by a minister of the Word, in pulpit, at his parish kirk.

"In the Secund heed generall, there are certane particulars. 1. His impugning of Generall Assembleis and presbytereis, in his publict preachings; 2. That he fathered on the Scriptures the superioritie of pastors above pastors; 3. In taking on him authoritie in his person, contrare the Word of God; 4. In confounding the distinctioun of jurisdictioun spirituall and civill. In the Thrid

heid, his proud behaviour in the Assemblie, and his trouble made by his officer to discharge the same. In the Last, his unjust accusatioun of Mr James Melvill in face of the Assemblie; and that his saying, to be judge over the Assemblie, and the Assemblie not over him, *est vox Papæ;* and to mainteane that the office of a doctor is no ecclesiasticall functioun is heresie. And siclyke his saying, that the office of a bishop, as he has it in his persoun, in all heeds hath the ground of the Word of God, is blasphemie; and that the same hath continued in puritie from the dayes of the apostles unto this time, is allowance of papistrie." To which the said Mr Patrik answered as followeth: In the Secund heed, to the first point, impugning of Generall Assembleis and presbytereis, answered, he taught nothing but that which is conteaned in the Word, agreeable to his Majestie's lawes, and the agreement betuixt the king and kirk. To the Secund point, that he had fathered on the Scriptures superioritie of pastors above pastors, answered, "Ye have mothered on the Scriptures equallitie of pastors, which is Anabaptistrie;" and is content likewise, before the Generall Assemblie, to reasoun it. To the Thrid point, that he had taiken upon him authoritie in his persoun, contrare to the Word of God, answered, "I offer me to prove, that the office of a bishop, as it is in my persoun, in all points is according to God's Word, and agreed upon by his Majestie's conference; and I entered therinto by a lawfull calling." And to the Fourth, concerning the confounding of the jurisdictiouns spirituall and civill, denyeth the same. To the Thrid heed, of his proud behaviour in the Assemblie, and his trouble made by his officer without anie kinde of letters, answered, He knoweth no contempt done in his persoun; and denyeth the direction of an officer, and troubling the Assemblie; and sayeth, it apperteaneth not to the Assemblie to meddle with that matter. As to the last heed, First, concerning the unjust accusatioun of Mr James Melvill in face of the Assemblie, answered, that "Mr J. Melvill impugned the estat of bishops, and the godlesse lawes made at that time, wherof he alledged me to be the author." To the Secund point, that it is *Vox Papæ* to be judge over the Assemblie, and the Assemblie not

over him, answered, That a bishop in a diocie is president, as is concluded in the last conference, and is that πρεσπῶς wherof Paul speeketh to Timothie, οἱ πρεσπωτες πρεσβυτεροι; and affirmeth, that he is judge to the Synodall, and subject to the Generall; and denieth this to be Poprie. To the Thrid, that a doctor hath no ecclesiasticall functioun, answered, That it is true; and that they were but maisters of schooles, and laick men. To the last, that the office of a bishop, as he has it in his person, in all heids hath the ground of the Word of God, and in puritie hath continued from the dayes of the apostles unto this time, answered, That as for the ecclesiasticall jurisdiction, it is true; and as for the temporall, doted by princes, it is nothing contrare the Word of God. After the which answeres, the said Mr Patrik desired to heare the interlocutoriall of the assemblie, concerning the removing of the Maister of Lindsay, Mrs Andrew and James Melvill; which being declared to him, as is above expressed, the said Mr Patrik made his appellatioun in maner following:—"I appeale from the interlocutoriall pronounced, concerning the passing furth of the Maister of Lindsay, Mrs Andrew and James Melvills, which two last have uttered by their speeches, and by other practises, the inimitie of their mindes conceaved against me. And in respect they are not removed, but reteaned heere in judgement, I appeale from this wrongous interlocutoriall, and from all things done, or to be done, in this present pretended presbyterie to my prejudice, to the Generall Assemblie of the kirk, proclamed by his Majestie to the 12th of May nixt, or to anie other lawfull Assemblie Generall, when it sall happin to be conveenned; and protests for *Apostolos*, and all other things of forme of law requisite for me." The which day, the assemblie weighing particularlie everie one of the said Mr Patrik's answeres, finds nather satisfaction nor submissioun, according to his promise, but rather greater contumacie, to contempt of the assemblie, and obstinat avowing of untruths, and errors against the Word of God, in opin face therof.

The which day after noone, the provinciall assemblie conveenned in St Leonard's schooles, after incalling, &c., "Anent the whole processe

deduced against Mr P. Adamsone, having considered it, and tryed the same, with mature deliberatioun and conference, has found thereby, that the said Mr Patrik has no wise amended his contumacie and disobedience to the voice of the Kirk of God, and the said assemblie conveenned in the name of our Lord Jesus; but rather continuing therin, contemptuouslie travelleth to usurpe, and utter his tyrannical ambitioun and supremacie over the Kirk of God, his brethrein, and this present assemblie, with sindrie slanderous untruthes, als weill against the Word as some of the brethrein; and being desired, by diverse admonitiouns givin to him by certanë of the brethrein, in name of the assemblie, to heere the voice of the kirk, he not onlie contemptuouslie and disdainfullie refuseth the censures and judgement therof, to be tryed by the assemblie, but claming supremacie and judgement above them, heapeth up contempt above contempt against the ordinance of Jesus Christ, adding thereto the notorietie of the accusatioun before the Generall Assemblie; wherin he was thought worthie, for weightie and great causes and crimes, to be suspended indeid from all functioun of the ministrie, as an act made by the Generall Assemblie in October 1583, produced and read in this synodall assemblie, at more lenth proports; contrarie to the tenor whereof, he hath not onlie usurped the forsaid holie functioun, against the ordinance of the kirk, and to the heavie slander of the ministrie, but also, taking a displeyed banner against the whole good order and governement of the kirk, being practised within this realme, with most fruictfull effect following therof, since the first reformatioun of religioun within the same, and speciallie, his notorious impugning the sattled order of Generall Assembleis and Presbytereis, which are grounded upon the same Word: Therefore, and for diverse other notorious slanders wherof he was to be accused, and refused to underly anie lawfull triell, the assemblie, in the feare of God, and in the name of Christ Jesus, moved by zeale to the glorie of God, and purging of His kirk, ordeans the said sentence of excommunicatioun instantlie to be putt in executioun, in face of the assemblie; and by the mouth of Mr Andrew Hunter, minister at Carnbie, at command and ap-

pointment of the assemblie, declairs him to be one of these whom Christ commandeth to be holdin by all and everie one of the faithfull as an ethnick or publican: And ordeanneth this sentence of excommunicatioun to be intimated in all kirks, that none pretend ignorance heerof." Extracted furth of the bookes of the provinciall assemblie of Fife, and subscribed by the moderator and scribe therof.

The bishop, upholdin awhile by the authoritie of man, repynned proudlie against the sentence. But he felt the weight of it the sorer therafter.

The bishop penned a forme of excommunicatioun a day or two after, and in a bishoplike maner sent out a boy, with one or two of his jacke men, to read the same in the kirk, wherin he excommunicated Mrs Andrew and James Melvills, and some other brethrein. But the people regarded no more his excommunicatioun than if he had fyled the kirk. He being excommunicated, directed a messinger with a complaint to the king, and an appellatioun to the king, the estats, and privie counsell. Notwithstanding of the old suspensioun, and this new censure of excommunicatioun, he will still preache. Being readie to goe to pulpit, he was informed, that some gentlemen and citicens were conveenned in the New Colledge, of purpose to take him out of the pulpit, and hang him. He called for his jacke men and freinds, and fearing to abide in the kirk, he tooke him to the steeple. Skairse could he be drawin furth by the bailliffes, accompanied with all his favourers and freinds, readie to convey him to his owne castell. At lenth, halfe drawin, halfe caried, and borne away, he so stinked, that these who were neerest could skairse abide him. An haire brake furth in the High Street, ranne before them toward the castell, and doun through the north gate. The people called it the Bishop's Witche. The bishop's feare proceeded of a false alarme; for some gentlemen, and other good people in the toun, conveenned in the New Colledge, to heare Mr Andrew Melvill teache, becaus they made conscience to heare one both suspended from his ministrie and excommunicated.

MR P. ADAMSON'S APPELLATION, TOGETHER WITH MR JAMES MELVILL'S ANSWERE.

" Appellation from the unjust and pretended Sentence of Excommunication pronounced against Patrik Bishop of Sanct Andrewes, to the King's Majestie's Counsell, Estats, and lawfull Assemblie.

" If all men understood, and perfytelie followed that sentence of David, where he sayes, that ' Judgement is God's,' they would nather intrude themselves in the place of judgement without lawfull calling, nather, being lawfullie called, would doe anie wrong, contrare to God's ordinance, who has appointed them. But becaus not a few number usurp the place of judgement at their owne hand, and others, at their owne appetite, pervert equitie, therefore, the law als weill of nature as the law of God, and positive of men, has provided remedie, to appeale to a lawfull and superiour judgement; which are the two causes that presentlie move me (most mightie, most excellent, and most Christian prince) to appeale to your Majestie, and Honours of your Majestie's counsell, estats of parliament, or assembleis lawfullie conveenned by your Majestie, against the pretended processe of excommunicatioun, pronounced by certane few ministers and gentlemen, in their pretended maner, of a pretended synod holdin in Sanct Andrewes, in Sanct Leonard's schooles, the 14th of Aprile, 1586 yeere."

" An Answere to the qualification of a most unjust and pretended Appellatioun of Mr P. Adamsone, called Bishop of Sanct Andrewes, from the righteous Sentence of Excommunication pronounced against the said Mr P. Adamsone, by the lawfull and ordinar Synod of the Province of Fife, assembled at Sanct Andrewes, the 12th of Aprile, anno 1586 *; by J. M.*

" If the appealer understood that judgement was God's, as he cites the words of David, then sould he also have understood and

approved two necessar consequences ensuing therupon; 1. That judgement to be lawfull, the which God himself has appointed and instituted; as namelie, the lawfull assembleis of lawfullie called pastors, doctors, and elders, to which he has givin gifts requisite, and appointed his officers and servants, for ruling and governement of his kirk, and to whom he has givin the keyes of the kingdome of heaven, the power of binding and loosing, with that spirituall two-edged sword in their hands; and, 2. He sould have knowne and confessed that they, orderlie conveenned in Christ's name, their Lord and King, him to be in the midds of them, according to his promise, in suche sort, that whatsoever they agree upon in earth, according to his Word, (the which conteanes the lawes of governement of his spirituall kingdome) to be ratified in the heaven. Of the which two things, seing the lawfull synod conveenned in the name and authoritie of the Lord Jesus Christ, with the king's Majestie's allowance, and under his humble obedience, in St Andrewes, the 12th of Aprile, *anno* 1586, is assured in conscience before God, and is able to verifie them to be true of her self before the whole world, the appealer had no just caus to disclame her judgement, and compleane of injurie done to him therinto, unlesse he would have plainlie declaired and shewed himself not to be the servant of God, member of his kirk, nor subject or citicen of the kingdom of Christ Jesus, governed by his lawfull office-bearers and lawes."

Appealer.

"I am not ignorant, that suche as seditiouslie would trouble the estat of the kirk and countrie will reply, that thir maters are ecclesiasticall, and belong nothing to your Majestie's authoritie; the contrare wherof is most certane by the Scriptures, and primitive antiquitie, before the usurped jurisdictioun of the Pope of Rome, and troding of the neckes of princes under his feete. St Paul being judged before Festus, the President, of the resurrectioun, and desired to be tryed therof by the ordinarie preests at Jerusalem, he appealed Cæsar, an ethnick prince and a tyranne. And our Maister and Saviour Jesus Christ commandeth us to give tnat unto

Cæsar which is Cæsar's. And seing the Apostle appeales Cæsar, it followes, that appellatioun apperteans to princes, as proper unto them, to be girth and refuge against tyrannie ather spirituall or temporall. The which is manifest by manie appellatiouns of the bishops of Africk, to the Roman emperours for the time, and of Athanasius Magnus, from the Councell of Tyrus to the Emperour Constantine. Nather were there other appellatiouns but to princes, a long time after the emperours receaved the Christian faith. But it came to passe that the emperour, being occupyed in great effaires of the commoun weale, they did often tymes depute the Bishop of Rome, for cognitioun of the caus of appellatiouns; and therafter, the force of the Roman impyre decaying, and the Bishop of Rome increassing, that power and jurisdictioun remained onlie to them, albeit it apperteaned properlie to princes. What further prerogative in the kirk belongeth to them, speciallie, they professing the truthe, it would require a more ample discourse. But presentlie, it serves sufficientlie to verifie, that appellatiouns sould be directed, and lawfullie may we appeale, at this present, your Majestie."

Answere.

"There is none that knowes the fashiouns and conditiouns of the appealer, and his present estat, but easilie may perceave this to be a wicked calumnie, cast in in a maner of occupatioun, to make the ministrie and speciall learned and good men amongst them odious to his Majestie and Christian princes; the which he would faine flatter, and hunt favour of, for his present turne. For the which, I answere in this sort, that if he be not ignorant, that suche as would seditiouslie trouble the estat of the kirk and commoun weale will reply, that thir maters are ecclesiasticall, and belong nothing to the king's Majestie, we may easilie judge him of his owne mouth, as a lowne servant; that as he has seditiouslie, this long time, troubled the estat of the kirk and countrie, so he knows weill his marrowes and companiouns, and what they have to reply in this maner, as he writeth. Concerning which seditious

troubling of the kirk and commoun weale, we would wish no better decisioun betuixt him and the ministrie, or suche in speciall as he would designe in his speeche, than that both the one and the other sould be putt to an assise of the best, most honest, and godlie of everie estat of the land; and which of the two sould be fyled of the said heynous cryme, to have the chappell of the Burrow Mure to play the feild bishop (χωρεπισκοπειν) into.

"But if he will say, that this is the opinioun of the ministers of that assemblie, then, truelie, he is ather ignorant of their judgement and doctrine of that mater, or ellis a malicious calumniator of that which he knowes. For it was never the judgement, doctrine, or replyes of anie of the ministrie of Scotland, that maters ecclesiasticall perteanned nothing to the king or Christian magistrat; but contrariwise, that first, and above all things, the Christian magistrat ought to have care of religioun, and maters perteanning to the kirk, and employ his authoritie and power to the wealefare and good estat therof; and that he is the minister and lieutenant of God, who has receaved the sword, cheefelie, to that effect. Nather doe we denie, that it is leasome to anie that are hurt and injured by the kirk and governours therof, to have recourse to the Christian magistrat for helpe and releefe; that he may call for the rules of the kirk, and examine and see whether if, according to the rules of their office conteaned in the Word of God, they have judged aright, and done their duetie, or otherwise. Onlie this we denie, that the civill magistrat may use the office of the pastor, in preaching the Word, or ministring of the Sacraments; or of the doctors, in taiking upon him to interpret the Scriptures, and give the trüe and plaine meaning of the same, in judgement of maters of controversie, as having that ordinarie calling, gifts meete for the same, and promise of God's blessing made therunto. And that his civill and externall governement, concerning the bodie and goods of men, is not different from the spirituall and internall governement of the elders of the kirk, concerning the soules and consciences; notwithstanding they, as two loving and most inteere sisters, goe alwayes together, for their mutuall confort and pleasure; yea, even

as the twinnes of Hippocrates, that so were joyned in a nature and sympathie, that when one of them leughe or mourned, the other was incontinent moved to the same affectioun also. So that our judgement and doctrine in this mater is plain and evident.

"Nather have we refused at anie time, nor presentlie refuse, to be dealt withall according thereto; that in cace anie find themselves injured or wronged by the office-bearers of the kirk in discharging their callings, ather severallie in the points of their offices, severallie to be discharged by themselves alone, or conjunctlie, being together in their lawfull assembleis and meetings by equall and cõmoun power governing the kirk. Incace they can find no remedie at the superior power and greater assembleis, they may leasomlie compleane to the magistrat Christian, who, of duetie and office, may and ought to convocat to him the pastors, doctors, and elders of the kirk, and sight the lawes and points of their offices and dueteis sett doun in the Word of God; and according thereto, caus them to judge and try the caus of the persons, compleanners, or compleaned upon, and caus by his authoritie putt in executioun that which, conforme to the Word of God, they sall conclude and determine upon. And on this wise did the good kings of Israel and Judah, and the best and most godlie Christian emperors, proceed in suche causes, as is evident in the Scripture and ecclesiasticall historie.

"The impertinent arguments and superfluous witnesses produced in this caus are als true in themselves, and meit for the purpose, as was the alledgance. For Christ commands in so doing, as I have spokin; we give to Cæsar that which is Cæsar's in this point, as in all others; and so (God be praised) are farre from the naturall, and doings of the appealer, the which we ever by the Word of God impugned in his usurping of temporall lordships, civill and criminall judgements, supremacie in parliaments and counsells of the realme, whereby he, puffed up in Poplie pride, is accustomed to sett at nought the inferiour magistrats and noblemen of the countrie, naming them his vassalls and servants. But I pray you, ather with what conscience if he knew better, or bold ignorance if he understood not, alledg-

eth he the exemple of Paul in appealing to Cæsar; and therof concluds verie logicallie, but *του καθ ἑκαστον και καθόλον, ex singulari exemplo universalem thesin?* And with the like, or a little fynner logick, he concluds in the end of his preface, Paul appealed from Festus to Cæsar, therefore so may I from the synod to the king's Majestie. 'And seing,' sayes he, 'that the apostle appeales to Cæsar, it followes, that appellatiouns perteane to princes as proper to them;' first, alledging that Paul was accused of the doctrine of the resurrectioun, when, as read all the accusatiouns givin in by the Jewes, and Tertullus the oratour, against him, yee sall find almost no suche thing, but the whole almost to stand in thir three heids,—that he had offended against the law of the Jewes, against the temple, and against Cæsar.[m] Indeid, before the Sanedrion, by a godlie and wise policie to bring the Phariseis and Sadduceis in dissensioun, he himself drawes his accusatioun to the point of Christian doctrine anent the resurrectioun of the deid; like as, in verie deid, it was not onlie for that head of Christian religioun that they hated him, but for the preaching of the whole doctrine of Christ Jesus and his Evangell, namelie, to the Gentiles; and also, partlie to pretermitt no occasioun of uttering of that message which he had receaved, and partlie to astonishe the heathnick judge, he brings his doctrine and apologie to that point before Festus. But it is manifest that the Phariseis would never have accused him of that which they professed themselves, as that dissensioun betuixt them and the Sadduceis in their Sanedrion plainlie witnesses. And, finallie, to overthrow this ignorance, how ridiculous and foolish a thing is it to say or meane that Paul the apostle appealed to Nero, then being Cæsar, there to be judged by him of the resurrectioun of the deid, and heids of Christian religioun, who was a most malicious and cruell persecutor therof; and that bloodie lyoun, out of whose clawes and teith he glorifieth God who had delivered him! (2 Tim. iv. 17, 18.) The purpose of Paul, then, behoved to be ather to appeale to Cæsar as soveran judge in maters criminall layed to his charge, for that they accused him as an author of tumult and seditioun, and a contemner of Cæsar; or elis, that, per-

ceaving the judge, Festus, partiallie to be inclynned to the appetite of his accusers, and suche a man as might be corrupted by money, he used a fashioun of appellatioun, not of anie purpose to be judged by Cæsar, whom he would not have seene if he might have done otherwise, as in so doing he would eschew the present danger, and committ the event to God, as he thought good to dispose upon him; for this appellatioun of Paul's being rightlie considered, can never be esteemed properlie an appellatioun, but onlie a meane to preserve his life for the present, in so farre as, according to the law, '*Appelatio est a sententia interlocutoria, vel definitiva;*' of the which, neither proceeded against Paul, but, by the contrare, Festus, the judge, pronounced him innocent, (Acts xxv. 6, 26, 27;) and likewise Agrippa the king, after he had heard him make his apologie, (Acts xxvi. 31, 32.)

"Now, as to the manifold appellatiouns of the bishops of Africk to the Roman emperours, becaus he names none in particular, I thinke he means the Donatists' provocatiouns to Constantine, the good emperour; for I see none so meit for his purpose. For it is true, indeid, that they feareing the judgement of the lawfull synods, becaus of their arrogant and prydefull errour, appealed oft times from the same unto the emperour.[1] But it is als true, that Constantine the emperour would not accept of the appellations of the Donatists, but remitted them again to the bishops, ordinarie judges therof. And at the last, for eshewing of trouble, being forced by the importunitie of the adversareis of the truthe, he gave no new sentence, but approved and fortified the old. *Augustin. Epist.* 162, *contra Donatistarum pertinaciam de innocentia Cæciliani.* '*Rogatus imperator, judices misit episcopos, qui cum Miltiade sederent, et de tota illa causa quod justum videretur statuerent.*' *Et ibidem:* '*Neque enim ausus est Christianus imperator sic eorum*

[1] Donatus, pretended Bishop of Carthage, appealed from Macarius, Proconsul of Africk. *Item*, Sua Miltiades, Bishop of Rome, and his fellowes. *Item*, From the Bishop Arelatensis and his companions, to Constantine the emperour, in a question mere ecclesiastick, to witt, whether if Cæcilianus was worthie to be a bishop, who, in time of persecution, gave the Bible to be burnt.—*Marginal note in the MS.*

querelas accipere, ut de judicio episcoporum qui Romæ sederent, ipse judicaret, sed alios episcopos dedit,' &c. And in the Councell of Nice, Constantine the emperour would not judge upon the preests; but affirmeth, that in that place, to witt, in the counsell, they sould judge him. Lyke as Ambrose also, Lib. v. Epist. 32, affirmes bishops onlie to be meit judges in maters of the faith, policie, and life of bishops. As for the exemple of Athanasius, in his appealing from the Councell of Tyrus unto the Emperour Constantine, the appealer being altogether unlike good Athanasius in uprightnesse, truthe, good life and maners, and so, done like in manie things to Eusebius of Nicomedia, Theognes, Maris, Patrophilus, and the rest of the wicked bishops assembled at Tyrus; especiallie in forging out false accusations and malicious calumneis against upright and good men, and dinging the same in the eares of the prince,[1] the exemple can make nothing for him, but greatlie against him; and that so muche the more, as we are in good hope, that the king sall endeavoure himself to doe according to that which good Constantine utters, and promises in his letter writtin to that Councell of Tyrus, in these words, as they are translated out of Greeke in English, by Meredith Hanmer, out of Socrates Scholasticus: 'See (sayes the emperour) that you come unto us with speid, perswading your self of this, that our minde, als muche as in us lyeth, is, first of all, to mainteane soundlie, without corruption, all that is conteaned in Holie Scripture, so that no blemish of slander or infamie may redound therunto; abandoning, wearing away, and rooting out all the rottin adversareis of Christian religion, who, under colour of Christian profession, have creeped in, and sowed in the Kirk of God sindrie blasphemeis, sects, and hereticall schismes.' And yitt, in the said historie, as it is writtin by Socrates, there is no mentioun made of anie appellatioun; but that Athanasius, seing and perceaving all that were conveened in that councell to be Arrians, withdrawes himself from that councell secreitlie, and goes to Constantinople to the emperour, to show him of the wrongous proceedings against him.

[1] Sulpitius Biturigensis, Episcopus, in Hist. Eccles.—*Marginal note in the MS.*

"And, last, he affirmes generallie and boldlie, that there was no appellations but to princes, a long time after the emperours receaved the Christian faith. To the which bold assertioun, I oppone that which Socrates, Lib. ii. 40, writtes of one Cyrillus, Bishop of Jerusalem, a man not unlike this appealer in fashiouns. The words of Socrates, as Musculus translates them, are these: '*Cyrillus Hierosolymitanus episcopus depositus est in concilio Seleuciano, propterea quod, sæpenumero vocatus duos continuos annos, accusationes veritas non comparuisset. Vocatus autem, depositoribus misso libello appellationis, ad majus judicium appellavit. Hoc Cyrillus, solus et primus, præter ecclesiasticæ canonis consuetudinem, appellationibus perinde ac in publico judicio usus fecit.*' Wherof it is evident, that before that Councell of Seleucia, which was in the Emperour Constantin's dayes, there was no appellatioun from the kirk. And so it is plain against your alledgance, that the Pops of Rome tooke not the appellatiouns from the emperor, but from the synods and councels of the kirk. And in verie deed, the best Christian emperours, and namelie, good Constantine, tooke never unto their judgements the appellations of the kirk; but professing plainlie, that they sould instruct them in all things perteaning to God and the kirk. Onlie by their authoritie, they convocated the bishops and governours of the kirk, to cognosce upon appellatiouns, and all other things belonging tc the kirk, as is evident in the caus of Athanasius, and processe of the Donatists against Cæcilian. And so, to conclude the preface: Giving unto you and not granting, as yee meane, that appellatiouns might leasomelie and justlie, in things mere ecclesiastick, be simplie deferred to the king's Majestie, and that becaus we are als weill content to be heard before his Hienesse in this caus as yee are, yitt followes it nothing, that yee had anie just caus to declyne the judgement of the lawfull synod, and appeale therefra to the prince, compleaning of anie wrong or injurie; muche lesse, so boldlie and wickedlie to forge out so manie falshoods and untruthes, and so impudentlie to give them up in writt to the king's Majestie and counsell, as heerafter follow."

Appealer.

"I alledge, and offer me to prove, in the two heids foresaid, that in the unlawfullnesse of their pretended conveening, and in their wrongous proceeding, they have done most unjustlie against God, your Majestie, and to me, the compleaner. 1. The pretended conventioun is expresse against your Majestie's Acts of Parliament: 2. In the maner of their conveening, nather convocated by your Majestic's letters, nather by the bishop of the diocie. By the which two arguments, Augustine the doctor impugnes the processe of Cecilianus, as wrongouslie deduced against him, speciallie seing your Majestie, at your Hienesse' last conference, had taikin another order: 3. Becaus, in the said pretended assemblie, Mr Robert Wilkie was chosin their pretended moderator, who is a laick man, a regent in a colledge allanerlie, who has no impositioun of hands, nather can be anie lawfull president over the ministrie; for St Paul to Timothie maketh him who is πρεσβυς in the kirk to be a presbyter, and not a laick man: 4. The principall and first votes in the said pretended assemblie were of some barons and gentlemen, maisters of schooles and colledges, who have no functioun or office in the ecclesiasticall estate, and to whom apperteane no suffrages in lawfull assembleis; wherin your Majestie please be remembred, that albeit they denie your Hienesse' authoritie in the kirk, notwithstanding they authorize the same, in suche gentle men as it pleases them to conveene for the tyme, for suche purpose as they have in hand: 5. In the said pretended synod, verie few ministers were present; and if they had beene there, a sufficient number, they were not lawfull judges to the bishop, but he to them; for the Apostle Paul appointed Timothie, who was bishop, to be judge over the ministers, *sed non contra.* By thir reasouns, the unlawfulnesse of this assemblie is proved."

Answere.

"After his preface, the appealer propons two heids, and alledges, and offers him to prove, that the assemblie was unlawfull; and that

in it great wrong was done against God, the king's Majestie, and him, the compleaner: for answere to the which alledgance, we blesse God his tongue is no slaunder; nather will anie godlie or honest man like a white the worse of us, or the better of him, for all that he can reale or alledge against our doings. But to prove his alledgance, he brings furth five reasouns, to all which if I sould answere in a word, that they were lees and untruthes, I sould easilie satisfie all suche as ather know, or truelie have tryed the mater. Yitt, for their caus who have not yitt knowne our proceedings, I will orderlie answere.

"'First,' sayes he, 'It was conveenned against your Majestie's Acts of Parliament expresslie.' An untruthe; for the first Act of Parliament made by his Majestie, in the first yeere of his Majestie's raigne, with advice of his good regent, of most happie memorie, James Erle of Murrey, and ratified sensyne in everie one of the parliaments holdin by his Hienesse, grants full power and libertie to the kirk to preache the Word, minister the sacraments, and exerce discipline according to the Word of God; the which can no wise be done, without the lawfull synods and assembleis of the kirk; lyke as the Kirk of Scotland has beene in continuall possessioun sensyne of conveening themselves, both in generall and particular assembleis, untill the two last yeeres bypast of the appealer's archiepiscopall tyrannie and confusioun. But if he will reply, that he meanes of the Acts of Parliament made in May, *anno* 1584, something, with the good license and favour of his Majestie, must we utter, concerning that mater, and answere, that not onlie we, but the whole ministers of the Kirk of Scotland, take the said Acts of Parliament to be dispensed upon by his Majestie, and layed loose, to be reasoned upon and reformed according to the Word of God. For ellis, how sould the brethrein assembled at Linlithquo, at the parliament holdin there in December, *anno* 1585 yeeres, have givin in animadversiouns upon these Acts of Parliament, at his Majestie's owne command, plainlie showing to his Majestie, that so manie of these acts as concerned the kirk could not stand with the Word of God, and, therefore, humblie craved that they might

be abrogated and annulled, and new acts according to God's Word putt in their place? How sould his Majestie have givin furth under his owne hand-writt, his interpretatioun and declaratioun upon the acts, farre diverse from the bishop's declaratioun imprinted, wherin some of these acts are annulled, some greatlie altered, and some declaired to be farre otherwise taikin, than commounlie they were taikin of before; as in speciall, the act concerning excommunicatioun? How was there a reasoning and conference then promised, and therafter sett doun upon all these things concerning the kirk maters, if the acts sould stand now in full vertue and force of lawes? How have the brethrein of the ministrie throughout all the parts of this countrie assembled in their weekelie conventiouns, and to this last Provinciall Assemblie? How have publict fasts in sindrie places beene indicted and solemnelie keeped? How has his Majestie givin licence, and accorded in a plain article of conference, that the Provinciall Synods sall hold twise in the yeere, according to which our last synod was keeped in St Andrewes; and not expresslie, as you falselie alledge, against his Majestie's will and lawes? And, finallie, in what estate sall kirk, king, and commoun weale stand into, if these acts of that parliament sall stand in full force and effect, and judgement, with executioun, passe therupon? We would, therefore, in this cace, most humblie beseeke his Majestie, and his honour's counsell, to marke the pernicious minde of this man. He finds himself almost fallin to the earth, and to have resting on one onlie weake prop wheron he leanes; that is, one of these acts of parliament for his archiepiscopall estat in speciall, the which, both in it self beareth, and his Majestie in his interpretatioun plainlie has declaired to be but temporall to the nixt parliament; and so it is long since expired. And yit, that that cracked and rent stoup of his may appeare to stand, he ceases not, so farre as in him lyes, to overthrow and make fall again in horrible confusioun, the whole estat of the kirk and commoun weale. If so pestilent a member deserve not rather to be cutt off from the societie of the kirk and commoun weale, then in either of them mainteaned and nourished, lett the world judge.

"Now, to the secund reasoun, I answere, that our assemblie was convocated according to the Word of God, exemple of the primitive kirk in the first, sext, and fyfteen of the acts, and conforme to our accustomed and wounted order keeped from the beginning of the reformation of religioun in Scotland, the which we behoved to use, becaus it had the warrants that I have spokin of. And there was no new forme prescribed, (for where yee say that his Majestie had taikin another order in the late conference, ather yee have suppositious and false copeis therof, which come never to the knowledge of the kirk, or then, yee speeke with like conscience and truthe in that as in other things;) nather could we follow anie other maner or forme nor was used in all the rest of the countrie in their synods, the which sought nather anie farther of his Majestie, nor his licence and good will declaired at the conference; nather would in anie maner of wise acknowledge the authoritie of bishops, which long since, by the Word of God, they had damned in the generall councells of this realme. And as to that yee alledge of Augustine, since I know your conscience to be, to cast out anie thing that yee conceate to make for your purpose, and father the same upon some ancient doctors, I would yee sould have quotted some place of Augustin; for I can find no suche thing in these places, where cheefelie he treats of the processe of Cecilianus against the Donatists.[1] Therefore, nather granting nor denying your alledgance, I say yee have not tuiched the cheefe argument of Augustine against the assembleis of the Donatists, that their synods were not convocated

[1] "This alledgance furth of Augustine is to be suspected; for nather could I find it in anie of the seven bookes against the Donatists, nor in the 162 Epist., which is all on that mater; nor in 3 Lib. cap. 13, contra Crescon. gramm. ubi quod pro Optato, Donatista, pro Cæciliano, et æquius etiam responderi posse docet. Nec eodem lib. cap. 61, ubi Cæcilianum a Donatistis sæpius accusatum, semper a judicio absolutum, etiam a Constantino Magno imper. Nec Lib. iv. cap. 7, objiciebat Cresc.; Cæcilianum damnatum a 70 episcopis. Respondet Augustin; et Primianum episcopum, a 70 episcopis damnatum esse, quem tamen ipsi absolvissent. Sed Cæcilianum et absentem, ab illis 70 damnatum, et a Constant. a quo auditus fuit coram absolutum. Nec itemque de unico baptismo contra Pocilianum, ubi docet eos fuisse tradituros qui Cæcil. damnaverunt, si, ex personarum comparatione causa hæc staret."—*Marginal note in the original.*

in the name and authoritie of Christ, nor governed by his Word; with the which, if yee darre deale against our assemblie, ye sall be heard and answered.

"That distinctioun of yours betuixt the clergie and laicks, in your thrid reasoun, smelles of the pride of Papistrie, and arrogancie of these shavelings of the antichrist, who esteems themselves to be the holie inheritance of the Lord allanerlie, and the people to be, in respect of them, profane and unholie. But no mervell it is, suppose yee who have that tyrannous archiepiscopall estat commoun with the Papists, use both their words and reasouns for mainteaning of the same. Yee now will say, your meaning is, that Mr Robert Wilkie was no office-bearer nor governour in the kirk, and, therefore, could not be a lawfull moderator. I answere, your antecedent is plaine false; for it is notoriouslie knowne, that Mr R. Wilkie was appointed by the act of reformatioun of the colledges to teache Theologie, and expone the Scriptures. As Origine, *in Alexandrina ecclesia*, being but Ludimagister, and yitt approved by the best bishops of Palestina before whom he taught in Divinity, as Eusebius in his vi. booke, cap. 20, witnesses, and at lenth setts doun, alledging sindrie exemples for that purpose. And so, where yee first terme Mr Robert a laick, and nixt call him a regent in a colledge, the secund convicts the first of an untruthe, and by repugnance overthrowes it. More, it is als notorious that the same Mr Robert has beene *propheta* upon the exercise this sixteene yeere, and at the first erection of the presbyterie in Sanct Andrewes, by commoun vote of the brethrein to have beene elected and ordeaned an elder of the samine, and sensyne, has continued labouring in the Word and doctrine, especiallie the yeere last bypast, in the toun of St Andrewes, to the great confort of the people, when the hyreling bishop, their pretended pastor, had shamefullie left them in great miserie and desolatioun; and, therefore, is rather worthie of double honour, according to the canon of the Apostle which yee cite, than of that undeserved and lightlifull reproache which yee would impute to him. As for your wicked minde, in perverting that place of the Apostle for your ambitious superioritie amongst ministers, against

the expositioun of the ancients, and article agreed upon in conference betuixt the kirk and the king's Majestie; the Lord forgive you it: I say no more.

"The fourth argument is als full of untruthes as sentences. First, it is not true that the votes of gentlemen were ather required or noted, and namelie, in your mater and caus. Secundlie, it is als untrue, that the votes of them whom yee call schoolemaisters were first craved. Thridlie, where yee alledge, that the gentlemen and schoolemasters (for so lightlifullie yee terme the Professors of Theologie) have no office in the Kirk of God, it is most false of all. For as to these gentlemen, they were and are ordinar elders in their owne congregatiouns and sessiouns, of that sort which labour not in the Word, but attend over the maners of the people, and assist the pastors in the discipline, according to the Word of God, (Rom. xii.; 1 Tim. v.; 1 Cor. xii.; Ephes. iv.,) and custome of the kirk in this land, since the beginning of religioun; the which also were directed in commissioun from the particular parishes to the said synod; and as in all parts of this realme (ever from the first reformatioun) were admitted as fellow governours of the kirk, to reasoun, vote, and conclude in all maters perteaning to the kirk's jurisdictioun. And as to these whom yee call schoolemaisters, they are by their office elders, and members of the presbyterie, to whose most lawfull and necessar functioun in the kirk it apperteans to interpret and opin up the Scriptures, according to the true meaning therof, and to resolve upon all questions and doubtfull maters by the same, lyke as in the Generall Assembleis and councells of the Kirk of Scotland has oft and diverse times beene reasouned, and by the Scriptures approved and concluded. As for that poysonable remembrance thou gives to his Majestie, savouring of the deidlie dregs of thy pernicious venome, which, alas! thou hast beene suffered so often to propyne unto his tender age, to bring him in detestatioun and hatred of God's ministers, proved by manie experiences to have beene his Hienesse' most loving and loyall subjects, and that malicious wicked minde wherefra it proceeds, the Lord rebooke that crooked, false, flattering old serpent,

and that deceiving and false leing spirit of him that raignes and rages so in thee! And the Lord, the righteous God, in mercie mot opin the eyes and move the heart of his Majestie, and honorable counsell, to see and consider how craftie and pernicious an enemie and tratour thou has beene, and yitt is, to his Grace, in bodie and soule, that they may deale with thee as thou justlie in that cace deserves; for thy conscience knowes, (if there be suche a thing as a grain of good conscience left into thee,) that we never denied the Christian magistrat bearing lawfull authoritie as the lieutenant of God in the commoun weale, to be a speciall and cheefe member of the kirk, and keeper and avenger of both the tables of the law of God. Onlie this we deny, that there is anie King or Head of the kirk save Christ Jesus allanerlie; nather yitt did we ever by our doctrine permitt to anie man, gentleman, or noble whatsoever, to beare impyre and command in the kirk and kingdom of Christ, but onlie as his officers and servants, to rule and governe the same according to the lawes therof conteanned in the Word, and that by commoun advice, in the equall societie of the fellow-elders and governours; more nor the which did not good Constantine the Great take unto him, in that most notable councell holdin at Nice, as Melancthon markes in his Chronicle, Lib. iii., whose words for a cleere witnesse I have thought good heere to insert: '*Assedit Constantinus inter episcopos, sede non altiore; et initio, hortatus est ad placidam collationem, et ad inquisitionem veritatis, omissa, sophistica, et deposita animorum acerbitate. Primam sententiam dixit Eustathius, Antiochenus episcopus. Post longa certamina, scriptum est Symbolum Nicenum, quod plurimi, sua subscriptione comprobarunt, et subscripsit ipse Constantinus; qui ait, se adfuisse, ceu unum ex ipsis. Ac valde, inquit, lætor, me fuisse vestrum comministrum, donec omnium conveniens inquisitio facta est, et veritate in lucem prolata concordia constituta est.*'

"Your fyft and last reasoun is, the raritie of the ministers that were present at the said synod; the which, the greatnesse of the number of ministers there assembled, (I speeke in the respect of the fewnesse of the whole that are in this countrie,) as they are

registred in the booke and processe of your excommunicatioun, together with the testimonie of all that were present, will convict this of als great untruthe as the rest; for I wote there were in that assemblie twenty-eight elders, labouring in the Word and doctrine, by the gentlemen, elders of the congregatiouns, and commissioners of touns. This for the truthe of his alledgance: howbeit, Christ respected not the number in this cace, when he sayes, 'Whensoever two or three of you are conveened together in my name, there I am in the midds of you, to ratifie in the heaven whatsoever yee determine in the earth, according to my word.'

"And, last, as to that presumptuous and arrogant usurping of power and judgement of a pastor above his fellow brethrein, direct contrarie to the Word of God, (which he has ever preassed unto most ambitiouslie,) and that manifest leing upon the apostle for confirming of the same, I am amazed to thinke of it; and can not otherwise judge of him, than as Ambrose writtes, in his dayes, of suche as were excommunicated, that foule and uncleane spirits entered into them incontinent, and troubled them, that it might be manifest them to be givin over to Satan. For where, I pray you, appoints the Apostle Paul so? Or will you be so wicked, as to make him repugnant to Christ, who gave this ordinance to his disciples, whiles they strove for state among themselves? 'The kings of the natiouns beare dominion over them, and are called gratious lords; but it sall not be so amongst you: but whosoever would be highest sall be servant to the rest,' Luke xxii. Or to the Apostle Peter, seing they spake both by the self-same Spirit, who will not have the elders bearing dominioun over the inheritance of the Lord, but to shew good exemple to these whom he exhorts, calls himself πρεσβύτερον, that is, a fellow elder? (1 Peter v.) Or to him owne self, who never usurped authoritie on Timothie, but as a father, who had instructed him in the Gospell; for, otherwise, in the governement of the kirk, he esteems him lyke as he does Sylvanus, Aristarchus, Epaphroditus, and others his fellow-labourers and companions, notwithstanding he was an apostle, and Timothie but an evangelist, and not a bishop, as yee falselie alledge, with your apocryphe sub-

scriptioun? Or, finallie, (to lett be that difference which yee make betuixt a minister and bishop, which yee are not able to shew in the Word of God,) how sall Diotrephes for suche ambitioun be damned, and Timothie appointed to clame unto it? I thinke, then, that notwithstanding all the fore alledged reasouns and untruthes, we may easilie and rightlie bring in a contrarie conclusioun to that of the appealer; to witt, that the right lawfulnesse and authoritie of our synod, convocated in the name of Jesus Christ, by the speciall favour and appointment of our most Christian prince, consisting of lawfullie called pastors, doctors, and elders, and governed by the Word of God, the onlie lawes of Christ's kingdome, to remaine firme, whole, and irreprehensible; so that the appealer does nothing ellis but kick against the pricks, and in vaine byttes the fetters wherewith he is faster bound than he can be able to escape."

Appealer.

"Now follow the wrongs therin committed:—1. That they presumed to judge upon Mr James Melvil's impugning of your Majestie's lawes, and absolved him; to be a preparative heerafter, as Mr Andrew Melvill protested, that if treasoun were spokin in the preaching, the synod sould be judge, and not the king: which is a manifest iniquitie, and directlie against your Majestie's crowne."

Answere.

"Hitherto have we answered for the lawfulnesse of our synod: 'now follow (sayes he) the wrongs therin committed;' the which he setts doun two in number; one against his Majestie and lawes, another against himself. The wrongs done to his Majestie and lawes, he forges them suche to be done, ather by some particular persons, as Mr James Melvill, by impugning his Majestie's lawes, and Mr Andrew Melvill protesting, that the assemblie sould be judge of treasoun, and not the king; or then, by the whole assemblie, in taiking upon them to judge and absolve treasoun. Merciful God!—I see no better answere for us, than with the words of David, when he was traduced and leed upon before Saul the king, to burst out in reverence of his Majestie and counsell, before the

God of truthe, and just avenger of all lees and falshood; before the Lord Jesus Christ, the veritie itself, and before the whole world, saying, 'Why boasts thou thy self in thy wickednesse, O man of sinne? the loving-kindnesse of God indureth daylie. Thy tongue imagineth mischeef, and is like a sharpe raser, that cutteth deceatfullie: thou does love evill more than good, and lees more than to speeke the truthe: thou loves all words that may destroy, O thou deceatfull tongue. So sall God destroy thee for ever; he sall take thee, and plucke thee out of thy tabernacle, and root thee out of the land of the living. Selah. The righteous sall see it, and be glade.' For the truthe is, that Mr James Melvill spake never a word of his Majestie's lawes; Mr Andrew Melvill made no suche protestatioun; the assemblie was not caried away with suche a mad and foolish spirit, as to take upon it anie civill or criminall judicatour: but thy wicked doings, O malicious calumniator, and lewde life being layed opin in thy owne face, the filthinesse of thy shame discovered, and thy festered galles and sores rubbed and pricked with the peircing and bytting oyle of the Word of God, thou kicked and flang with all thy force against the leitche, and could not wyle a better stroke, than to alledge that the rebooker and shower thee of thy vice had spokin against the king and his law: most like, in that cace, as other things, to Amaziah, the preest of Bethell, who could not be better avenged upon Amos, the Lord's propheit, for reproving of his ambitioun, avarice, and abusing of the people, than by sending to the King Jeroboam, saying, 'Amos has conspired against thee in the midds of the hous of Israel: the land is not able to beare all his words,' (Amos vii.). The assemblie hearing so odious an accusatioun, altogether false and forged, layed out there openlie against the speeker and his doctrine, desired the accuser to qualifie his alledgance against the doctrine; that becaus the sound therof was skairslie past out of the eares of the hearers, to lett be the remembrance of the effect thèrof out of their hearts, the brethrein there conveenned might censure the same, and beare faithfull testimonie before his Majestie, if the said inyous delater and malicious traducer had spokin true or not. The

which, when the accuser had refused to doe, the assemblie could doe no lesse, being required by the speaker, than give a true and faithfull testimonie of that doctrine which was so freshe in their eares and mindes. And as for Mr Andrew Melvill, he made no protestatioun at that time; but the heid orderlie comming in, what was to be advised upon against the Generall Assemblie, Mr Andrew brought in remembrance that questioun, which was propouned and treated of in the last conference, viz. to whom the judgement of doctrine, true or false, apperteaneth, *in prima instantia;* and desired that the brethrein sould advise diligentlie therupon, for it was of great importance, and belonged verie muche to the libertie of Christ's kingdome. And this muche for the wrongs alledged done to his Majestie and lawes."

Appealer.

"Their pretended proceeding was unlawfull. 1. I not being summouned, nor no caus lawfullie alledged; which order must be keeped in the smallest triffle of geir; and by act of parliament it is provided, summouns against beneficed men to be libelled upon fyfteen dayes wairning, that their lawfull defences may be discussed.

"2. If they will alledge for non-compeerance, no processe of excommunication could ensue therupon: for in all judgement which is within the land, non-compeerance induces no condemnatour, but the judges proceed, as if the partie called had beene present, and lead probatioun therupon; which order is used in your Hienesse' supreme judgement of parliament, where no forfaultrie can follow, *sine cognitione causæ.* Epiphanius, Bishop of Cyprus, and sindrie other bishops of Thracia, Asia, and other places, conveenned at Constantinople, at command of the emperour, and Johne Chrysostome, Bishop of Constantinople for the tyme, being called before them to compeere, did not obey, albeit summoned sindrie dayes: and the foresaids bishops being evill affected toward Chrysostome, notwithstanding, for his non-compeerance, could not excommunicat, (for at that time the clergie had not usurped the power of excommunicatioun;) but they deposed him allanerlie. Which thing,

notwithstanding, was thought verie strange, to depose anie for non-compeerance, and not to proceed to the probatioun of the caus. Which decreit of depositioun, John Chrysostome had not obeyed, if the emperour had not interpouned his forces; notwithstanding that thir were bishops of equall authoritie with Chrysostome, conveenned by the emperour; and not inferiour ministers, as in this caus. And giving, and not granting, that for non-compeerance they might excommunicat, (as they may not lawfullie,) notwithstanding, that was purged by compearance, under protestatioun alwise, that I acknowledged not their judgement.

"3. Their proceedings are wrongous, in so farre as they accusing me for defence of your Majestie's authoritie in the kirk, conteaned in your Majestie's secund act of parliament made in May, *anno* 1583, and of the estate of bishops, which falselie they termed Poprie. And finding them disposed to excommunicat, I appealed to your Majestie, counsell, estats, and a lawfull assemblie, and sought of them *Apostolos;* and, notwithstanding, they proceeded, contrarie to all law, equitie, and justice.

"4. The said pretended processe is unlawfull, becaus the said sentence, in so weightie a mater, was onlie ordeanned by two moe votes of two ignorant ministers, who skairslie can declyne their grammar rules, and their pretended moderator reclamed therunto; and one Andrew Hunter, servant to Mr Andrew Melvill, when they had left the schooles, and were in the closse, cryed, he was moved by the Spirit of God to excommunicat me; which anabaptisticall and phantasticall conceate is to be repressed by the severitie of your Hienesse' lawes.

"5. This pretended excommunicatioun is against the order made by themselves and their owne assembleis, which suffers no man to be rashlie excommunicated, but upon weightie and grave causes, diverse Sundayes prayers preceiding in the kirk.

"Last, The said pretended sentence is most wrongouslie givin by the saids ministers, as no wise having power to excommunicat in their Synods: for learned men are of that opinioun, that where Christian princes are, no excommunicatioun could have place, for

manie weightie causes and grave reasons, wherof this countrie, at this present, has experience.

"But giving, that excommunicatioun sould be, it belongs not to ministers when they are separated from their congregations, and assembled among themselves: for how can the ministers presumptuouslie expell from the whole bodie of the Kirk of God, without the consent of the kirk? For they pronouncing the sentence, and the kirk, prince, and noblemen disassenting, lyke as in this present caus, what can ensue but schisme and seditioun? And the Apostle Paul did not presume himself to excommunicat, but writteth to the kirk of Corinth with his spirit so to doe, they being conveenned all together. By the which it is evident, that ministers in their congregatiouns by advice of their people, finding anie man to walke inordinatlie, and not corrigible, onlie to have that power; the which, in Christian commounwealths, without the advice of the magistrats, who are the fathers of the people, and have power over them for eviting of seditioun, sould not be used. Like as Augustine verie truelie writtes, that the same sould not be used, if anie seditioun or trouble may ensue theron. Which pretended excommunicatioun being otherwise used against me, can not be lawfull; nather have the ministers in their assembleis or synods, were they never so lawfull, power to excommunicat, except by the preposterous imitatioun of the Pop's law, and not by the law of God."

Answere.

"Now, as to the wrong done to himself, the First argument whereby he proves it is, that he was not summouned, nor no lawfull caus alledged against him. The which, the processe, and honest, grave, and godlie pastors, moe nor two sent thrise for that effect, will verifie sufficientlie that to be an untruthe. And as for that act of parliament, it is tuiching maters of geare *in foro civili*. I read of no acts of parliament prescribing a forme of proceeding to the kirk in their judgement ecclesiastick.

"In the Secund argument, he discourses upon non-compeerance, alledging that to have beene the caus onlie of his excommunication;

which is als true as all the rest. It was not for not compeering: it was for opin rebellioun, contempt, and disobedience against the voice of the Kirk, uttered openlie and despectuouslie in the face therof, the punishment wherof Christ the Righteous Judge pronounces to be holden as an ethnick and publican; together with manie other horrible crimes, as cleerlie knowne as the sunne throughout all Scotland and other parts, wherof there needed no cognitioun, unlesse men would be so mad as to enquire, *an meridie luceret?* To prove that non-compeerance can be no caus of excommunicatioun, he brings furth exemples, the judgements of the countrie, the supreme court of parliament, and the Councell of Constantinople, where Chrysostome was deposed. Answere to all, *In re non dubia, testibus non necessariis.* But in this last exemple taikin out of antiquitie, would to God they who take opinioun of this man's learning, and namelie of his great knowledge of antiquitie, becaus that, by his smooth tongue and sleiked lippes, he can slyde out a peice of Scripture, and frame it to his purpose; rype out some moulled lumpe of humane letters, and dresse up a fact of antiquitie, without anie soliditie or truthe ather in substance or circumstance, to embellish his sermons, and interlarde his distinctiouns with all;—would to God, I say, they would enter in to examine his citatioun of Scriptures, doctors, and antiquitie, and till they had tryed the truthe, not to beleeve his saying more in maters perteaning to God and the kirk, nor they doe in things civill perteaning to the commoun life; for then, sould they easilie espie bothe how lurd ignorance lurked under that lap of learning which he leads about with him, and also with what truthe, fidelitie, soliditie, diligence, and conscience, he weyghes and consideres the passages of Scripture, doctors, and antiquitie, which he so often cites and alledges. And that they may be perswaded their labour in so doing sall not be lost, lett them beginne to examine with me the exemple of the Councell of Constantinople, heere alledged and givin in writt to his Majestie and lords of his counsell; and so, of one they sall learne the rest, and know the lyon by his clawes. 'Epiphanius,' (sayes he,) 'Bishop of Cyprus, &c.' Becaus the man cites manie

circumstances, and delytes in his narratiouns in suche things, lett it not be tedious to us to marke all weill, and we sall find, that he has never-read the historie weill, but framed it be gesse, at his phantasie, thinking that his Majestie would never have taikin his appellatioun furth of his poutche, to marke it himself, or caus others peruse it.

"First, he sayes, that Epiphanius, Bishop of Cyprus, was conveenned in the Councell of Constantinople with other bishops, which is a manifest untruthe; for nather is there anie mentioun made of him there, among the rest of the bishops that conveenned. And it is certane of the historie, that before the Councell of Calcedon, which first deposed Chrysostome, Epiphanius, after altercatioun with Johne Chrysostome in Constantinople, embarking to goe to Cyprus, he said to Johne Chrysostome, departing, that he hoped he sould never dee a bishop; and Chrysostome answered, 'I hope that thou sall never returne alive to thy owne countrie.' After the which words, the historician Socrates, Lib. vi., cap. 14, in the end subjoynes, 'Whether they that told me these things report true or not, I cannot say; but sure I am, it befell to either even as they hoped. For nather returned Epiphanius to Cyprus alive, but died on the seas, by the gate; nather died Johne a bishop, for he was deposed and banished the kirk, as heerafter sall more manifestlie appeare;'—to witt, in the narratives which he makes of the two Councells of Calcedon and Constantinople, in both the which Johne Chrysostome was deposed, and before both the which Epiphanius was deid.

"Secundlie, he sayes, that Johne Chrysostome, at the Councell of Constantinople, being called before them to compeere, did not obey, albeit summouned sindrie dayes; als great an untruthe, onlie devised for his owne purpose; for Johne there being cited, compeered incontinent, but farther required the bishops, that his accusatiouns might be indifferentlie examined; and through the uprightnesse and equitie of his caus boldned himself, and reasouned his owne caus throughlie before them, in speciall with Leontius, Bishop of Philippi, in Thracia; the which reasoning is expreslie sett

doun by Socrates, Lib. vi., cap. 18. Truthe it is, that in the Councell of Calcedon, whether resorted in great number suche as, for diverse querells, owed Johne a displeasure, and suche as he had deposed for just crymes, and putt out of their bishopricks; when these adversareis went about to forge manie false accusatiouns against him, when as Theophilus, Bishop of Alexandria, who had convocated the synod, stirred up by the licentious empresse against him, a verie wicked, conscienceless, subtile, and craftie man, of mere malice and spite, had devised manie things in his contrare; when he saw the Empresse Eudoxa altogether to be sett in raging fire against him, and manie of the clergie and sindrie also of the magistrats, which were in great favour with the emperour, becaus he had rebooked their vices sharpelie in pulpit, supposing now they had gottin fitt opportunitie to revenge themselves of Johne, he excepted justlie against suche as had cited him, as his opin enemeis, and appealed to a generall councell. And yitt, notwithstanding, this exemple sall never make anie thing for you, except yee prove your cace to be like that of good Johne Chrysostome, and you to have had so manie just exceptiouns against the synod and ministers conveened therin; which yee can never be able to doe.

"Thridlie, he sayes, that these bishops conveened at Constantinople could not excommunicat Chrysostome; 'for why? (sayes he,) at that time the clergie had not usurped the power of excommunicatioun.' They could not excommunicat him, it is true, becaus he deserved it not; nather was their purpose or intentioun so to doe; as the historie before declairs. But I pray you, (bishop,) how is this fallin from you, that the cleargie had not yitt usurped the power of excommunicatioun: for to whom, thinke yee, that the power of excommunicatioun perteans, if it perteane not to the clergie? And if it justlie perteans to them, why reproache yee them by the terme of usurpatioun? However it be, this absurd untruthe may be weill reckoned with the lave; for yee can not be ignorant, (if yee have read anie thing in the historie of the kirk,) that the bishops and others, long before this, excommunicated sindrie, as Novatus, Montanus, and others, as sall be heerafter re-

hearsed in the owne place; but speciallie one exemple serves weill for this purpose. In the Synod at Seleucia, Asterius, Eusebius, Abgarus, Basilicus, Philus, Philedras, Eutychius, Magnus, and Eustathius, nyne bishops were altogether excommunicated, that stood to the errour and faction of Acacius, Bishop of Cæsarea, an Arrian; and that, becaus being oft cited, they compeered not, to cleere them of accusatiouns and crimes givin in against them, as yee may read in Socrates Scholasticus, Lib. ii. cap. 40. The which is a true and more notable exemple nor yours of Chrysostome, and directlie against your alledgance, that for non-compeerance to purge them of haynous crimes, excommunicatioun has proceeded: for the historie speeks plainlie that the good bishops of that synod decreitted that the forenamed bishops sould remaine in that state of excommunicatioun, until they had answered for themselves, compeering before that synod or some other, and cleered them of the crimes layed to their charge. And to conclude this point, how has he heere forgottin that most notorious and notable fact of Ambrose, Bishop of Millan, in excommunicating Theodosius, the emperour, done not long before this time?[1] But what needs there in so cleere a mater suche witnesses? Surelie, to lett it be knowne, how farre this great Antiquarius oversees himself, and bewrayes his grosse ignorance, even then when he would affect greatest learning in antiquitie.

"Fourthlie, in that he sayes, it was thouglit verie strange to depose anie for non-compeerance, there is no suche thing in that historie, as I can find in my author; nather could it be thought strange, which so oftin times had beene practised of before, as in the Councell of Sardice, where the Arrian bishops were condemned, becaus they absented themselves from comming to heare their caus cognosced, and the accusers of Athanasius deposed, being absent.[2] And in the Councell of Seleucia, when they had cited Acatius with his factioun, and they not compeering, the councell deposed Acatius

[1] *Stilliconem Theodosii Cancellarium. Ambros. excommunicationi illudentem, Diabolo occupandum corporaliter et affligendum Deus tradidit.*—Marginal note in the original.

[2] Socrat. Lib. i. cap. 21.

himself, together with Georgius, Bishop of Alexandria, Ursatius, Bishop of Tyrus, with half a dossoun moe in companie with them; and all becaus they being cited compeered not to answeëre to the things that were to be layed to their charge before the councell.[1] I might bring furth sindrie other practises in the like sort of good councells, to lett sleep a number of suche wicked and erroneous councells as condemned Johne Chrysostome.

"Fyftlie, whereas he sayes that Johne would not have obeyed the decreit of the councell, if the emperour had not interponned his forces, never a word true; for the emperour needed not to call anie forces of his legiouns to compell him to that effect, who was so farre from disobeying the decreit, (albeit unjust,) that when the emperour had called him again from exile, and desired him to returne to his owne office at Constantinople, yitt would he not trode within the citie, albeit his owne people urged him earnestlie, before he were proved, and found innocent by the censure of the higher judges; but continued a while in the suburbs called Marianæ,[2] —farre unlike to our bishop, the appealer, in this as in all other things, who, without feare of God or man, being not onlie justlie deposed, but also excommunicated, durst be so bold as to present himself to the pulpit, to prophane that chaire of veritie, and abuse the people of God; and contemne that sentence, against the which the more he obstinatlie repyne, the more sall it be ratified and sealed up in the heavens, to his just condemnatioun.

"Sixtlie, where he sayes, 'howbeit they were bishops of equall authoritie with Chrysostome, conveened by the emperour, and not inferiour ministers, as in this caus;' first, there are in thir words two untruthes. For Johne being Bishop of Constantinople, was Patriarche, according to the canon of the Councell of Nice, in ranke and degree above archbishops and metropolitans, to lett be bishops, (the which alledgance our appealer will not misse, when he has adoe therewith;) for by the said canon there were but foure of these in the whole world. And so, by his owne rules,

[1] Socrat Lib. ii. cap. 40.

[2] Socrat. Lib. iv. cap. 16.

(howbeit contrarie to the Word of God,) the bishops could not be of equall authoritie with Johne Chrysostome, Bishop of Constantinople. The other untruthe is, that they were convocated by the emperour; whereas the words of the historie are plaine, that the Empresse Eudoxa wrought with Theophilus, Bishop of Alexandria, to summoun a councell against Johne. But I wote this tends to confirme that flatterie of Christian princes, which he has sowin abroad in his sermons, that councells and synods ought to be convocated by Christian magistrats allanerlie; lyke as he has oftin alledged for prooffe thereof, that it has ever beene so before the tyrannie of the Bishop of Rome: whereas we are able by the historie of the kirk to prove, that before that there was ever one convocated by the emperours, there were moe nor twentie celebrated by the godlie bishops, conveening themselves together at the command, and in the name and authoritie of Christ Jesus, to take order with the effaires of His kirk; the which, except in time of persecutioun, the emperours never found fault with, but commended, furthered, and authorized, when as need required. And therafter, before the six hundreth yeere, when cheefelie the tyrannie of the Roman bishops beganne to prevaile, we sall find moe nor twentie and foure convocated by bishops. And nixt, there is in these words a proud ambitioun against the ministers of Christ, and a lordlie presuming superioritie over them, expreslie against the law of equalitie sett doun by Christ amongst his servants and ministers, Matt. xx. and Luke xxii., the which sall have a portioun with the Scribes and Pharisees, with Diotrephes, and that high hierarchie of the statelie strumpet of Babylon, appointed for the laike of fire and brimstone. In the end of this reasoun, he would appeare to be liberall, that he might gain a greater vantage against the proceeding of the synod, saying, that putt cace they might have proceeded for non-compeerance, yitt that was purged by compeerance, under protestatioun, that he would not acknowledge their judgement; wherin he sall find us meit with als great liberalitie, and yitt no losse to the advantage of the right nor he sought to the wrong. For truthe it is, he compeered before the assemblie, before he was challenged of

suche crimes; wherof his conscience convicting him, [he] durst not therafter compeere, nor stand to his apologie, being *canonice citatus*, for the same effect. But being present before the assemblie, and hearing most haynous crimes layed to his charge, in place of answering for himself, he uttered before manie that doubted of his rebellioun to the kirk of before, greater stubburnenesse of obstinacie and contempt of the kirk, and voice of the Lord Jesus, than ever in anie time past had beene heard of his mouth; the which, by the judgement of all that were present, made him a great deale more worthie of that sentence, than otherwise, by his non-compeerance, he sould have beene.

"Now, as to the Thrid reasoun, the thrid part of it is a manifest and malicious untruthe; for there was never a word or mumme in that assemblie layed to your charge, concerning your opinioun of the king's Majestie's authoritie or power in the kirk or commoun weale. Indeid, tuiching that pretended bishoprick, as it is in your persoun, wherunto yee entered by horrible perjurie, and monstrouous manswearing of your self before the Generall Assemblie of the whole Kirk of Scotland, as did Novatus in his time, the which estate of bishoprick yee have of late mainteaned and sett fordward, contrare to your manifold hand-writts and subscriptiouns, your opin plaine doctrine from pulpit, and reasoning and voting in publict assembleis, wherin also yee have behaved your self, and presentlie doe, most proudlie and maliciouslie, to the overthrow of the whole discipline of the kirk, and troding under your feete of the libertie of Christ's kingdom, we did most justlie and necessarlie lay that to your charge; affirming your defence of the same, by abusing and perverting of the holie Scriptures, gathering out of the dregs of antiquitie, and corruptiouns, and blotts of the doctors, to be altogether Papisticall, lyke as the estat it self is the cheefe piller of the throne of that cursed Antichrist. And wheras yee alledge wrong to be done, in that after your appellatioun, notwithstanding therof, we proceeded, there was no wrong done in that case: for ye had no just caus at all, as we have shewed, to appeale; and the kirk finding themselves without controversie, both to have the power of

binding and loosing, and also to have great need to use the same upon you, they nather could nor sould have stayed for your unjust appellatioun, unlesse they would have neglected their duetie, and incurred the just wrath and rebooke of evill and unfaithfull servants. Moreover, as I understand of the law, appellatiouns serve not to stay the proceeding of the judge; for then, no sentence sould be pronounced before the mater come to a superior judge; and so, no thift, witchecraft, adulterie, drunkennesse, perjurie, briberie, falshood, knaverie, and, breefelie, no injurie or vice sould be punished by inferiour magistrats and judges in the countrie, or anie decreits in maters of geir or land pronounced by them; for ay the guiltie persoun sould appeale to the higher judge, but onlie to be a meane to the persoun that finds himself hurt in his actioun, to have his processe brought and tryed before the superiour judge. The which benefite of your appellatioun that yee may enjoy, we impede nothing. In the Councell of Seleucia, Cyrillus, Bishop of Jerusalem, was deposed, notwithstanding of his appellatioun to the higher judges; and sindrie Arrian bishops were deposed in diverse councells, notwithstanding their appellatiouns, being notoriouslie knowne to be false and vitious, as yee are: lyke as also that of Tyrus deposed Athanasius, and the Councell of Calcedon, Chrysostome. For albeit no man will say that they did weill in deposing suche good men as Athanasius and Chrysostome were, yitt their forme of doing, which is by none of the writters reproved, testifies the commoun consuetude of the kirk in proceeding against suche as are supposed to be worthie of the censures therof notwithstanding appellatiouns be made by them.

"The Fourth reasoun is als full of untruthes as the former; first, in saying that the sentence was ordeanned by two moe votes onlie of some ignorant ministers that could not declyne their grammar rules. With pardoun of the discreit reader, it is a manifest lee, and over disdainfull a reproache done to honest and qualified pastours, als able to discharge their calling as your self, and more diligent and faithfull in their functioun than ever yee was. It stood not onlie of two, three, or foure votes, na, not in ten or twelve votes moe; but

the whole synod in one voice agreed that yee were worthie to be excommunicated, and instantlie excommunicated. Indeid, some few, within the number of half a dossoun, wherof the moderator was one, thought it not expedient for the tyme, albeit that most lesumelie it might be done. And nixt, there is no faithfull or godlie heart that can patientlie suffer to heare suche shamelesse lees, and horrible blasphemeis against the Spirit of God, working in his owne servants, albeit zealouslie, yitt soberlie, modestlie, and honestlie, according to His manifested will, as he utters in mad follie in the rest of this reasoun, wherin (with reverence yitt of the reader to speeke truelie and plainlie) so manie words, so manie lees, and, in end, so manie blasphemeis. Mr Andrew Hunter was never Mr Andrew Melvill's servant, but a student of Theologie the space of two yeeres; and therafter, foure yeeres sensyne, tried and examined in life and doctrine, lawfullie elected and ordeaned pastor of the congregatioun of Carnbie, having the testimonie of learning, honestie, faithfullnesse, and zeale, of his fellow ministers in Fife, and all the godlie in Scotland that know him, and not in Scotland onlie, but also of the most learned, wise, and grave in other countreis; whom God has notablie trained up to his owne worke, by great exercises, travells, and dangers, both by land and sea, and has undoubtedlie preserved him in the midds of desperat perrells, (as he most gravelie and godlie protested in the synod, before he entered to your excommunicatioun,) for that same worke, and other things perteaning to his glorie, and the confort of his kirk. He sayes, it was after they left the schooles, and in the closse, crying out with an anabaptisticall furor and phantasticall conceat; to the which manifest lees and open blasphemeis, in steid of answere, I apply the medecine out of the Scripture of God, beseeking Him, that it may worke the owne effect. Revel. xxi. 8, 'The unbeleeving, abominable, and murtherers, and whoormongers, and sorcerers, and idolaters, and all leers, sall have their part in the lacke that burnes with fire and brimstone.' Matt. xii. 31, 'Everie sinne and blasphemie salbe forgivin unto men; but the blasphemie against the Holie Ghost sall not be forgivin.' This God, the righteous Judge, sall deale

with the malicious impenitent. And if there were anie true love or zeale to God's glorie in Christian magistrats, the severitie of their lawes and sharpe edges of their swords sould strike upon suche men.

"By the Fyft reasoun, he appeares never to have knowne the acts of our assembleis, for he was never of the number rightlie assembled in the name of Christ; nather ever to have read the booke of excommunicatioun sett out by the Generall Assemblie, and practised in the Kirk of Scotland since the beginning almost of religioun, where there is a distinctioun made of crimes, some publict, haynous, notorious, and knowne to all; otheirs smaller and privat, which become then onlie worthie of that last chastisement, when there is adjoyned thereunto disobedience to the voice of the kirk. In order taiking with the publict haynous crimes, the processe is summar, without anie admonitiouns, according to the command and practice of the apostle rebooking severelie the Corinths, becaus they had not, incontinent, excommunicated the incestuous persoun, and commanding them to doe it without anie delay; and exemple of Ambrosius, Bishop of Millan, who, how soone as he was certan of the fact of Theodosius the Emperour, he would not suffer him to come into the kirk; and albeit, presentlie, at his rebooke, he was stricken with great repentance, yitt he excommunicated him, and caused him remaine so the space of eight moneths, notwithstanding his continuall mourning and lamentatioun in the meane while. And this order is rightlie and weill done, to purge the kirk incontinent of slaunder and evill, of horrible crimes, and to bring the offender in more weightie and deepe consideratioun of his crime, that he may the more earnestlie be moved to repentance. And of this sort are both the crimes and processe of this appealer. Wherinto, onlie the great fault and negligence of the Kirk of Scotland these manie yeeres has beene; whereby God justlie was crabbed, the kirk over gone and trode under foote, the ministers exiled, and sore thralled, and troubled in their bodeis and consciences, the flockes left destitute and confortlesse; the whole godlie, not onlie in this land, but also in the countreis about, greevouslie offended and slandered, tha

suche a monster of all wickednesse was spaired, and suffered to abide, and beare office in the visible fellowship of the faithfull; and, therefore, esteeme him to be the justlie deserved scourge therof, in the wrathe of God, for so carelesse an oversight and neglect of his glorie, and the weale of the spouse of his Sonne, the Lord Jesus.

"In the Last argument, he would prove the sentence to be unjust, becaus the ministers had no power to excommunicat in their synods. The affirmative wherof I sall plainlie prove by Scripture, and practise of the primitive kirk in the most sincere tyme therof; in the first five hundreth yeeres nixt after Christ, before ever that mysterie of Popish iniquitie beganne to be manifested. Christ, our Maister, in the 18th of Matthew, gives the power of binding and loosing, and denouncing to be holdin as ethnicks and publicans, to the lawfullie assembled pastours, doctors, and elders, which he calles the kirk, (as the best learned, and of solidest judgement expone it; nather can it be otherwise taikin, without intolerable absurditeis:) assuring his disciples, that were to be planters, teachers, and rulers of the kirks, and in their persons, all these that sould succeed them in the functioun of teaching and ruling the kirk, that whensoever they sould assemble together, to the effect before noted of binding and loosing, denouncing the disobedient to be holdin for ethnicks and publicans, he sould be in the midds of them, to assist and direct them by his Spirit, protect them by his power, and to ratifie all their proceedings according to his Word; yea, this is givin to a few number of pastors and elders in anie congregatioun, muche more to a great number of pastors and elders, directed from manie and diverse congregatiouns, to assemble in his name, in a lawfull synod. And in that same cace which yee alledge of the apostle to the Corinths, the apostle himself had the cheefe stroke in pronouncing that sentence, contrare to your false alledgance; for he sayes, '*Ego jam ut presens judicavi, ut is qui talia patravit, tradatur Satanæ.*' And he will the sentence pronounced by him to be concluded and intimated to the whole congregatioun of Corinth, and the whole actioun to be moderated by the governour of the kirk, as the best learned take it: for that democracie and popular governe-

ment of yours has beene long since confuted by manie inviolable arguments, and abolished everie where; and this power, receaved from Jesus Christ and his apostles, the lawfull assembleis of the governours of the kirk, particular, provinciall, and generall, receaved and putt in practise, untill that after Christ a five hundreth yeeres and fiftie, the Pops of Rome and their Antichristian bishops most ambitiouslie and tyrannouslie usurped it, and by their sole authoritie exerced the same; and so it became to be no power or ordinance of Christ, but a proud fecklesse usurpatioun of man, like to a foole's dagger often times drawin, and no wise bodie affrayed therof. To prove the which, I will recite a few exemples of the most notable among manie. Montanus, the heretick, was excommunicated in diverse synods of Asia, in the raigne of Verus, (Euseb. lib. v. cap. 14;) Novatus, with his adherents, in a synod gathered at Rome, was excommunicated in the empire of Decius, (lib. viii. cap. 43;) Samosatenus in the secund Councell of Antioch, under Aurelian; Arrius, with his companions, in the Councell of Nice, under Constantine, (lib. vii. cap. 29;) and in the Councell of Seleucia, nyne bishops that stood to the errour of Acatius, Bishop of Cesarea, whose names I cited before, were all together excommunicated, under the raigne of Constantius, (Socrat. lib. ii. cap. 40;) Nestorius in the Councell of Ephesus, in the time of Theodosius the younger, (Soc. lib. vii. cap. 34;) and last, *anno* 555, in the fyft Councell of Constantinople, under Justinian, Theodorus, Theodotus, and Ibas, with their writtings and works, were condemned and accursed, (Evagor. lib. iv. cap. 37.) According to the which authoritie and power of Christ givin in the hands of his kirk, and primitive custome, the generall councell and synod of Scotland, holdin at Sanct Andrewes, the 24th of Aprile, *anno* 1582, excommunicated Mr R. Montgomrie, called Bishop of Glasgow, at that tyme stirred up and instructed by this same false bishop, our appealer, to trouble and rent the kirk. And so, I am assured, your argument is proved false, and utterlie overthrowne.

"Now, as to your prosyllogismes and paralogismes, whereby ye preasse to confirme the same, wherof the first is verie famous and

notable: learned men, say yee, are of that opinioun, that 'where Christian princes are, no excommunicatioun sould take place;' *ergo*, your synod sould not have excommunicated me: this is like manie moe of your wicked opiniouns, no better concluded. Julian, the Apostat, was a learned man, and thought his defectioun from Christ no fault; no more doe yee. The same, and manie Papists, were learned men, who thought that Hebrew and Greeke sould not be taught in Christian schooles, for they bred hereseis; as yee have, in audience of honorable, godlie, and wise men mainteaned, that they sould not, becaus they breed pride, dissentioun, and seditioun, as yee alledge. Manie verie learned men thinke libertie of conscience (as they call it) necessar in a commoun weale. And so have yee not beene ashamed to affirme, and be a shrewde counseller for that purpose, in this countrie. My Lord Bishop of Canterburie is a learned Doctor of Divinitie, and is of that opinioun, that manie and daylie sermouns make the people to loath the Word, and, therefore, one sermoun in a quarter of a yeere to be sufficient. Therefore conclude yee it so to be indeid, and so, truelie, yee esteeme. But he will peradventure reply, that he meanes good and godlie learned men to be of that opinioun. I know, indeid, one or two learned men otherwise godlie and of good and sincere judgement. But that opinioun is of it self so absurd, and so confuted by a number of the most godlie and learned writters, that all the cheefe and best reformed kirks in Europ have damned and putt it away. And yitt we must not want our bishop the appealer to cleave to this opinioun: for if our borderers and other Scotish theeves knew the opinioun of some learned men, that no theeves for stealing of goods or geare sould be hanged or put to death, (as there are verie learned men indeid in that opinioun,) they would incontinent cleave thereto, and mainteane it with all their might. There is another thing heere, so commoun to this man, that it can not be past unmarked; that is, that to confirme his wickedlie conceaved opiniouns he has no conscience, of sett purpose, to sitt doun, and, like the vespe, to take paines to pycke out poysoun of the best flowers and wholsomest herbs. If there have escaped anie good writter, an unfitt and

wrong interpretatioun of Scripture, albeit an hundreth times amended by good reasoun, that he sall mark, to serve his turne. If there be found in them anie errour (as there is no man but may erre) or abuse, according to the corruptnesse of the tyme, and speciallie in the ancient Fathers and Doctors of the kirk, that he sall have by the end. If there be anie perverse and evill exemple amongst them, that must be cunned for the purpose. And, finallie, if anie learned in this age or famous kirk have anie blotts or imperfectiouns, these must be spyed furth, obtruded, and imitated. What perversitie of spirit or ingyne can this proceed of? Surelie, I can compaire him to nothing better than to a sow, or other suche like uncleane beast, about the hous of a wealthie man, which, leaving the good stuffe and cleane herbs, takes pains to seeke out dirt and filthie excrements furth of secreit corners, albeit a great deale easier, and in more abundance, they might find good and cleane vivers beside. Or like to the venemous attercope, who, in the secreit nuicks and holes of the hous, drinkes up the corrupt and poysonable humors and vapours, wherof therafter she may make her netts, to take and snare the simple flees in, who delite in the light and brightnesse of the sunne.

"The secund paralogisme and proofe is, The ministers' excommunicatioun in the synod is by the consent of their flockes; *ergo*, it is unlawfull. First, yee have to prove that the consent of their flocke is necessar for excommunicating a pastour or bishop; for in so farre as the flockes can nather absolve nor excommunicat their pastors; and the practise of the primitive kirk has beene contrare, becaus that often times the flockes were als hereticall as their pastors, empoysouned by them, and their vitious doctrine and life. And so, if their consent had beene necessarilie required, the kirk sould never have gottin these hereticks and wicked men excommunicated. It appeareth, that the judgement of the learned men, that require the consent of the congregatiouns in excommunicatioun, is to be taikin and understood when as one of the people is to be excommunicated, and not a pastor; that is, of the pastor's behaviour in that mater, having to doe with one of his flocke, and not of pastors

having suche an actioun against a pastour. But granting it were requisite to have the consent of their congregatiouns, I answere, that the congregatiouns their consents, votes, and judgements, were present there in the assemblie, by their pastors and elders directed in commissioun from them, with their whole power to reasoun, vote, and conclude in all things there to be intreatted. And so that alledgance failes you, als weill as the rest.

"He addeth, that the consent and leave of the magistrat was to be sought. I answere, there was no need; for where God in his Word setts doun the duetie of the governours of the kirk, in executing their office, and the good Christian magistrat by his lawes has ratified and approved the same, have they anie neid to runne daylie to court, to seeke new advice, and consent of the magistrat? Indeid, if there be anie great appearance of schisme in the kirk, or dissensioun and uproare to arise thereby in the commoun weale, the wise and discreit pastors sould employ the assistance of the magistrat for repressing therof, and discharging of their duetie. And so we like weill of Augustine's advice in that cace, (*Contra Episc. Parme. Donat.* lib. iii. cap. 2.) But no suche schisme or uproare was to be feared in this mater; for who could have doubted, but all the honest and godlie of Scotland sould rejoice and glorifie God for cutting off of so cankered and festered a member from the bodie? Yea, I say farther, that howbeit they knew that great trouble would ensue, the devill would make a stirre, his instruments would rage, sould the pastors therefore cease to doe their duetie, in taiking away evill from amongst God's people, and purging of the contagious leaven that might infect the whole lumpe? Nay, they sould not; and if they would, they were, in so doing, distrusters of God's power and wisdome, disobeyers to his will and command, and betrayers of his kirk: for if the prophets, apostles, martyrs, and the rest of the notable servants of God, had done so from the beginning, there sould never a good worke have beene stood into, nor brought to passe within the kirk. And yee had no other but your poet, he might have taught you that duetie, '*Tu ne cede malis, sed contra, audentior ito,*' to lett be the plaine doctrine of the

apostle, 'Be not overcome with evill, but preasse to overcome evill with good,' (Rom. xii.) But the Scriptures are more ample and cleere in this caus, than anie neid craveth that they sould be cited."

Appealer.

"There is a notable disputatioun in Johne Chrysostome, of whom I spake before, which I have writtin out of him, and directed to your Majestie, that your Hienesse may consider with what spirit that man of God was moved, and what difference of spirits is betwixt thir excommunicatours and him. The words follow in Latine, in this maner:—'*En specto viros qui nullum ex sacris literis germanum sensum, imo, nihil omnino sacrarum literarum tenent. Et ut pleraque transeam, non erubesco dicere furibundos, nugaces et contentiosos, qui neque sciunt quæ dicunt, neque de quibus affirmant, in hoc uno tantum audaces, quod dogmata statuant, et anathema declarent, quæ maxime ignorant. Hinc est quod exteris, fideique nostræ ignaris, ludibrio simus, habemurque.* 1. *Quis scopus evangelij gratiæ; annon Filii Dei in carne adventus, non ut nos mutuo mordeamus et devoremus?* 2. *Lex præcepit proximum diligendum in Christo, pro eo moriendum; ecclesia preces pro omnibus fundit quotidie; quo modo tu fulminabis anathema?* 3. *Christus secernet oves ab hœdis, in die judicij: quis tu es, qui interea temporis, tantam potestatem tibi vendicas?* 4. *Quidem sanctus qui apostolorum temporibus martyrium tulit, monstraturus hujus verbi.* ANATHEMA *gravitatem sic dixit, sicut privatus homo regiam sibi ipsi purpuream circumponens, una cum omnibus qui se juvat, punitur ut tyrannus. Ita, et qui dominicam sententiam fert, et hominem facit anathema, ecclesiæ abducit seipsum in extremam perniciem, usurpando dignitatem Filij Dei. Sic ille dicebat, Putatis ne hanc parvi momenti, rem illam ante judicem et judicii tempus, aliquem ejusmodi sententia condemnare? Anathema enim omnibus modis a Christo separat, eumque significat, qui diabolo oblatus est. Apostolus hanc duobus tantam locis usurpat, nec illud alicui certæ personæ intentat.* 1 Cor. xvi. 22, *Scribit,* '*Si quis non amat Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum,* ANATHEMA *sit.*' *Et* Galat. ii. '*Si quis evangelizaverit aliud quam accepistis,* ANATHEMA *sit.*' *Cur*

ergo, quod nullus eorum qui potestatem acceperunt facere audet, tu facere audes, inimice mortis dominicæ, et præoccupans judicium regis? 5. *Docte ait apostolus, in lenitate erudiens, eos qui obsistunt, si quando det iis Deus pœnitentiam ad cognoscendam veritatem, ut resipiscant a diaboli laqueo, a quo captivi tenentur.* 6. *Charitas maximum Christianorum vinculum; quod nervi sunt corpori, hæc mansuetudo, hoc charitas Christianis. Hæc præstitit apostolus, neque Christus calamum confractum contrivit, et linum fumigans non extinxit. Audi Judam, et eos qui, sicut ille, exciderant, tamdiu non abjecit quousque quisque seipsum abductum errori mancipavit.* 7. *Precamur pro populi ignorantiis, pro iis qui nos oderunt et persequuntur. En quam probe implemus ministerium! An, obsecro, ordinatio non effert, non in sublime extollit, non potentiam præstat? Eia, ministerium nostrum curemus, obsecremus, et obtestemur, ut a malo disistunt.* 8. *Is quem anathematizas, aut vivus est, aut mortuus. Si vivus, injuriam ei fucis, quem erigere potes; si mortuus, domino suo stat vel cadit. Dogmata autem sunt anathemate percutienda hominibus, autem parcendum, et pro illis ovandum. Atque ita, ad rem, non ad personam adhibendum est anathema, ut in vetustis consiliis.*' Beseeking your Majestie to consider and weygh with your Hienesse' self, nobilitie, and counsell, how dangerous a thing it is to putt suche a sword in suche men's hands, or to suffer them to usurpe farther nor their ductie, whereby it may come to passe, that as rashlie and unorderlie they have pretendedlie excommunicated the first man of your Majestie's parliament, (albeit unworthie,) so there rests nothing of their nixt attempt to doe the same to your Majestie's self. And your Majestie's and Honorable Counsell's answere humblie beseekes. From St Andrewes, the 25 of Aprile 1586.

"Your Majestie's most obedient servitour and oratour,

"P. SANCT ANDREWES."

Answere.

"Whether this discourse, or disputatioun as yee call it, be taikin out of Chrysostome or anie other, nather how faithfullie yee have writtin out, it made not muche. Onlie this I am assured, there is

none of anie sound spirit or judgement, to lett be the king's Majestie, (whose excellent spirit, and notable gifts of ingyne and knowledge yee would, if it lay in you, over grosselie and impudentlie abuse,) that can marke anie difference of spirits betuixt us, and anie good man of God thereby: for the first part therof serves weill against suche as misuse excommunicatioun, making it not a wholesome medecine, to correct and amend suche as walke inordinatlie, but a sword of particular revenge, drawin at the licentious appetite of proud and ambitious bishops; suche as were at that time, who ceassed never from contentioun, puffed up by hatred, pride, and hight, and in the heate of their anger and spyte blasted furth against other anathemitizatiouns; likeas it may serve weill also against the Pope, and antichristian bishops in this age, who taiking unto them that thing which no wise perteans to them, that is, the whole authoritie and jurisdictioun of the kirk, thunder furth cursings upon cursings against the true Christians, and sheepe of the pasture of Jesus Christ. From the which things seing, the Lord be praised, we are free, these sayings apperteane nothing to us; but verie much doe tuiche and concerne your self, who, in your choler and rage sending out your jacke men and boyes, to crie out curses in the kirk, (horriblie abusing that holie place of prayer, and the eares of the godlie,) against good men, and suche as are als weill knowne and proved in Scotland, and other parts, to be the true servants of God, as yee are to be the man that yee are, yee have first of anie that ever was heard of in this countrie, practised that which Chrysostome inveyghes against and condemnes. The rest of your alledged disputation appeares to tend to that, and so would yee have it taikin, that no excommunicatioun sould be used; the which, so manifestlie repugnes to the Word of God, (Matt. xvi.; 1 Cor. v.; 1 Tim. i.; Tit. iii.) Of what spirit it can proceid, I leave it to be marked of all men.

"Moreover, if yee apply that which your disputatioun so often speakes of, anathema to your excommunicatioun, yee doe both your selt and us great injurie: your self, in thinking that ye are utterlie

cutt off without hope of repentance; and us, in alledging, that we have taikin upon hand to judge on that which God has reserved to Him. For if yee be ather ignorant or forgetfull of the difference betuixt *anathema* and *excommunicatio*, I sall ather teache or remember you, that they differ, as species and genus, or, *ejusdem generis species*. So your sophisme and conclusioun in reasoning is as if one would inferre thus: The bishop was hanged, wheras he was but taikin and putt in waird for his debt; becaus that wairding and hanging are both punishments. The Hebrewes make three sorts of excommunicatioun: The smallest they call נִדּוּי that is, a seperatioun from the rest of the people, and use of holie things for a space, (Elias Levit. *in suo Thesbite.*) The next, חֵרֶם *devotum, exitio*, that is, appointed for destructioun, which is called in the law a cutting off of that soule which hath offended from his people, but yitt, with hope of repentance and reconciliatioun; which Christ calles to be reputed as an hethnic or publican, and the apostle, 'to give unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be safe in the day of the Lord.' The thrid and greatest of all they call שַׁמְּאָתָה *anathema, vel extrema devotio*, a deidlie and utter rooting furth, without anie reversioun of repentance, but a feerefull expectatioun of judgement, and fire to consume, as the apostle expones it, (Heb. x.) And this last is that which the apostle calles ἀναθεμα μαραναθα, (1 Cor. xvi. 22.) Unto the which corresponding, the ancient kirk had *abstentos*, suche as were debarred for a tyme from the sacraments; *excommunicatos*, excommunicated, and debarred from the holie societie and communioun of the sancts, untill the time they sorrowed with the sadnesse according to God, tending to salvatioun, not to be repented of, (2 Cor. vii.,) and *extremo anathemate devotos*, that were utterlie cutt off from Christ and his kirk, and adjudged unto everlasting condemnatioun, in committing that sinne unto the death, for the which no prayer ought to be made, (1 John v.) The first two sorts were customablie used in the kirk as wholesome salves to heale the sore of sinne, as Ambrose speekes to the emperour; but of the thrid, we read never an exemple, but

one onlie of Julian the Apostat, for whose utter confusioun the whole kirk prayed. In whose estat truelie, for my owne part, I would be verie loathe to esteeme you to be.

"And so, to packe up shortlie the answere to your disputatioun of Chrysostome, the word *anathema* into it, ather is to be taikin properlie *pro extrema devotione*, as of thir words it is cleere that so it is taikin by him indeid, where he sayes, '*Anathema omnibus modis a Christo separat; et apostolus hoc duobus tantum locis usurpat, nec alicui certæ personæ intentat,*' (1 Cor. xvi. *et* Galat. ii.) And so, I answere, it tuiches us nothing, for we never anathematized you, nor no other, but left that to God, who onlie knowes whom he has cast into reprobatioun; or then, it is taikin *synecdochice, speciei nomen pro genere, vel potius, species una pro altera, anathema pro excommynicatione;* and so, your dispute is ather against the abusse of excommunicatioun, or plain against excommunicatioun, that it sould not be used. If it be against the abusse, (as the first part thereof appeares,) it is not against us, who have no wise abused it, but directly against your self, who profanelie and godleslie abused it by your boyes and jackemen. If it be against excommunicatioun it self, and the use therof, as in the last part of your dispute appeares, it is against Christ, that did command the use therof, and his apostles that putt it in practise; and so we thanke God that we are led with another spirit than ather yee or the author of your disputatioun, in that point.

"Now, in conclusion, whereas yee exhort his Majestie to consider of this mater, least that as they have excommunicated the first man of his Majestie's parliament, so they sould attempt to doe the same upon his Majestie's self, your exhortatioun, as it is shrewdlie conceaved, it is intolerablie wicked against the ministers of God, tending to nothing but to kindle up the king in mislyking and anger against them; and to suche insufferable presumptioun and pride, the which his Majestie and nobilitie sould by all severitie represse, to compare your self to his Majestie and counsell, and even your desperat and devilish estat and conditioun, to suche as may befall to his Hienesse; the which unhappie speiment[1] the Lord turne it in

[1] Prediction.

thy owne hand, and all suche wicked enemeis to the king's Majestie, both in bodie and soule, as thou art. For the Lord forbid that ever it sould come in our minds to thinke that his Majestie sould fall in the smallest part of an hundreth of thy malheures mischanceteis; or if it were, (as I sturre and uge[1] to make the suppositioun,) that the proceedings of the kirk sould be used against his Majestie as against thee; and waried be the mouth that first or last uttered that unhappie cace in his Hienesse' hearing, so malicious and pernicious against the Kirk of Christ in this land, for He sall be avenged of it.

"In end and conclusioun of all, I trust it be plain and evident to the godlie and indifferent reader, that notwithstanding the appellatioun, qualified in all points and heids as the appealer has sett it doun, our synod was lawfullie conveenned at the command, and in the name and authoritie of the Lord Jesus, by the king's Majestie's speciall licence and favour; and that we in the same have done no wrong, ather to his Majestie's lawes, or to the appealer, but to have proceeded according to the Word of God, in that processe of excommunicatioun against him, and to have pronounced that sentence, the which undoubtedlie the Lord Jesus Christ, according to his promise, has ratified in the heavens. And, therefore, in the merceis of God, and bowells of love, we would exhort him yitt, as manie time we have done, to leave off his brawling proud stomack, and obstinat stryving against Christ and his ordinance, (for the more he repyne and struggle, the faster sall he find himself bound;) and beginne to weygh and consider his haynous sinnes and publict slanders, which have procured his off-cutting, to the dolour of the rest of the bodie; that by humble and unfained repentance, he may be restored and ingrafted again in that bodie, joyned with the Heid, to his owne endlesse weelefare, and the great joy of the members. The Lord God the Father, in the tender mercie of his Sonne, Jesus Christ, whom he spaired not, albeit his onlie begottin, but for the love he boore to the lost sonnes of Adam, gave him to the cruell and shamefull death of the croce for their redemptioun,

[1] Shudder.

(if so it be his good pleasure,) to worke effectuouslie in your heart by his Holie Spirit, that soe yee may doe. Amen.

"*Lett the Lord live, and blessed be our strenth,*" Psalm xviii.

"*It is a fearefull thing to fall in the hands of the Lord,*" Heb. x.

"JAMES MELVILL."

CAPTAN JAMES CHARGED TO DEPART OFF THE COUNTRIE.

About the end of Marché, Captan James Stewart, sometyme Erle of Arran, was charged to depart off the countrie, betuixt and the sixt of Aprile, under the paine of treasoun. Which he obeyed, and, as was reported, went ather to Kintyre or Ireland.

ANGUS, WARDEN.

The Laird of Johnstoun being dead, the Erle of Angus was made lieutenant or warden in the west borders, becaus the Lord Maxwell suffered theeves and robbers within his bounds, to spoile, burne, and kill poor labourers of the ground of the surname of Johnstoun, and others their favourers, or indifferent men.

Upon the 16th of Aprile, the Maister of Lindsey, and Thomas Scott of Abbotshall, were summouned for smiting the Bishop of Sanct Andrewes; as also, the ministers who did excommunicat him.

EGLINTOUN SLAINE.

Hugh, Erle of Eglintoun, passing out of his owne hous to Stirline, to a tryst, was besett by the Laird of Robertland, and others of the surname of Cunninghame, and slaine. There was great moane made for his slaughter.

MAXWELL RETURNETH.

Johne, Lord Maxwell, returned to Scotland about this tyme, out of Spaine, accompanied with Captan Sempill, and without the king's license.

[THE * * GENERALL ASSEMBLIE.]

The Generall Assemblie conveened at Edinburgh, the 10th of

May, in the Upper Tolbuith. Mr Robert Pont, Moderator of the last Generall Assemblie, made the exhortatioun upon the xv. of the Acts. He discoursed upon the diverse kindes of assembleis of the kirk; the causes of assembleis; the parteis or persons who had right to call them, to moderat, to reasoun, and vote; the rule whereby they were to be ordered, and whereby questiouns sould be decided. He directed first an exhortatioun to the king's commissioners. The king himself came not as was looked for. Another exhortatioun to the ministers to stand constant; the thrid, to the ministers who had subscribed, to repent. When they were entering to choose a new moderator, the Pryour of Blantyre, Lord Privie Seale, and Mr Peter Young, the king's schoolemaister, declared, it was the king's pleasure that they sould stay from farther proceeding till after noone, and that they conveene in the Chappell Royall. The Assemblie consented, upon conditioun the libertie of the Assemblie in that point be not prejudged.

Session 2.

The Assemblie conveenned after noone in the Chappell Royall. The king made a harangue, conteaning two causes wherefore he granted the ministers their requeist for calling of that Assemblie. The one respected himself—that whereas, by occasioun of some late alteratiouns within this realme, certan evill reports were spread abroad of him, by some of his owne subjects, both within and without the realme, that he had made defectioun from the true religioun wherin he was brought up from his infancie, therefore, he thougnt good to convocat that Assemblie, to make protestatioun of his soundnesse and perseverance in religioun; and to offer to satisfie presentlie anie man that would give anie reasoun wherefore he suspected him; alledging, there could be no fitter tyme nor place. The other caus was, to resolve among themselves, of a forme of discipline and church government most agreeable to the Word of God, which he purposed to establishe throughout the realme. Then he willed them to enter to their owne effaires. Mr Robert Pont said, "Sir, We praise God that your Majestie, being

a Christian prince, has decored our Assemblie with your owne presence: we trust your Majestie speeketh without hypocrisie." They proceed to the electioun of a new moderator. Mr Peter Blekburne, Mr David Lindsey, Mr Nicoll Dagleish, Mr James Balfour, were removed. The king voting first, and choosing Mr David Lindsey, the most part of the votes followed that way, and so Mr David Lindsey was chosin moderator. For the readier expeditioun of maters to be treatted, Mrs Johne Robertsone, Alexander Rawsone, Mr George Hay, Mr Peter Blekburne, the Laird of Dun, William Christesone, Mr Johne Hepburne, Mr William Moresone, Mr Thomas Buchanan, David Fergusone, Mr Robert Pont, Mr Nicoll Dagleish, the king's ministers, Mr Adam Johnstoun, Mr David Hume, Mr Alexander Hume, Mr Johne Knox, Mr James Brysone, Mr Andrew Hay, James Andersone, Mr Patrik Galloway, were appointed to conveene with the moderator at extraordinar houres, to conferre and give their advice in maters meetest to be proponned and resolved upon in this Assemblie. When Mr David Hume, minister at Coldinghame, was nominated, the king said, "I have some thing to lay to that man's charge;" wherupon Mr Alexander Hume, minister of Dumbar, was chosin for him. The king appointed the Secretar, the Justice-Clerk, the Lord Privie Seale, the Lord Culrosse, Mr Johne Grahame, Mr Peter Young, to conferre and reason with them in maters to be proponned, ather by them or the ministers; and anie two or three of them to concurre with the Assemblie, as his commissioners, at the ordinarie houres and place; and willed them to referre maters of greatest weight to Moonday, at which tyme he purposed to be present, and to propone some maters to them: yitt, for certan occasiouns moving him, he was not present.

Mr Patrik Galloway and Mr George Hay were directed to the king, to solicite him for deliverie of the bookes of the Assemblie. They reported in the thrid sessioun, that his Hienesse answered, they sould be delivered to the clerk everie day, during the tyme of the Assemblie, but at night they must be randered in the hands of the Lord Privie Seale, till the end of the Assemblie, betuixt and which tyme his Majestie would be present himself.

TRIELL OF BISHOPS.

The Assemblie ordeaned a citatioun to be directed furth, to summoun Mr David Cunninghame, Bishop of Aberdeene, to compeare before the Presbytereis of Glasgow and Stirline, the 21st of June nixtocum, in Stirline, to be tryed whether he be guiltie of the slander of adulterie committed with Elizabeth Sutherland, or anie other person, and if he sall be found by good appearance to be guiltie, to suspend him from the functioun of the ministrie till the nixt Generall Assemblie; and to summoun him to compeare before them, to heare their determinatioun; and that the summouns directed against him be executed personallie, if he can be apprehended; and that failing, at the kirks of New and Old Aberdeen, and his dwelling-places, by the ministers of New and Old Aberdeene.

In the thirteenth sessioun, Mr Patrik Galloway and Johne Duncansone were appointed to goe doun to the king, and to desire, if his Majestie thinke good, that certan of his counsell be appointed to sight the processe of the Synod of Fife against the Bishop of Sanct Andrewes, and his appellatioun, together with certan of the brethrein which are to be nominated by the Assemblie. They reported the king's answere, that he agreed to their desire, and appointed the morne at ten houres to be the tyme of their conveening to that effect. The Assemblie nominated Mr Robert Pont, Mr Andrew Hay, Mr Andrew Polwart, Mr Nicoll Dagleish, Mr James Balfoure, Mr David Lindsey, Mr Adam Johnstoun, Johne Duncansone, to conveene with the king's deputeis to that effect, at the houre appointed. It was ordeaned, that David Fergusone sould supplee the moderator's absence.

Sessioun 16.

Forasmuche as, in the conference, some things were thought meete to be propouned to the Assemblie, concerning the mater of the appellatioun of the synodall assemblie of Fife, interpouned by the Bishop of Sanct Andrewes, the brethrein of the said synodall so manie as were present, being desired to remove, protested concerning that actioun, that the Assemblie sould proceed in forme,

and take in the appellatioun with the processe, heare the alledgances of the appellant and their answers; offering them readie instantlie to answere, and so, accordinglie, to proceed and judge; otherwise however they judged, proceeded, or sentenced in that mater, that it sould be no prejudice to their processe and sentence, nor to them, nor to the whole kirk in Scotland. Tuiching the mater of appellatioun interpouned by the Bishop of Sanct Andrewes, from the processe and sentence of the synodall assemblie of Fife, led and pronounced against him, the brethrein for the most part voted, not to enter to the vigorous discussing of the appellatioun and processe foresaid, but to a midds, suchē as was propouned in writt, and read by the moderator openlie to them; wherof the tenour is this: "If the bishop, by his hand-writt or personall compeerance in the Assemblie, will in God's presence deny that ever he ather publictlie professed, or meaned in any sort to acclame, a supremacie, or to be judge to other pastors or ministers, or ever allowed the same to have a ground in God's Word; and if he had so done, it had beene an errour, and against his conscience and knowledge: If he will denie, that in the last synodall assemblie he acclamed to be judge thereto; and if he did that, in that he erred, and in his imperious behaviour and contempt of the said synodall, and his brethrein present; and crave oversight therof, and promise a good behaviour in tyme to come: If he will promise to acclame no further nor he may justlie by God's Word, and according to the late conference, and endeavoure himself in all behalfes to shew himself in all tyme to come a moderat pastor, and so farre as he may be able, a bishop described by Paul, and to submitt his life and doctrine to the judgement and censure of the Generall Assemblie, without anie reclamatioun, provocatioun, or appellatioun therefra, in anie tyme coming, for his Majestie's satisfactioun, and to give testimonie with what good will we would obey his Highnesse, so farre as we ought, or in conscience we may, and for the good hope we have of his Majestie's favourable concurrence in building of the hous of God, and for a quietnesse to continue in the kirk of God within this realme: And becaus the processe of excommunicatioun was led, and the sentence pronounced during the tyme of

the conference, wherupon his Majestie hath taikin occasioun of offence, which for manie good causes were convenient to be removed, we will forbeare to examine the said processe, or decide whatsomever provocatioun or appellatioun, or to call in doubt the legalitie or forme of the said processe, or to condemne the said synodall; yitt, for the respects foresaid, and upon good and weightie consideratioun, we hold the said processe and sentence as unled and undeduced, or pronounced, and repone the said bishop in all respects, so farre as may concerne the said processe and sentence of excommunicatioun, in the former estate he was immediatlie before the same, lyke as no processe and sentence had beene led and deduced against him; providing alwise he observe what hath beene promised by him in the premisses, and behave himself duetifullie in his vocatioun in all tyme comming."

Sessioun 17.

The which day, Mr Andrew Hunter, minister, made protestatioun publictlie in the Assemblie as followeth; viz.,—"In respect that the provinciall assemblie of the kirk of God, gathered together in his name, holdin at Sanct Andrewes, the 12th day of Aprile 1586, for manifest crymes and open contumacie, hath justlie and formallie, according to the Word of God, and sincere custome of the kirk, excommunicated Mr Patrik Adamsone, and that in this Assemblie Generall, they take upon them to absolve the said Mr Patrik from the said sentence of excommunicatioun, the processe not being tryed nor heard in publict, the person excommunicated declaring no signes of true repentance, nather craving the same absolvitour by himself, nor by his procurators, before the verie tyme wherin they absolve him, he therefore for his part, and in name of all other brethrein and true Christians who will to be participant heerof, taketh God to record of the dealing of that Assemblie provinciall, and of this Assemblie Generall; protesting also before the Almightie, his holie angels, and sancts heere conveenned, that he hath no assurance in God's Word, nor of conscience, to assent, allow, or approve this his absolvitour yeelded unto by them. And, therefore, untill the tyme he perceave his conversioun to be true

and effectuall, he cannot but hold him a man justlie delivered unto Satan, notwithstanding the said absolutioun." And this his protestatioun, subscribed with his hand, he desired to be registred *ad perpetuam memoriam*, and therewithall gave in the speciall reasons moving him therunto, premitted to the said protestatioun, as the originall at lenth beares.

Mr Andrew Melvill and Mr Thomas Buchanan adhered to their protestatioun made before: "Forasmuche as Mr Patrik Adamsone, Bishop of Sanct Andrewes, hath by his submissioun underwrittin and presented to the Generall Assemblie of the kirk, dated at Halyrudhous, the 20th day of May 1586, and subscribed with his hand, declared that in God's presence he solemnelie denyeth, that he ather publictlie professed, ather meaned in anie sort to acclame, a supremacie to be judge to the kirk, or anie Assemblie lawfullie conveenned, or ever allowed the same to have a ground in God's Word; and if he had so done, it had beene an errour, and against his conscience: *Item*, Denyeth that in the late Synodall Assemblie at Sanct Andrewes he acclamed to be judge thereto; and if he did, in that he erred, and will remitt him to the brethrein present, and crave oversight therof, and promise a good behaviour in tyme to come: *Item*, He will in God's presence promise to acclame no farther nor he may justlie by God's Word, and according to the late conference, and sall by God's grace endeavoure him, in all tyme comming, to shew himself in all behalfes a moderat pastor, and so furth as he may be able, a bishop prescribed by Paul, and submitt the tryell of his life and doctrine to the judgement and censure of the Generall Assemblie in all tyme comming, according to the Word of God; as the said writting, subscribed, as said is, by the said bishop, my Lord Justice-Clerk, Mr Peter Young, and Mr George Young, witnesse, beareth: Therefore, and for his Majestie's satisfactioun, and to give testimonie with what good will the said Assemblie would obey his Highnesse so farre as they ought, or in conscience may, and for good hope they have in his Majestie's favourable concurrence in building of the hous of God, and for a quietnesse to continue in the Kirk of God in this realme, and be-

caus the processe of excommunicatioun was led against the said bishop, and the sentence pronounced during the tyme of the conference, wherupon his Majestie hath taikin occasioun of offence, which for manie good causes were convenient to be removed, they will therefore forbeare to examine the said processe, or decide whatsomever provocatioun or appellatioun; or to call in doubt the legalitie or forme of the said processe, or condemne the synodall; yitt for the respects forsaids, and upon good and weightie considerationns, they hold the said processe and sentence as unled, undeduced, or pronounced, and repone the said bishop in all respects, so farre as may concerne the said processe and sentence of excommunicatioun, in the former estat he was immediatlie before the samine, like as no processe and sentence had beene led and deduced against him; providing alwise he observe what has beene promised by him in the premisses, and behave himself duetifullie in his vocatioun in tyme comming."

In the thrid sessioun, a questioun was propouned by the commissioners of the Synod of Lothiane, if there was anie man of another judgement, but that the discipline which we had diverse yeeres bygane was according to the Word of God. It was thought good the questioun sould be reasouned first in the privie conference. The Secretar, the Pryour of Blantyre, and Mr Peter Young, commissiouners for the king, proponed whether bishops might have preeminence over the brethrein, if not *jurisdictionis*, yitt *ordinis causa?* The Assemblie answered, it could not stand with the Word of God: onelie they must tolerat it, if it be forced upon them by the civill authoritie. Sessioun 4. Tuiching the doubt moved, if it be leasome to anie toun or citie, where there is an universitie in the same, and a part of the parish lying without the toun, to choose a minister to the whole parish and universitie without their consents and votes, under pretence of an old custome and priviledge? The Assemblie answered, it was not leasome.

In the sixt sessioun, the Assemblie found, after reasoning, that visitatiouns were lawfull and necessarie, but continued the forme and the rest of the circumstances to farther reasoning. Sessioun 7.

Tuiching the forme and other circumstances of visitatiouns, left to farther consideratioun, at the desire of my Lord Privie Seale, the Assemblie directed their brethrein, Mrs Robert Pont, Andrew Melvill, Thomas Buchanan, Nicoll Dagleish, Mr Andrew Polwart, Mr Peter Blekburne, to conferre with the king's commissioners in the yle of the kirk upon that, and suche other maters as sall be communicated to them.

Sessioun 4.

It is thought universallie meete, that through the whole countrie there be orderlie sett doun presbytereis in the places underwrittin, which are judged most proper and convenient therefore, to the number following: viz., in Orkney, and within the toun of Kirkwall; another in Zetland, within the toun of * * * . In Cathnesse, viz., in Thurss and Darnoch. In Rosse, two therof; one in Tayne, another in the Chanonrie. In Murrey, foure, viz., Innernesse, Forresse, Elgine, and Ruthven. In Aberdeen, five, viz., Fordice, Deir, Innerourie, Aberdeen, Kincardin. In Mernes, one, viz., in Bervie. In Angus, three, viz., Monrose, Brechin, Dundie. In Dunkelden, in Perth, in Dumblane, in Stirline, and Lothiane, five; Linlithquo, Edinburgh, Dalkeith, Hadintoun, Dumbar. Fife, foure; St Andrewes, Cowper, Dumfermline, Kirkaldie. In Merse, Chirneside. In Tiviotdaill, three; Melrose, Jedburgh, Kelso. In Tweddaill, Peebles. In Annandaill, Moffet. Nithisdaill, two; Dumfreis, Sanquhare. In Galloway, foure; Glenluce, Wigtoun, Kirkcudbright, Sanct John's Clauchan. In Carrict, Minnybole. In the Shirefdome of Air; viz., in Air, in Cunninghame, in Irwing. In Renfrew; Paisley, Lennox, Dumbartan. In the nether waird of Cliddisdaill, in the overwaird, two; Lanerk and Bigger. And to the effect that the kirks which most properlie sould be united to everie presbyterie may be united thereto, wherupon the saids presbytereis may be erected convenientlie, the Assemblie hath ordeanned, and ordeaneth, their brethrein underwrittin, to witt, Mr Johne Robertsone for Rosse, Mr Alexander Rawsone for Murrey, Mrs Peter Blekburne and James Reid for Aberdeen, Mr Andrew

Mylne for Mernes, the Laird of Dun, Mr Johne Hepburne, William Christesone, Mr James Balfour, for Angus, the Bishop of Dunkelden for Dunkelden, Mr Patrik Galloway for Perth, Mr Andrew Young for Dumblane, Mr James Andersone for Stirline, David Fergusone and Mr Thomas Buchanan for Fife, Johne Brand, Mr Andrew Blackhall, Mr Thomas Makghie, William Sandersone, for Lothiane, Mr Johne Spotswod, George Lundie, for Linlithquo, David Hume for Merce, Mr Johne Knox, George Johnstoun, for Tiviotdaill, Mr Archibald Dowglas, Robert Allane, for Tweddaill, Johne Duncansone for Galloway, Johne Makcorne for Carrict, Mr Johne Porterfeild for Air, Mr Robert Wilkie for Cunninghame, Mr Andrew Hay for Renfrew, Mr Patrik Walkinshaw for Lennox, Mr Andrew Polwart for Glasgow, Thomas Lindsey for Lanerk and Biggar, to travell everie one according to the bounds limited unto them, to the effect above-writtin, and to present their travells the morne before noone.

Sessioun 5.

The brethrein appointed to give in the names of the kirks, as they thought might most properlie be castin in to the presbytereis, presented their judgements, and the names in writt, which were delivered to my Lord Clerk of Register, whom the kirk requeisted to vissie and consider the same, and to give his judgement therof. As to the places where the synodall assembleis sall be holdin, and the day of their nixt conventioun, it is thought meete, that their nixt assemblie sall beginne the first Tuisday of October nixtocum, in the particular places following, where being conveenned, they sall choose at their owne optioun the same, or suche other places within their bounds as they thinke most expedient therafter; and so furth frome tyme to tyme, as they sall appoint and thinke meetest. Alwise for the first tyme and nixt assemblie sall conveene as followeth: viz., the synodall assemblie of Orkney in Kirkwall, of Cathnesse in Dornoch, of Rosse in the Chanonrie of Murrey in Elgine, of Bamf in Torre, of Aberdeen in Aberdeen, of Angus and Mernes in Brechin, of Dunkelden in Dunkelden, of Dumblane in

Dumblane, of Fife and Perth in Sanct Andrewes, of Lothiane in Edinburgh, of Merse, Tiviotdaill, Tweddaill, to Lauder of Nithisdaill, in Dumfreis; of Galloway in Wigtoun, of Kyle, Carict, and Cunninghame, in Air, of Cliddisdaill, Renfrew, and Lennox, in Glasgow.

The Assemblie requeisted the secretar to intreat his Majestie, that the Generall Assemblie may be holdin yeerlie, or ofter, as occasioun sall offer; and to understand what tyme his Majestie thinketh meet for holding the nixt conventioun.

Tuiching maters perteaning properlie to Generall and Provinciall Assembleis, certan heeds being read, which were agreed on in the late conference, holdin betuixt certan of the king's Majestie's commissioners, and suche others of the ministrie called by his Grace to that effect, the Assemblie thought meete they sould be farther considered till after noone.

Sessioun 6.

Tuiching the heed read before noone, referred to farther deliberatioun, the moderator declared, that the mater being in a part reasouned in privie conference, they had penned two articles, which they thought good the Assemblie sould judge upon, and to vote to the same, if they find it expedient. Which being read and advised with, the whole brethrein gave assent therto. Of the which articles the tenour followeth:—

"It is found, that all suche as the Scripture appointeth governours of the Kirk of God, as namelie, pastors, doctors, and elders, may conveene to the Generall Assembleis, and vote in ecclesiastical maters; and all other that have anie sute, or other things to propone to the Assemblie, may be there present, to give in their sutes, propone things profitable to the kirk, and heare reasoning, but sall not vote.

"There are foure ordinar officers sett doun unto us by the Scriptures, to witt, pastors, doctors, elders, and deacons; and the name of a bishop ought not to be taikin as it hath beene in Papistrie, but is commoun to all pastors and ministers."

Sessioun 8.

Tuiching the propositioun of the king's Majestie's commissioners made to the whole Assemblie, to resolve, after mature and commoun deliberatioun, if they will accept bishops, with the conditiouns sett doun at the conference had betuixt certan of his Majestie's counsell, and certan of the brethrein of the ministrie, or if they would refuse, the Assemblie continued their answere till the morne, after the publict reading of the said conference. The king's commissioners, after privat reasoning with the brethrein above-writtin, came to the Assemblie, and the treasurer propouned, that ather it behoved them to approve the whole conference wherunto his Majestie agreed, or ellis that all things must remaine as they were; for, except the estat of bishops were receaved, as was agreed in that conference, the king would grant nothing.

Sessioun 9.

Certan heeds advised on in the privie conference being propouned to consultatioun, the Assemblie for the most part voted that the heeds of the conference mentiouned yesternight be first considered, to the effect they may resolve upon the answere.

Albeit, the articles agreed upon in the conference holdin at Halyrudhous, betuixt certan appointed by the king's Majestie, of his counsell, and certane brethrein of the ministrie, called by his Highnesse to that effect, the particulars being openlie read, the brethrein agreed to the first article, it being conceaved in thir termes: "It is condescended, that the name of a Bishop hath a speciall charge and functioun annexed to it by the Word of God, the same that the ordinar pastor hath."

Tuiching the remanent articles of the said conference, it was thought good to lay first some grounds to reasoun. And first, after reasoning was concluded, that it was lawfull to the Generall Assemblie to admitt a pastor, bishop, or minister having a benefice, presented by the king's Majestie unto the same. Siclyke, that visitatioun is in the person of pastors. *Item*, The Generall Assem-

blie may send a man, accompanied with suche as the presbyterie sall adjoyne unto him in visitatioun.

Sessioun 10.

In answering to the heeds of the conference had betuixt certane of his Majestie's counsell, and certane of the brethrein, at his Hienesse' command, the whole Assemblie declareth, that by the name of a Bishop, they onlie mean of suche a bishop as is described by Paul. And so understanding, they agree with the thrid article of the said conference. Concerning the fourth article, it is agreed, that the bishop may be appointed by the Generall Assemblie to visit certan bounds to be limited to him; and, in visitatioun therof, he sall proceed by advice of the synodall assemblie, and suche as they sall adjoyne unto him. In reserving of presentatiouns, and giving collatiouns of benefices, he sall proceed by the advice and vote of the presbyterie where the benefice lyeth, and of certan assessors to be joyned to him, at the least of the most part of the presbyterie and assessors, untill the tyme the presbytereis be better constituted, and the generall kirk take farther order. The same assessors at the first tyme sall be nominated and chosin by the Generall Assemblie.

Sessioun 11.

He sall be subject, in respect he is a pastor, as other pastors are, to be tryed and censured in his life and doctrine, by the presbyterie or the synodall assemblie; and becaus he hath commissioun of the Generall Assemblie, in that respect to be tryed by them.

If he admitt or deprive, without consent of the most part of the presbyterie and counsell, the deed to be null, and the doing therof to be sufficient caus of deprivatioun of him.

His power to be *ordinis causa, non jurisdictionis.*

Where they that commounlie are called bishops may not overtake the whole bounds, called of old dioceis, commissioners sall be presented by his Majestie to the Generall Assemblie, and admitted by them thereto, as the said bishops are to theirs, and to be compt-

able allanerlie to the said Assemblie for their commissioun; and the bishop to have no power within their bounds more nor they have within his.

The commissioners being elected, as said is, to have alike counsell and power in the execution of their office as the bishop hath.

That the commissioners appointed to visite other presbytereis or particular kirks, as the presbytereis or synodall assemblie sall thinke good, not prejudging the presbytereis' particular visitatioun.

The same causes of life and doctrine to deprive a bishop or commissioner that deprive a minister.

The fourteenth article agreed unto.

Tuiching the assembleis, the first article agreed unto.

The commissioners for the king's Majestie protested, in respect the Assemblie hath cast doun that which was required in the conference holdin at Halyrudhous, betuixt certan of his counsell and of the ministrie, that nothing done, nather in the said conference, nor in this Assemblie, have anie force or effect; and namelie, in respect they have subjected bishops to the tryell and censure of presbytereis and synodall assembleis.

In respect of the which protestation, the Assemblie immediatlie directed to the king's Majestie Mr Robert Pont, Mr James Martine, and Mr Patrik Galloway, to informe his Majestie concerning this mater.

Sessioun 12.

The brethrein directed to the king's Majestie yesternight reported, his Majestie could not agree that bishops or commissioners sould be otherwise tryed than by the Generall Assembleis.

In respect of the tyme, the Assemblie hath thought it expedient, albeit it be thought lawfull and reasonable by them, that the tryells and censuring of pastors be in the presbyterie's hands: notthelesse, that the tryall and censuring of suche pastors as the Generall Assemblie give commissioun to visite, sall be in the hands of the said Assemblie, or such as they sall depute, whill further order be taikin by the said Generall Assemblie.

It is resolved, that the commissioners appointed by the Generall Assemblie sall continue in that charge for a yeere in to come, and from thyne-furth, according as the said Assemblie sall thinke expedient. The brethrein are warned to repaire to the Abbey the morne, at ten houres; and for that caus that they depart not.

Sessioun 13.

Tuiching commissioun of visitatioun, ather by bishops or others, the Assemblie declareth, that all the said commissiouns sall ceasse, and take no effect in tyme comming, without new commissioun be givin to them by the Generall Assemblie for that effect.

Ordeans Mr Robert Pont, Mr David Lindsey, David Fergusone, Mr Andrew Hay, to consider and make a choice out of the whole number of the brethrein, of the most godlie, discreit, and qualified for the said visitatioun, and to give in their names to my Lord Secretar.

Tuiching the order of the presbytereis, the consideratioun and judgement therof being alreadie referred to my Lord Clerk of Register, so manie of the brethrein as have anie doubt, or would be satisfied theranent, are required to repaire unto him, where, with reasoun, they will be resolved.

Sessioun 14.

Suche of the brethrein as pretend anie doubt concerning the order of the presbytereis are ordeanned to repaire to the Clerk Register; who, being satisfied with reasoun, the order may be established. Siclyke, in respect of the mater of appellatioun of the Bishop of Sanct Andrewes from the synodall of Fife, and the heed of the commissioners, and other weightie causes yitt unresolved, the brethrein are warned to stay till some order be taikin therin.

Sessioun 15.

Ordeans two or three of everie countrie to resort to my Lord Clerk of Register, to visite the platt of ministers' stipends; and

siclyke of the presbytereis, and order therof; where they may give their advice, and be satisfied.

Where the king's Majestie and his hous maketh residence, it is found meete that they, with his Grace's ministers, be of that presbyterie where they make then residence; and the samine to be understood of the nobilitie, their houshold, and ministrie.

Sessioun 16.

Tuiching articles to be propouned to his Majestie and counsell, certane being conçeaved in writt, and read in Assemblie, were ordeanned to be presented and craved; wherof the tenor follöwes:—

HUMBLE PETITIONS OF THE MINISTRIE CONVEENED AT THIS GENERALL ASSEMBLIE OF THE KIRK, TO THE KING'S MAJESTIE, FOR SOME MATERS TENDING TO THE ESTABLISHING OF THE POLICIE OF THE SAME KIRK.

"It will please your Majestie to take some substantious order how the countrie, without delay, may be purged of the pestiferous sect of the Jesuits; especiallie of suche, as for the freindship in the north, or highlie authorized, who, although they have beene summouned to underly the law, and assise summouned to that effect, yitt their non-compeerance being dispensed with, they freelie going through the countrie, meaning nothing lesse than to depart; and Jesuits out of the south, and furth of France, repäiring of new unto them.

"*Item*, That seing Papistrie äboundeth in the north, by reasoun of the skant of qualified ministers there, for laike of sufficient provisioun and stipend, that therefore assignatiouns may be made unto them, conformable unto the ministrie in the south; and that the thrids there be not assigned unto the thrids of the south whill their owne kirks be first provided sufficientlie, and suche as otherwise have beene disponed may be discharged.

"*Item*, That judges may be appointed in all shires for executioun

of the acts of parliament made against the breakers of the Sabboth day, adulterers, and suche opin transgressers of God's law.

"*Item*, In cheefe burrowes their teaching is ordinar foure tymes in the weeke, beside the discipline, visitation of the sicke, ordinar to pastors, and other charges; that two ministers therefore be appointed to suche touns.

"*Item*, That order may be tane how the colledges' kirks may be served.

"*Item*, That order may be tane for manses and gleebs to ministers making residence at abbey kirks; as also suche as have, or sall have manses and gleebs, may have their necessars thereto, suche as fewes and pasturage, with faill and divet,[1] as was wount to be of before.

"That all gifts of benefices having the cure of soules annexed unto them, dispouned by his Hienesse *pleno jure*, and not qualified persons presented unto them, with ordinar tryell and collatioun following therupon, may be declaired, according to the king's Majestie's lawes alreadie made, null; and that his Hienesse will give new presentations therupon to qualified persons, and the nullitie of the former gift to be discussed, als weill by way of exceptioun as actioun.

"That all presentatiouns, and gifts of benefices of cure lesse nor prelaceis, dispouned als weill by his Majestie as laick patrons, otherwise than to qualified ministers, or in anie extraordinar forme, not allowable to the commoun law of the municipall lawes of this realme, and forme observed in the reformed kirk of this realme since his Majestie's coronatioun, may be annulled, and new presentatiouns granted to qualified ministers; admitting the nullitie to be discussed, als weill by way of exception as actioun.

"That all collatiouns granted by men that had no commissioun nor ecclesiasticall functioun in the kirk, nor of that place and countrie the tyme of the giving of the collatioun, be declared null, and the fruicts sequestrated; at the least, whill the persons claming right by suche collation be of new examined, tryed, and admitted,

[1] The right of cutting peat for fuel, and turf for roofing dykes and houses.

if he be found worthie, by them who sall be appointed for that effect, and authorized by this present Assemblie.

"That the benefices of cure under prelaceis, wherunto ministers are admitted, may be free from payment of the first fruicts and fyft pennie; and may have their signatures of presentation exped the privie seale, upon his Majestie's owne subscriptioun onlie, and the Secretars, without anie payment or cautioun found to the Treasurer. And suche poore men as have alreadie payed, or found cautioun for payment, wherof my Lord Treasurer hath not alreadie charged him in his compts, to have the same refounded to them, or discharged.

"Seing the fault of non-depriving of the unworthie, culpable, and non-resident ministers, proceedeth of this, that sindrie of the bishops have beene negligent in sindrie places; in some other parts there are no bishops or commissioners, and so the acts are not executed, the bookes of modificatioun full of a number of suche persons as have not shewed themselves as ministers; that therefore a commissioun be givin to one or moe qualified persons, ministers, to sitt in Edinburgh, and call the non-residents, and others delated, to be worthie of deprivation, or deprived, where there may be consultation of learned men had, and the processe may be led without boast or feare.

"It is heavilie compleanned by manie privie men, ministers, and readers, having personages and vicarages assigned to them for their stipends, that they are exorbitantlie and ungodlie used in taxatiouns, their benefices being long since decayed, through the want of crosse-presents, upmost cloaths, pasche fynes, offerands, and suche like things usuallie payed in time of Papistrie, which were the principall part of the rents of manie personages and vicarages, and yitt they must pay the extremitie of the old taxatioun, according to the rate, as rentalls, than were at the best, without anie releefe, where as the most part of prelats excemed from preaching or service in the kirk gett their whole releefe of the poore fewers and vassalls; and that, therefore, there may be some more equitable order of taxatioun appointed for the tyme to come.

"That it would please his Majestie to caus consider what prelaceis have vaiked since the Act of Parliament made in October 1581; and that speciall assignatioun be made for susteaning of the ministers of the kirks belonging to them, of the readiest of the fruicts of the same kirks; otherwise the provisioun, according to the act, to be declared null.

"That the bishops, commissioners of Argile and the Yles, may be subject to attend on the Assembleis Generall, and to keepe their exercises and synodall assembleis, as in other parts of the realme, which is a furtherance to the king's Majestie's obedience; since, otherwise, they appeare as exeemed out of his dominion.

"That his Majestie will yitt give directioun to some persons of experience and good will, to searche, enquire, and try the true estat of the rentall of all prelaceis, and other benefices at this present; and in whose default, and by what occasioun they are so farre hurt and dismembred; that therafter the best remeeds that are possible may be considered and provided, for helping of them heerafter, both for the weale of the king and the kirk.

"That his Majestie will caus the Lords of Sessioun declare whether his Hienesse or the Erle of Orkney hathe the right to the patronages of the benefices of Orkney and Zetland; to the effect that titles of benefices, conferred to poore ministers, be not ay in danger of annulling, upon uncertantie of the right of the patronage.

"That no persons or stipends be putt in the Booke of Modificatioun, but onlie suche as the commissioners of the kirk sall affirme and testifie, upon their truthe, to be qualified persons, and actuallie making residence at their kirks.

"That vicarage pensioners and stallars, as they vaike after deceasse, or deprivatioun of the present possessour, may accresse, to be joyned to the principall benefice, and be assigned to the minister in his living and stipend.

"That all readers provided of before to vicarage or stipends may bruike the same whill their deceasse or deprivatioun; and none to be admitted to title of anie benefice of cure or stipend in the

Booke of Modificatioun, in tyme comming, but qualified ministers.

"That the whole rents of all benefices of cure under prelaceis, dispouned to ministers since his Hienesse' coronatioun, be assigned whole, and allowed to them in their livings and stipends.

"That the judgement of all causes concerning deprivatioun of ministers from benefices in the secund instance, sall come by way of appellatioun to the Generall Assemblie, and there take finall end; and not before the Lords of Sessioun, by way of reductioun."

Sessioun 17.

Tuiching the commissioners nominated by the king's Majestie to vissie the bounds after specified, the Generall Assemblie of the kirk, advised with the qualiteis of the saids persons, and everie one of them, hath admitted, and admitteth them to the said charge in the particular bounds, as followeth: that is to say, Robert Grahame to Cathnesse, Mr Johne Robertsone to Rosse, Mr Johne Keith to Murrey, Mr George Hay to Bamff, Mr Peter Blekburne to Aberdeene, Johne Areskine of Dun to Angus and Mernes, James Andersone to Dumblane, Mr James Brysone to Nithisdaill, Mr David Lindsey to Lothiane, Mr Andrew Clayhills to Merce and Tiviotdaill, Johne Duncansone to Galloway, Johne Porterfeild to Kyle, Carict, and Cunninghame, Mr Andrew Hay to Cliddisdaill, Renfrew, and Lennox. And this their commission for the space of a yeere.

Tuiching beneficed persons meriting deprivatioun, the Assemblie hath nominated their brethrein, Mr Robert Pont, Mr David Lindsey, Mr Johne Craig, Mr Nicoll Dagleish, Johne Brand, or anie three of them, to proceed against suche persons, conforme to a commissioun to be granted to them by the king's Majestie, with advice of his counsell to that effect.

All ministers are exhorted and admonished to judge charitablie of others, albeit there be diversitie in their opiniouns and votes, remitting everie man to God and his conscience; and that none publictlie, in pulpit, quarrell or impugne the determinatioun of the

Generall Assemblie, concerning the mater of appellatioun from the sentence of the Synod of Fife.

Sessioun 18.

The brethrein directed to the king's Majestie, with certan articles craving present resolutioun, reported his Majestie's answere, that in the whole heeds, a little difficultie excepted, which is noted with his Majestie's hand, his Grace agreed.

The tenour of the saids Articles.

That there be Generall Assembleis everie yeere once, and ofter, *pro re nata.*

Maters to be treated in the Provinciall Assembleis.

1. Thir assembleis are constituted for weightie maters, necessar to be treatted with mutuall consent and assistance of the brethrein within the province, as need requireth.

2. This assemblie hath power to handle, order, and redresse all things omitted, or done amisse, in the particular assembleis.

3. It hath power to depose the office-bearers of that province, for good and just causes deserving deprivatioun. His Majestie agreed not with this article, but in this maner, "It hath power to depose the office-bearers of that province, except commissioners and bishops."

4. And, generallie, thir assembleis have the whole power of the particular elderships, wherof they are to be collected.

Maters to be treated in Presbytereis.

1. The power of presbytereis is to give diligent labours in the bounds committed to their charge, that the kirks be keeped in good order; to inquire diligentlie of naughtie and ungodlie persons, and travell to bring them in the way again, by admonitioun, or threatning of God's judgements, or by correctioun.

2. It apperteaneth to the eldership to take heed that the Word of God be purelie preached within their bounds, the sacraments

rightlie ministred, the discipline mainteaned, and the ecclesiasticall goods uncorruptlie distributed.

3. It belongeth to this kinde of Assembleis to caus the ordinances made by the assembleis, provinciall, nationall, and generall, to be keeped and putt in executioun.

4. To make constitutiouns which concerne το πρεπον in the kirk, for decent order of the particular kirk where they governe, providing that they alter no rules made by the Provinciall or Generall Assembleis, and that they make the provinciall assembleis foresaid privie of the rules that they sall make, and to abolishe constitutiouns tending to the hurt of the same.

5. It hath power to excommunicat the obstinat. His Majestie agreed unto this fyft article, in this maner: "It hath power to excommunicat the obstinat, formal processe being led, and due intervalls of tyme being observed."

Tuiching particular Kirks.

If they be lawfullie ruled by sufficient ministers and sessioun, they have power and jurisdictioun in their own congregatioun, in maters ecclesiasticall, to take order therewith; and things that they can not decide, to bring to the presbyterie.

Maters to be treated in the Presbyterie.

Heresie, papistrie, apostasie, idolatrie, witchecraft, consulters with witches, contempt of the Word, not resorting to the Word, continuance in blasphemie against God and his truthe, perjurie, incest, adulterie, fornicatioun, commoun drunkennesse. These things for the present and farther, whill order be tane in the conference.

Farther, it was shewed to the said Assemblie, by the brethrein directed to his Majestie, that his Grace declared, that for triell of anie slander in the life, conversatioun, and doctrine of bishops or commissioners, the said Assemblie sould appoint a number of brethrein in everie province, having power from the said Assemblie to try them, and take probatioun, lead processe therein, betuixt and

the nixt Assemblie, if occasioun fall out; remitting the finall sentence and determinatioun to the said Generall Assembleis.

The Generall Assemblie of the Kirk giveth full power and commissioun to the brethrein under writtin, within the bounds after following, to summoun before them respective, at suche day and place as they sall thinke expedient, the bishops and commissioners after specified, if they find occasioun of slander to arise by them in life, doctrine, or conversatioun, at anie tyme betuixt and the nixt Assemblie Generall; and to try and take probatioun therof, lead and deduce processe against them, to the sentence exclusive; remitting the finall judgement therin to the said Generall Assemblie, whill farther order may be taikin by uniforme consent of the brethrein. That is to say, Mr Robert Inneis, William Gray, Andrew Andersone, for the Commissioner of Cathnesse; Mr George Monro, Robert Monro, Finlay Mainsone, Andrew Mylne, Mr Johne Rosse, for Rosse; Mr James Dundas, Mr Alexander Dowglas, Mr William Dowglas, Mr Alexander Rawsone, Mr Johne Inneis, Mr Thomas Howesone, for the Commissioners of Murrey; Mr James Duff, Mr Gilbert Gairdin, Johne Philip, Mr Johne Knox, for the Commissioners of Bamf; Mr George Patersone, Mr Walter Stewart, James Reid, Johne Strauchane, Mr Johne Strauchane, Mr Thomas Bisset, Mr Duncan Davidsone, David Howesone, for the Commissioners of Aberdeene; William Christesone, Mr Andrew Mylne, Mr William Moresone, Mr James Melvill, Mr James Balfour, Mr Paul Fraser, Johne Dure, for Angus and Mernes; David Fergusone, Johne Dykes, Mr Johne Caldcleughe, Mr Patrik Galloway, Mr David Lindsey, Mr Robert Pont, Mr Adam Johnstoun, Mr Nicoll Dagleish, or anie seven of them, to try the Bishop of Sanct Andrewes, if any new slander or offence fall out. Mr Patrik Galloway, Mr William Rind, Mr William Edmistoun, Mr William Glasse, Mr Johne Abercrumbie, Patrik Wemes, for the Bishop of Dunkelden; Mr Andrew Young, Mr William Stirline, Mr Arthure Futhie, Patrik Gillespie, for Dumblane; Mr Robert Pont, Mr Nicol Dagleish, Mr Walter Balcanquall, Johne Brand, Mr Andrew Blakhall, Mr Patrik Simsone, Mr Johne Hall, Mr Adam Johnstoun,

for Lothiane; Johne Clapperton, Mr Thomas Storie, William Balfour, Robert Futhie, Mr Archibald Dowglas, for Merce and Tiviotdaill; Mr Ninian M'Clemoquhan, James Dodds, and the ministers of Quhitterne and Dumfreis, for Nithsdaill; Johne Mackorne, Mr Peter Primerose, Johne Inglis, Mr David Mylne, Mr Robert Wilkie, Mr William Strang, for Kyle, Carict, and Cunninghame; Mr Andrew Polwart, Mr Johne Hammiltoun, Mr Patrik Scharp, Mr Patrik Davidsone, Mr David Wemes, Mr Johne Davidsone, for Cliddisdaill, Renfrew, and Lennox; and their brethrein to report their processe and tryell to the nixt Assemblie, where sentence may be pronounced, according to the qualities and circumstances of the actioun; and the same brethrein respective, according to their countreis and towns, and be assessors to the commissioners of their countreis; and with the advice of their presbytereis, in taiking tryell of persons presented to benefices, and admitting of them, except in Fife, where there are appointed assessors to the bishop, David Fergusone, Johne Dykes, Mr Adam Mitchell, Johne Ure, Mr Robert Wilkie, Mr James Wilkie, Mr James Martine.

Tuiching moderators of presbytereis, whill farther order be tane, it is agreed, that where the bishops and commissioners make their residence, that in the saids presbytereis they sall be moderators, except in Fife, where, by his Majestie's advice, Mr Robert Wilkie is continued moderator of the Presbyterie of St Andrewes, whill the nixt synodall assemblie.

At the sute of the Assemblie, the king's Majestie's commissioners have agreed, that the priviledge which the kirk had in the sessioun, of two dayes in the weeke for calling their actiouns, sall be restored; and Johne Lindsey and Mr Johne Grahame to be ordinar awaiters theron.

Siclyke agreed, with advice of the saids commissioners, that James Mowat be solicitor for the kirk, if Mr George Mackesone and he be agreed.

The Generall Assemblie giveth full power and commissioun to their lovit brethrein, Mr Robert Pont, Mr David Lindsey, Mr

Nicoll Dagleish, Mr Walter Balcalquall, Mr Adam Johnstoun, Johne Brand, his Majestie's ministers, with suche others nominated in the commissioun givin for depriving beneficed ministers, &c., that sall happin to be present, to present unto his Majestie and counsell the humble petitions, complaints, articles, and heeds delivered to them, and with all due reverence and humble obedience crave his Majestie's answere therunto; treat, conferre, and reasoun therupon, and upon suche heeds and articles as sall be on his Majestie's behalfe, or by his commissioners propouned to them; and what heerin sall be proceeded to report to the nixt Generall Assemblie of the kirk.

Ministers that are not provided to flockes, the commissioners directed to the king sall travell, that they may be placed by advice of the commissioners of the countrie and presbytereis.

THE ESTAT AND ORDER OF THE PRESBYTEREIS WITHIN THE BOUNDS OF THE COMMISSIONERS, PRESENTED BY MY LORD CLERK REGISTER, AND SETT DOUN BY HIS LORDSHIP'S TRAVELLS, AT REQUEIST OF THE KIRK.

ZETLAND.

Tingwell	Fetlair	Burray
Nesting	Sandweeke	Fula
Aithsting	Dunrosenesse	Delting
Olaberry	Veisdaill	Rafuird
Statsta	Brassay	Crocekirk
Unst	Papa	Skerreis
Bailzesta	Crosse Kirk in Northmaving	Sandsting
Quhytnesse	Hammabo	Vaus
Lunastring	Curnsburgh	Ornafirth
Sandnesse	Quhailsay	Nesse in Zell
St Colmes Kirk		Faire Yle

ORKNEY.

Kirkwall	Croce Kirk	Wallis
Kirk in Deirnesse	Scrownay	St Nicolas Kirk
Holme	Birsay	Ladie Croce Kirk in Weston.
Rassay	Stainhous	
Farray	Inhallow	Schapinzay
Peter Kirk in Strongay	Weir	All in South Ranaldsay
	Grimsay	
Ladie Kirk	Forray	St Andrewes
Peterkirk	St Colmes Kirk in Sanda and North Ranaldsay	Evie
St Olaus Kirk		Sandweek
Orphair		Flattay
Randell	Burray	Marie Kirk
Eglissay	Harray	Papa Wester
Hoy	Firth	Ladie Kirk in Bervick
Ethay	Stronnesse	

CATHNESSE.

Robert Graham.

Week	Ardurnesse	Canesbie
Halkirk	Wattin	Lathroun
Ra	Olrick	Dunnet
Bonar	Far	Thurso
Skennand		

SUTHERLAND.

Assent	Clyne	Laig
Kilmailyie	Greich	Kildonan
Dornoch	Loch	Rogairt

ROSSE.

Mr Johne Ro.

Kincairdin	Brachtie	Suddie
Kilmure Easter	Durris	Kullicuddan
Colterne	Cummer	Cromartie
Arthure Feir	Alloway	Aplecroce
Urquhart	Eddertayne	Croy
Kilchrist	Roskene	Dallarace
Lochalschie	Dingwell	Bolleskine
Innernesse	Killernaine	Kinguse
Pette	Urray	Kincardin
Lundicht	Contane	Terbert
Corveth	Garloch	Alnesse
Skeir	Fairnway	Kilmure Wester
Tayne	Baaven	Kynnettes
Logie Easter	Dacus	Kilmorack
Lymlair	Arbirtarf	Lochebrume
Fedderne	Rothymurcus	Kintaill
Logie Wester	Nig	Moy
Kirkmichaell	Newmakyle	Davy
Lochcarroun	Channonrie of Rosmerkie	Wardlaw
Bonoch		Lagan

MURREY.

Mr Johne Keith.

Forresse	Kynnedward	Dumneth
Dolesse	Rathven	Edincolyie
Aulderne	Rothesse	Alwesse
Urquhart	Botare	Narne
Abdie	Keith	Glenmoreston

Cromdell	Belly	Drumblait
Essill	Glasse	Ryme
Aberloure	Forg	Ardlach
Urquhart	Essy	Moy
Elcheis	Raffort	Knockandoch
Rothemay	Dyke	Abernethie
Carbroch	Inneralloun	Spynie
Alter	Duthill	Duppill
Langbryd	St Andrewes Kirk	Birney
Kirkmichaell	Ugstoun	Dunbennan
Inneraven	Pettinthuy	Drumdalgie
Elgine	Kynnore	Murthlacke
Duffus	Gartley	Achindore
Skandurstane		

BAMFF.

Mr George Hay.

Rathven	Angus	Abirchirdoure
Cullen	Creichmond	Forglene
Alneth	Furvey	Methlyk
Kynnedward	Dundurch	Lumney
Fetter	Ordquhill	Tyre
Pettirugie	Innerkethney	Fordice
Slains	Auchterleis	Innerburdyne
Fillorth	Lungley	Genivy
Forskeene	Rathin	Deir
Deskfurd	Allane	Tarves
Forglyne	Kintallarte	Crowden
Turreff	Bamf	Aberloure

ABERDEEN.

Mr Peter Blekburne.

Logybuchan
New Aberdeen
Peterculter
Kintore
Monkegy
Premay
Kynnathmont
Kincardinoneill
Aufuird
Bauchindore
Tullich
Tond
Migve
Kynbethock
Dinnotter
Kynneth
Ecclisgreig
Brechin
Stracathro
Kyncaldrum
Edyew
Forfar
Essy
Foverney
Nig
Dilmaock
Kinnellan
Rothelay
Leslie
Christ's Kirk
Glentennore
Keig
Ternitie
Glennuke
Cuchine
Tarlane
Forbesse
Garvock
Bervie
Abirlichnot
Buttergill
Lethnot
Netherairle
Dunloppy
Restennet
Innerarate
Balhelny
Banquhorie
Durris
Skene
Fyvie
Daviot
Clat
Lusannan
Lochinhill
Strauchane
Abirgairdin
Colquhoddilstane
Kildrynnie
Keir
Catterling
Rescobie
Glenbervie
Kilmore
Lochley
Keremure
Glames
Methy
Kirkbudd
Alder Aberdeen
Devynnick
Dyce
Kynarny
Tarvesse
Une
Inchecolsalmond
Clunie
Monymust
Birse
Crathie
Logymar
Glenbuchet
Tullinessell
Fordoun
Arbuthnet
Fettercarne
Ferniwell
Navar
Abirlenno
Clova

Kynnetills
Cortoquhy
Monycaboch
Marie Culter
Fintrie
Inneroure
Logydurnoch
Rayne

Fettirneir
Midmair
Echt
Oboyn
Kyndrocht
Coule
Innerauchte
Fetteresse

Conveth
Benholme
Newdock
Kinckstoun
Finnaven
Aldbar
Luntrethen
Tannaddes

ANGUS AND MERNES.

The Laird of Dun.

Montrose
Dunnytin
Lownan
Kynnell
Logydundie
Monyfuith
Inchesture
Lundie
Newtyle
Kynnoule
Aldmelginche
Sanct Madoes
Muncrief
Dunnyne
Kintaill
Colasse
Dun
Logymontrose
Innerkeloure
Barray
Lyf
Monykie

Kinnaird
Auchterhous
Nava
Kynfawnes
Kilspindie
Abernethie
Forgundine
Rind
Madertie
Kethins
Eclishane
Inchabrooke
Athe
Abirlot
Innergoury
Pambryd
Rossy
Teling
Megle
Skoone
Rait
Drone

Forteviot
Tibbermure
Methven
Trinitiegask
Guthre
Menmure
Aberbrothe
Dundie
Myrrous
Foullis
Abirnyte
Logiealloway
Perth
Cambusmichaell
Erroll
Dunberny
Ecclismagerdoull
Aberdagie
Loncarde
Findogask
Edwe
Maryton

St Vigean's
Maynes
Balumby
Langforgund
Banvie
Strickmartine
Malar
St Martin's Kirk
Inchemartine
Poty
Muckarsie
Pitcarne
Logarton

DUNKELDEN.

Dunkelden
Weyme
Dow
Muling
Ratray
Benethy
Monyde
Port
Balquhidder
Strogeich
Foules
Dowally
Kilmavenock
Grantullie
Ardewnane
Kargill
Alicht
Dumblane
Kilmahug
Cumre
Auchtirardour
Creif
Innerchadden
Strowan
Fossy
Straphillan
Blair
Ruthven
Kilbryde
Callindreich
Strowan
Abirruthven
Clunie
Lude
Logyrait
Kyllin
Capeth
Glenylay
Kilmadocke
Leny
Tullichettil
Monywaird
Forthirgill
Rannioch
Kirkmichaell
Lundeif
Clunie
Kynclevin
Kincairdin
Abirfuill
Muthill
Monyzie

DUMBLANE.

James Andersone.

Stirline
St Ninian's Kirk, and Kirk in Mure
Clackmannan
Glendowen
Fawkirk
Logie
Larbar
Tulliebodie
Muckart
Slamannan
Lecrope

Dunypace
Tullyallan
Dolor
Cambuskenneth
Airth
Fossoquhy
Alneth
Kippan
Bothkennar
Tullyboyle
Tullycultrie

FYFE.

St Andrewes
Kilconquhar
Kembeg
Forgund
Creich
Auchtermuchtie
Lathrisk
Markinche
Auchintule
Dumfermline
Cleish
Torrie
Baith
Carraill
Abercrumbie
Dairsie
Cowper
Dunbug
Ebd
Kirkforthie
Mathill
Wester Kinghorne
Kinglasse
Sauling
Innerkething
Carnbie
Largo
Balmerinoth
Kilmanie
Flisk
Stramiglo
Kirkaldie
Weymes
Auchterdiray
Portmooke
Karnock
Ressyth
Anstruther
Newburne
Logymurcho
Auchter
Monymeill
Arngosk
Scony
Dysart
Ballingry
Urnell
Culrosse
Aberdoure
Kilrynnie
Seres
Leuchars
Auchtermunsie
Kynessie
Falkland or Kilgour
Kennoway
Kinghorne
Lesle
Kinrosse
Crummie
Dalgatie

LOTHIAN.

Linlithquo
Strabrocke
Bathcat
Caldcleir
Castell of Edinburgh
Hales
Mussilburgh
Glencorse
Pennycuik
Clerkington
Cranstoun
Bothans

Gulane
Saltoun
Innerweeke
Tynninghame
Coldinghame
Hornden
Lanell and Simprin
Whitsone
Foulden
Carriden
Ecclismachane
Livingstoun
Edinburgh
Duddingstoun
Ratho
Natoun
Melvill
Monthlothiane
Crichton
Hadintoun
Morehame
Aberladie
Keithhumbie
Aldhamstocks
Fentoun
Ayttoun
Fisheweek
Langtoun
Mordingtoun
Edrem
Bynnie

Kirklistoun
Abercorne
St Cuthbert's Kirk
Leith
Gogar
Libberton
Newbottle
Tempill
Ormestoun
St Martin's Kirk
Barro
Setoun
Keithmarshall
Coldbrandspeth
Quhytkirk
Lamberton
Piltoun
Fogo
Langformacus
Cranschawes
Kynneill
Dummenie
Adcathie
Corstorphine
Restalrig
Currie
Dalkeith
Cockpen
Borthwick
Fawla
Elstanefuird

Garvet
Tranent
Dumbar
Aldcannis
Aldhame
Hattoun
Chirneside
Polwart
Ellem
Caldercults
Torphichin
Kirknewton
Halyrudhous
Cramond
St Katharin in Hopes
Leswaid
Paintland
Caringtoun
Sowtra
Boltoun
Northberwick
Pencatland
Spott
Whittinghame
Basse
Swintoun
Bonkle and Prestoun
Dunce
St Cuthbert's

MERCE, TEVIOTDAILL, TWEDDAILL.

Kelso
Edwine
Hown
Eckles
Cassiden
Essiltoun
Langnewton
Rankilburne
Oxnem
Hopkirk
Suddom
Innerletham
Kirkwod
Glinquhume
Mayzell
Zettam
Aldroxburgh
Gordoun
Maxton
Lawder
Lyllisleif
Askirk
Ankrome
Hassinden and Cavers
Eckfuird
Copcalzeo
Stobo
Straling
St James Kirk
Lintoun
Makcairstoun
Hume
Smaillhame and Merton
Chingilkirk
Selkirk
Jedburgh
Mynto
Hawick
Cassiltoun
Tracquair
Drummalyer
Kilbucho
Sprowstoun
Marbottle
Nanetharnie
Stitchell
Ligerwod
Stow
Lynden
Crailling
Bedroule
Weltoun
Edletoun
Edlestoun
Dawick
Lyne
Lempitlaw
Mow
Greenlaw
Melrose
Bassinden
Bowden
New Kirk of Ettrick
Nisbet
Abbotsroule
Kirknewton
Pebles and Maner
Newlands
Bruchton
Lyntoun

CLIDDISDAILL, RENFREW, AND LENNOX.

Lanerick
Covington
Symontoun
Lammintoun
Biggar
Glasgow
Dalyell
Cambuslang
Cathcart
Paisley
Inchechynnan
Kilmalcolme

Bullull
Fintrie
Kirkpatrik
Cumrie
Baith
Linden
Carlaverock
Thankertone
Wistoun
Culter
Dowglas
Calder
Strathaven
Carmunnock and Torrence
Givven
Neils
Areskine
Killellan
Luce
Strablain
Bothernock
Kilbryd
Steinsoun
Kilmares
Pettynane
Carnweth

Crawfurd Johne
Weltstoun
Carmichaell
Monkland
Hammiltoun
Blantyre
Campsie
Nebarchan
Ecclishame
Innerkip
Kilmahew
Kilmaronnock
Inchecalyeour
Ardrossan
Dalry
Dreghorne
Cothquen
Carstairs
Crawford Dowglas, *alias* Crawfurd Lindsey
Dunsire
Lesmahago
Bothwell and Schotts
Dalserfe
Kilbryd
Lunzie

Eistwod Merns
Lochinzeoch
Dumbartan
Rosneith
Drummone
Irwing Peirstoun
Kilwinning
Kilburie
Stewarton
Libberton
Roberton
Hartside
Dolphintoun
Stainhous
Cambusnethan
Glasfurde
Rutherglen
Monyabrocke
Renfrew
Howston
Cardrosse
Killerne
Balfrone
Largus
Dunlop
Kilmarnock

KYLE, CARICT, AND CUNINGHAM.

Air
Rickerton
Symontoun
Gastoun
Kilbryde

Kirkcudbright, *alias* Innertig
Inchesalsat
Kirkmadin in Rynnis
Kirkmadin

Glassertoun, in Kirkmadin, in Farnes
Alloway
Monktoun
Uchiltrie

Dalrumpill
Kirkoswald
Dalie
Kirkcolme
Wigtoun
Sorbie
Tarboltoun
St Kevock's and Prestick
Auchinleck
Quiltoun
Kirkmichaell
Girvan
Leswalt
Whitterne
Kirkennar
Barneweill
Dundonald
Mauchline
Dalmelingtoun
Commonell
Chaschent
Stanykirk
Craigiltoun
Mochrum
Craigie
Corsbie
Kirk of Mure
Maybole
Stratoun
Glenluce
Toscartoun
Kirkcowane
Pennynghame

GALLOWAY.

Johne Duncansone.

Kirkcudbright
Tuynem
Girton
Dundrennan
Partoun and Dalry
Terriglis
Kirkunzeane
Cowan
Pempont
Kirkonnell
Glencarne
Wamfra
Mekle Daltoun
Aplegirth
Cummertreis
Ecclishame
Tonargirth
Mortoun
Galloway
Tungland
Anweth
Buthill
Kellis
Newabbey
Kirkpatrik
Carlaverock
Tyrewyne
Sanquhare
Lochmabane
Kirkmichaell
Little Daltoun
Drysdaill
Hoddom
Middilly
Gratney
Watstraker
Dunrod
Boig
Kirkmabreck
Keltoun
Balmaclellan
Halywod
Irnegray
Tynwell
Durisdeir
Closburne
Moffet
Trailflat
Muswald
Silbelly
Luce
Torry
Ridkirk, *alias* Kirkpatrik

Staplegreton	Kirkpatrik Juxta	Lochranane
Balnagie	Drumgrany	Kirkbane
Kirkanders	Ruthvell	Kirkmaho
Kirkdaill	Annand and Dronock	Morton
Gelstoun and Kirkcormock	Pennersax	Dunsteir
	Kirkconnell	Johnstoun
Dumfreis	Wauchop	Kirkwald
Suddick	Allys	Hutton
Kirkpatrik in the Mure, *alias* Durand	Kilchrist	Castlemilk
	Sandweek	Trailrow
	Monygoif	Carruthers
Torthorell	Cormishaell	Cannabie
Kilbryd	Troqueir	Over Kirk of Allys
Dalgarne		

In this Assemblie was first perceaved what feare and flatterie of court could worke amongst weake and inconsiderat ministers. Muche travell was taikin, by the king and courteours, to gett the sentence of excommunicatioun of Mr Patrik Adamsone annulled. The king's commissioners propouned to the moderator and assessors, that the king would ather have the bishop in his owne estat again, and the sentence annulled, or else there sould be no libertie granted to the church. When, notwithstanding of these terrours, the king's commissioners were not like to obteane their intent, they sent to the Generall Assemblie for the commissioners of everie province, and layed before them the same terrours. Some were moved; some, through ignorance, consented to the midds above mentiouned. Mrs Robert Pont, Nicoll Dagleish, Adam Johnston, Johne Knox, Thomas Makgie, Andrew Mylne, Andrew Polwart, Thomas Storie, Johne Spotswood, David Hume, Johne Clapperton, George Johnstoun, Johne Durie, disassented. The whole Synod of Fife was removed in the meane tyme of the voting, and manie commissioners absent. The Secretar, in presence of the whole Assemblie, declared, that except this midds were embraced, not onlie the whole discipline of the church sould be discharged,

but also the ministers' stipends; and the bishop sould be sett up to preache in Edinburgh, speeke in the contrarie who would. At this Assemblie, likewise, the bishops reteanned some peece of preeminence, by reasoun of the king's great importunitie. The wound which the kirk had receaved was not as yitt fullie cured, notwithstanding the banished lords were restored. Yitt did not this preeminence endure long.

MR A. MELVILL WARDED.

Soone after the dissolving of the Assemblie, the act made in favours of the bishop was intimated with sound of trumpet. Soone after, Mr Andrew Melvill, and his nephew Mr James, were called before the king and counsell. Mr James, becaus he was sicke of a tertian fever, was sent backe to the colledge: Mr Andrew, under pretence to conferre with Jesuits, and to lucrifie them so farre as in him lay, was wairded in Angus, Mernes, Perth, and other parts in the North. The tenor of the act of Counsell heere followeth:—

"At Halyrudhous, the 26th day of May, the yeere of God 1586 yeeres.—The king's Majestie and Lords of Secreit Counsell, having consideratioun of the disordered estat of the Universitie of St Andrewes, occasioned for the most part by the dissentioun and diversitie betuixt Patrik Bishop of St Andrewes, and Mrs Andrew and James Melvills, maisters of the New Colledge within the same, their favourers and adherents, to the great slander of the kirk, divisioun of the said universitie, and decay of learning, and all vertuous exercise within the same, speciallie of Theologie, wherof the said New Colledge was appointed to have been a seminarie within this realme, albeit, by occasioun of the said diversitie and variance, the ordinar professioun therof has beene discontinued thir two yeeres bygane, to the great encouragement of the adversars of the true and Christian religioun, and allurement of a great number of Jesuits within the realme, for the eversioun therof, and the erec-

tioun againe of antichristian Papistrie, condemned by God, and by his Hienesse' lawes; for repressing of whose practises, and continuing of the exercise of Theologie within the said universitie in the meane tyme, his Hienesse, with advice forsaid, ordeans the said Mr Andrew to passe immediatlie to Angus, Mernes, Perth, and other parts in the north, where he may understand anie of the saids Jesuits to be; conferre with them, and travell so farre as in him lyes, to reduce them to the true and Christian religioun presentlie professed, and acknowledged by his Majestie and this whole realme; and incace he shall find them obstinat, to delate them to his Majestie and his Secreit Counsell, to be tane order with according to his Hienesse' lawes and acts of Parliament. Induring the which tyme and travell, his Hienesse has dispensed, and by the tenour heerof, dispenses with his ordinarie professioun and exercise within the said New Colledge, and appoints the same to vaike untill his returning; commanding, in the meane time, the said Mr James to attend upon his owne place, for the instructioun of the youth committed to his care and teaching, as he will answere to God and his Hienesse. And to the intent that the said exercise of Theologie may be continued within that universitie, his Hienesse, with advice foresaid, ordeans and commands the said bishop to teache weekelie two lessouns of Theologie, within St Salvador's Colledge; one upon Tuisday, and another upon Thursday, everie weeke, beginning the first Tuisday of Junie nixt, and so continuing, ay and whill his Majestie take farther order theranent: And that but prejudice of his ordinar preaching unto a particular flöcke, wherunto he is astricted by the late conference. And that letters be directed heerupon if need be, charging everie one of the said persons to doe accordinglie, as they will answere to his Majestie upon their obedience, at their uttermost charge and perell. *Extractum ex libris actorum Secreti Consilij, per me, Joannem Andro, clericum deputatum ejusdem, sub meis signe et subscriptione manualibus.*

"JOANNES ANDRO."

Thus Satan strived mightilie to hold up his banner against the

kingdom of Christ. The universitie, wanting the benefite of Mr Andrew's travells, sent a supplicatioun to the king for him, with the Deane of Facultie and a maister of everie Colledge. The king answered, if the bishop might live in quietnesse, and be reverentlie used, licence sould be granted to him to returne. Wherupon Mr James was directed to Mr Andrew, who returned answere, that as he had ever behaved himself, so he would in time to come, troubling no man, but attending upon his owne calling. The king's maister hawker, Johne Irwing, had solicited the king that Mr Andrew be not releeved till his tacks were renewed. So, about the beginning of August, Mr Andrew was brought to the king, then resident in Falkland, by the Maister of Gray his moyen. After long conference, the king receaved him in favour, and sent him home to the Colledge; but it behoved first Maister Hawker's tacks to be subscribed. The king promised faithfullie to benefite the Colledge twise als muche. So the winter following, it pleased God so to assist Mr Andrew, that the theologues beganne to looke in earnest and more narrowlie to the truthe both of doctrine and discipline, and the bishop's faire shadowes and showes beganne to vanishe. Manie were in doubt whether they sould heare the bishop's sermons, seing he was both suspended and excommunicated by the Synod. Yitt some for feare, others allured with his pleasant utterance, heard him. But the sincerest sort, both of the toun and universitie, repaired to the Colledge, and heard Mr Andrew Melvill, and Mr Robert Bruce, whose mouth God opened at that tyme.

MR ARCHIBALD DOWGLAS CLEANGED BY AN ASSISE.

Mr Archibald Dowglas, brother to the Laird of Whittinghame, came out of England, where he had remained since the apprehending of the Erle of Mortoun. He was one of the cheefe actors in the murther of the king's father. After his comming, which was upon the 15th of Aprile, he was keeped in Mr Randall the English ambassader's loodging twentie dayes. He was accused

before the Justice in the Tolbuith of Edinburgh for that horrible murther. But by the moyen of Mr Randall and the Dowglasses, he gott moyen to make his owne dittay, and to choose his owne assise. Nothing was asked of him, but that wherof he was foreseene, not that which the Erle of Morton himself deponed against him to the ministrie. He was sent by Bothwell to the Erle of Morton, to procure his consent to the murther. He went with the Erles of Huntlie and Bothwell to the Kirk of Feild. But he was cleanged by an assise, howbeit his owne man Binnie was hanged for the fact.

A LEAGUE CONCLUDED.

Francis Erle of Bothwell, Robert Lord Boyd, and Sir James Hume of Coldingknowes, Commissioners for the King of Scots; Edward Erle of Rutland, Lord William Evers, and Thomas Randall, Squire, Commissioners for the Queene of England, mett at Berwick the 19th day of June, to conclude a league offensive and defensive, which was confirmed upon the 5th of Julie. The articles are sett doun at lenth in "*Camdeni Annales.*"

AN ASSURANCE BETUIXT JOHNSTOUN AND MAXWELL.

Upon the 22d of June, the Secreit Counsell, at the king's directioun, caused an assurance to be taikin betuixt Johnstoun and Maxwell, and betuixt Johnstoun and other barons of the west, to indure, at least, the space of an yeere. A submissioun was made by the parteis to some of the king's counsell, to decide their querrells.

A CONSPIRACIE AGAINST THE QUEENE AND COUNTRIE OF ENGLAND DISCOVERED.

In the moneth of Julie, a dangerous conspiracie in England against the queene and countrie was discovered. Johne Bailard,

a preest of the Seminarie of Rhems, after he had travelled among the Catholicks in England and Scotland, went in Lent bypast to France, and there concluded with Bernadino de Mendoza, the Spanish ambassader resjant in Parise, Charles Padget and Thomas Morgan, two English fugitives, (muche addicted to Queene Marie,) for an invasioun to be made by forrane forces upon England. Becaus Mendoza could not be assured of assistance and convenient landing, Bailard was sent backe to England about Whitsonetyde, to informe the English Catholicks, that his maister resolved to reforme England, or to lose Spaine, and had, for that purpose, in readinesse, great forces; therefore willed them to prepare a factioun, to give them landing and interteanment at their comming, otherwise they would come as conquerours. He conferred at Londoun about these maters with Antony Babingtoun, a wittie and wealthie young gentleman. This gentleman was putt in hope of preferment by the Scottish queene, when he was latelie in France, by Thomas Morgan and the Bishop of Glasgow. They commended him by letters to the Scottish queene. When he returned to England, she saluted him favourablie by her letters. After that tyme, Morgan sent letters by him to her, till she was committed to the custodie of Amias Powlet. Babington confering with Bailard, said, that in his judgement the invasioun would take no effect, so long as Queene Elizabeth lived. Bailard replyed, that Johne Savage, through the perswasioun of William Gifford, an English fugitive, and Reader of Divinitie in the English Seminarie at Rhems, had vowed and sworne to kill her. Babington rejoyned, that it was not good to committ a mater of suche importance to one, but to six resolut gentlemen, of which number Savage might be one, for performance of his vow. Whereupon Babington tooke a new course for invasioun, and resolved with Bailard and others, upon three principall points; first, that the invaders sould be assisted by a readinesse in the people to rebell in diverse places, and to joyne with them at their first landing; nixt, that the queene sould be murthered by six resolute gentlemen; thridlie, that the Scotish queene sould be sett at libertie, and advanced to the crowne. Babington made choice of

these six gentlemen, and of others who sould joyne with the forrane forces at their invasioun. He himself resolved, upon the assurance of her death, or arrivall of the forrainers, to proclame the Scotish queene, Queene of England. In the meane tyme, Queene Marie blamed him gentlie for his long silence, and willed him to send her the packet sent from Morgan, and deliver it to the Frenche ambassader's secretarie; which he did. By this same messinger he sent a letter of his owne, wherin he excused his silence, and made knowne to her what he had resolved with Bailard, to witt, that six gentlemen were appointed to kill the queene; that himself, accompanied with an hundreth others, would deliver her. He shewed how necessary it was that rewairds be promised to the cheefe actors, and to their posteritie, if they sould faile in executioun. Unto these his letters answere was made by her the 27th of Julie, and sent to him, with a new alphabet in cipher, to be used betuixt them from that tyme furth.

THE SCOTISH QUEEN'S LETTER TO BABINGTON, THE 27TH OF JULIE.

"Trustie and weil-beloved.—According to the zeale and inteere affectioun which I have knowne in you toward the commoun caus of religioun and myne, having alwayes made accompt of you as of a principall and right worthie member, to be imployed in the one and the other, it hath beene no lesse consolatioun to me to understand your estat, as I have done by your last letter, and to have found means to renew my intelligence with you, than I felt greefe all the while past to be without the same. I pray you, therefore, from hencefurth, write unto me als oft as yee can, of all occurrences which you may judge anie way important to the good of our effairs, wherunto I sall not faile to correspond, with all the care and diligence that sall be in my possibilitie.

"For diverse great and important considerationns, which were heer too long to be deduced, I cannot but greatlie commend your commoun desire, to prevent in tyme the designement of our enemeis for the extirpatioun of religioun out of this realme, with the ruine

of us all. For I have long agoe shewed to the forrane Catholick princes, (and experience doeth prove,) that the longer they and we delay to putt hand on the mater, on this side, the greater leasure have our said enemeis to prevaile, and wonne advantage over the said princes, as they have done against the King of Spaine; and, in the meane tyme, the Catholicks remaining heere exposed to all sorts of persecutioun and crueltie, doe daylie diminish in number, forces, meanes, and power; so as if remedie be not therunto haistilie provided, I feare not a little that they sall become altogether unable to rise again, and to receave anie aide at all, whensoever it were offered them. For my owne part, I pray you, assure our principall freinds, that albeit I had not in this caus anie particular interest, (which I ought pretend unto, being of no consideration unto me, in respect of the publict good of this estat,) I sall be therin most willing and readie to imploy my life, and all that I have, or may ever looke for in this world.

"Now, for to ground substantiallie this interprise, and to bring it to a good successe, you must first examine deepelie what forces, als weill on foot as on hors, you may raise amongst you all, and what captans you sall appoint for them in everie shire, in cace a cheefe generall cannot be had. 2. Of what touns, ports, and havens, you may assure your self, als weill in the north-west as in the south, to receave succours from the Low Countreis, Spaine, and France. 3. What place you thinke fittest and of greatest advantage to assemble; whether, and which way yee have to marche. 4. What forrane forces, als weill on hors as on foote, you require, (which would be compassed according to the proportioun of yours,) for how long pay and munitioun; and ports fittest for their landing in this realme, from the three foresaid forrane countreis and princes. 5. What provisioun of money and armour, in cace of want, you would aske. 6. By what meanes the six gentlemen deliberat to proceed. 7. And the maner also of my getting furth of this hold.

"Upon which points having taikin amonst you (who are the principall actors, and also als few in number as yee can) the best resolution, my advice is, that you impart the same to Bernardino de Men-

doza, ambassader lieger for the King of Spaine, in France, who, besides the experience he hath of the estat of this side, I may assure you, will imploy him therein most willinglie. I sall not faile to write with him of the mater, with all the earnest commendatioums I can, as I sall, to anie ellis that sall be needfull. But you must make choice, for the menaging of this effaire, (with the said Mendoza, and others out of the realme,) of some faithfull and verie secreit personages, unto whom only you must committ your selves, to the end things may be more secreit; which, for your owne securitie, I commend to you, above the rest. If your messinger bring you backe again sure promise, and sufficient assurance of the succour you demand, then, therafter, (but no sooner, for that were in vaine,) take diligent order, that all these of your part on this side make als secreit as they can, provisioun of armour, fitt hors, and readie money, wherewith to hold themselves in a readinesse to marche, als soone as it sall be signified unto them by their cheefe and principal in everie shire. And for the better colouring of the mater, (reserving to the principall the knowledge of the interprise,) it sall be eneugh, for the beginning, to give out to the rest, that the said provisiouns are made only for fortifeing your selves, in cace of need, against the Puritans of this realme; the principall whereof, having the cheefe forces of the same in the Low Countreis, have (as yee may let the brute goe) designed to ruine and overthrow (at his returne home) the whole Catholicks, and to usurpe the crowne, not onlie against me, and all other lawfull pretenders therunto, but against their owne queene that now is, if she will not altogether committ her self to their onlie government.[1] 'The same pretexts may serve to found and establishe among you all an associatioun, and confederatioun generall, as done onlie for your just preservatioun and defence, als weill in religioun as lives, lands, and goods, against the oppressioun and attempts of the said Puri-

[1] The Earl of Leicester, now Captain-General of the Low Countries, and commander of the English forces there. His intrigues with the Puritan party, of which he was at one time the ostensible head, are sufficiently known to every reader of history.

tans, without tuiching directlie, by wrytting, anie thing against the queene, but shewing your selves willing to mainteane her, and her lawfull heyres after her, unnaming me. The effairs being thus prepared, and forces in a readinesse, both without and within the realme, then sall it be tyme to sett the six gentlemen to worke, taiking order, upon the accomplishement of the designement, I may suddanlie be transported out of this place; and that all your forces be in the feild to meete me, in tareing for the arrivall of the forraine aide, which then must be hastenned with all diligence.

"Now, for that there can be no certane day appointed for the accomplishement of the said six gentlemen's designement, to the end that others may be in a readinesse to take me from hence, I would the said gentlemen had alwayes about them at the court, at the least, foure stout men, furnished with good and speedie horses; for so soone as the said designement sall be executed, to come with all diligence, to advertise therof these that sall be appointed for my transporting, to the end that immediatlie therafter they may be at the place of my abode, before my keeper can have advertisement of the executioun of the said designement; or, at the least, before he can fortifie himself within the hous, or carie me out of the same, it were necessar to dispatche two or three of the said advertisers, by diverse wayes, to the end that if the one were stayed, the other sould come through; and at the same instant, were it also needfull, to cutt off the posts' ordinarie wayes.

"This is the plott which I find best for this interprise, and the order whereby yee sall conduct the same to our commoun securiteis; for stirring on this side, before you are weill assured of sufficient forrane forces, it were but for nothing, but to putt your selves in danger of following of the miserable fortune of others of suche as heeretofore have travelled in the like actiouns. And to take me furth of this place, not being before assured to putt me in the middest of a good armie, or one some verie good strenth, where I may safelie stay on the assemblie of your forces, and arrivall of the said forrane succours, it were sufficient caus givin to that queen, in catching me again, to enclose me for ever in some hold, furth of

which I sould never escape, if she did use me no worse; and to pursue with all extremitie all these that had assisted me; which would greeve me more than all the unhapps which may follow upon my self. And, therefore, must I needs yitt once again admonishe you so earnestlie as I can, to looke and take heed most carefullie and most vigilantlie to compasse and assure so weill all that sall be necessarie for the effectuating for the said interprise, as with the grace of God you may bring the same to happie end; remitting to the judgement of your principall freinds in this side, with whom yee are to deale heerin, to ordeane to conclude upon this present, which sall serve you onlie for an overture and a propositioun, as you sall amongst you find best. And to your self, in particular, I referre to assure the gentlemen above mentioned, of all that sall be requisite of my part, for the inteir executioun of their good wills. I leave also to your commoun resolutiouns to advise, (in cace their designement doe not hold, as may happin,) whether you will or not persue my transport, and the executioun of the rest of the interprise. But if the mishappe sould fall out, that you might not come by me, being sett in the Towre of Londoun, or in anie other strenth with greater guarde, yitt, notwithstanding, leave not, for God's sake, to proceed in the rest of the interprise; for I sall at anie tyme dee most contented, understanding of your deliverie furth out of this servitude wherin you are holdin as slaves. I sall assay, that at the same tyme the worke sall be in hand in these parts to make the Catholicks of Scotland to arise and to putt my sonne into their hands, to the effect that from thence our enemeis heere may not prevaile of anie succour. I would also that some stirring in Ireland were laboured for, and to beginne some while before anie thing were done heere, to the end that the alarme might be givin thereby in the flatt contrarie side that the stroke sould come from.

"For your reasouns to have some generall or cheefe, me thinketh, are verie pertinent to the mater; and therefore were it good to sound obscurelie, for the purpose, the Erle of Arrandaill, or some of his brethrein; and likewise, to sticke upon the young Erle of

Northumberland, if he be at libertie. From over sea, the Erle of Westmerland may be had, whose hous and name may doe muche, you know, in the north parts; as also the Lord of Padget, of good abilitie in some shires therabout; both the one and the other may be brought home secreetlie, among which some of the principall banished may returne, if the interprise be once resolute. The Lord Padget is now in Spaine, and may treate there all which, by his brother Charles, or directlie by himself, you will committ unto him tuiching these effaires. Beware that none of your messingers whom you send furth of the realme carie over anie letters upon them selves, but make their dispatche to be convoyed before or after them by some others.

"Take heed of spyes and false brethrein that are amongst you, especiallie some preests, alreadie practised by our enemeis for your discoverie; and in anie wise, keepe never a paper about you that may hurt you; for, from like errours have come thereby condemnatioun against all suche as have suffered heeretofore, against whom could there otherwise be proved nothing. Discover als little as yee can your names and intentions to the Frenche ambassader, now resjant at Londoun; for although he be, as I understand, a gentle man of good conscience and religioun, yitt I feare that his maister interteaneth with the queene a course farre contrarie to our designement, which might move him to crosse us, if it sould so happin that he had anie particular knowledge therof.

"All this while past I have sued to change and remove from this place, and for answere, onlie the Castell of Dudley was named, to serve the turne. So as, by appearance, within the end of this summer I may goe thither. Wherefore, advise, als soone as I sall be there, what provisioun may be had about that part for my escape there hence. If I stay heere, there is but one of these three wayes to be looked for that purpose: The First,—one day appointed for my walking abroad on horse back, in the moores betuixt this and Stafford, where ordinarilie, you know, that verie few people doe passe, fiftie or threescore men horsed and armed come to take me away there, as they may easilie doe, my keeper having ordinarilie

with him but eighteene or twentie horsemen, with their dags. The Secund meane is, to come at midnight, or soone after, to sett fire in the barns and stables, which, you know, are neere to the hous; and while my guardian his servants runne furth to quenche the fire, your companie having everie one a marke whereby they might know one another under night, might surprise the hous, where, I hope, with few servants that I have about me, I were able to give you correspondence. And the Thrid,—Some that bring carts thither ordinarilie come earelie in the morning; their carts might be so prepared, and with suche cart leaders, that being just in the middest of the gate, the cart might fall doun or overwhelme, and you might come suddanlie with some followers, and make your selves maisters of the hous, and carie me away. So might you doe easilie, before anie number of souldiours, who loodge in sindrie places abroad out of this place, some half a myle, some a whole myle off, might come to releeve. Whatsoever issue the mater taketh, I doe thinke my self obliged unto you als long as I live, for your offers you make to hazard your selves, as you doe, for my deliverie; and by all the meanes that ever I may have, I sall doe my endeavoure, and recognise by effects your deserts heerin. I have commanded a more ample alphabet to be made for you, which heerewith you will receave. God Almightie have you in protectioun.—Your most assured freind for ever.

"Faile not to burne this present quickelie."

Confessed to be a true copie, by Babingtoun, her two secretars, Naue and Curle.

BABINGTON AND THE QUEENE OF SCOTS APPREHENDED.

Babington wrote for answere, that so soone as resolutioun were fullie taikin with Mendoza, he would informe her farther. He had gathered about him alreadie certane gentlemen inflammed with the zeale of the Roman religioun; Edward Winsore, brother to the Lord Winsore, Thomas Salisburie, Charles Kilmey, Gideon Titcheburne, Edward Abingtoun, Robert Gudge, Johne Travers, Johne

Charnock, Johne Johns, Barnwell, Henric Din, and the fornamed Savage. Polly, a man weill acquainted with the effaires of the Scotish queene, insinuated himself into their societie. It was thought that he reveeled daylie their purposes to Sir Francis Walsinghame. The conspiratours conferre often upon their purposes. Babington and Ballard easilie enduced so manie as were sufficient to kill the queene. Some tymes they commended the valour of the nobles of Scotland, who had latelie intercepted the king at Stirline; and of the Burgonian that killed the Prince of Orange. Babingtoun, fearing that the promise of forrane forces might faile, resolved to goe to France, and to send Bailard, the preest, before him for their purpose. He had procured, for money, license for his passage, under a counterfoot name. He insinuated himself by Polly to Sir Francis Walsinghame, and laboured earnestlie with him to entreate for the queen's licence for his passage to France, promising to discover the secreit attempts of suche as were fugitives for the Scotish queene, mynding nothing lesse. The Secretar commended his purpose, and not onlie promised to procure him licence to travell, but also riche rewards. Yitt he held him in suspense, being before made acquaint with their intentions, by the discoverie of Gilbert Giffard, a preest. This preest, troubled in conscience, or corrupted with money, had declared to the secretarie for what purpose he was sent to England, and promised to communicat to him all the letters which he receaved, ather from the fugitives, or from the Scotish queene; which he did. The letters, when they were sent to the secretarie, were opened, copied, and sealed again so artificiallie, that no man could perceave they were opened; and then were sent to the parteis to whom they were directed to. Queen Elizabeth, understanding what danger and tempest was hanging over her head, to interrupt farther proceeding commanded to apprehend Bailard. He was unawars apprehended in the verie nick, when he was readie to depart to France, and for the tyme in Babington's hous. Babington advised with Tichebume what to doe, and thought best to send Savage and Charnock presentlie to kill the queene, but presentlie changed his minde.

Babington and his complices being declared trators, and the countrie searched for them, at the last they were apprehended. All this tyme the Scotish queen and her servants were straitlie keeped and watched by Sir Amias Powlet, that these things came not to their knowledge, howbeit knowne over all England. Then Sir Thomas Gorge was sent to her, to acquaint her with these things, which he did, as she was going to ryde a hunting. She was not suffered to returne, but was caried about to noblemen's houses, under show of honour. In the meane tyme, some were sent with commissioun from the queene, to committ Nave and Curle, her secretars, and other servants, to keepers, that they might not conferre together, nor with the Scotish queene. They brake up the chamber doores, tooke all kists and boxes wherin they found letters, and sent them sealed with their seales to the court. When the packets were opened before the queene, letters of manie forrainers were found, and copeis of letters to others, and about sixtie tables of secreit characters, and some letters from certane noble men of England.

THE EXAMINATION OF THE SCOTISH QUEEN AND HER SECRETAREIS.

Upon the 13th of September seven of the conspiratours were condemned of treasoun; other seven the nixt day. Upon the 21st of September the first seven were hanged and quartered; the rest the day following. After this executioun, Nave, a Frenche man, Curle, a Scot, secretareis to the Scotish queene, were examined upon the letters that were found in the boxes and kists. They confessed the handwrittings were their owne; that they were dytted in Frenche by the queene, writtin by Nave, turned in English by Curle. Queen Elizabeth was earnestlie counselled, by sindrie of her nobilitie, to take order in tyme for inquisitioun and examinatioun of these dangerous interprises intended against her and the realme by the Scotish queene. Yitt was Queen Elizabeth unwilling to proceed against her, in respect of her birth and estat, by indytement and arraignement, by ordinarie jureis, according to the commoun lawes of the realme; but for her owne credit was

advised to proceed in the most honourable sort could be devised within the realme. Wherupon, by commissioun under the great seale of England, [she] named and appointed all the lords and others of her privie counsell, a number of erles and barons, lords of parliament of the greatest degree and most ancient nobilitie, and certan of the principall judges of the Courts of Record at Westminster, amounting in the whole to the number of fourtie-seven, to examine all things compassed and imagined tending to the hurt of her persoun, als weill by the said Queen of Scots as by anie other, by her privitie, and all the circumstances therof; to give sentence or judgement as upon good prooffe the mater sould appeare unto them. This commissioun was dated the 6th of October. Of this number conveenned threttie-six at the Castell of Fotheringhame, and heard at large what she could say for her defence. Wherupon, afterward, upon the 25th of October, they gave their sentence and judgement as followeth:— "That after the first day of June, in the twentie-seven yeere of our raigne, and before the date of our said commissioun, diverse things were compassed and imagined within this realme of England, by Antonie Babington and others, with the privitie of the said Marie, pretending title to the crowne of this realme of England, tending to the hurt, death, and destructioun of our royall persoun, contrare to the forme of the said statute: which sentence and judgement the same lords and commissioners have, with one full consent, caused to be putt in writt, and duelie engrossed, with the whole processe of their proceedings therunto belonging; and have subscribed the same with their hands, as by a record therof showed to us more fullie and largelie did appeare."

Not long after, there was a parliament holdin at Westminster, wherin the estats approved the former sentence pronounced against the Queen of Scotland, and sent the Chanceller to Queen Elizabeth, to beseeche her that the said sentence might be published, and suche further direction givin as was requisit in so weightie a caus. Master Serjant Puckering, Speeker of the Lower House, had a speeche to her in her presence chamber, at Richmont, the 20th of November, wherin he layed opin the dangers which might ensue to

her person and to her realme from the Scotish queene and her adherents, if remedie be not provided. The queen requeisted them to deliberat again upon so weightie a mater, and devise some remedie, whereby the life of the Scotish queene might be spaired, and her securitie provided. After sindrie consultatiouns, they resolved that they could find no other meane nor that which was conteaned in their former petitioun.

A SUMMARIE REPORT OF THE SECUND SPEECHE UTTERED BY THE SPEEKER OF THE LOWER HOUS, BY DIRECTIOUN OF ALL THE COMMOUNS.

That if her Majestie sould be safe, without taiking away the life of the Scotish queene, the same were most likelie and probablie to grow by one of these meanes following: 1. That happilie she might be reclamed, and become a repentant convert, agnizing her Majestie's great mercie and favours, in remitting her haynous offence, and by her loyaltie heerafter performe the fruicts of such conversioun. 2. Or ellis, by a more strait guarde, be so keeped, as there sould be no feare of the like attempts heerafter. 3. Or that good assurance might be givin by oath, bands, or hostages, as cautioun for her good and loyall demeanour from hencefurth. 4. Or, lastlie, by banishment, the realme might be voided of her persoun, and thereby the perrells farther removed that grow to her Majestie by her presence.

The moments wherof being duelie pondered, did yitt appeare so light in all their judgements, that they durst not advise any securitie to rest in anie, no, not in all of them. For, tuiching her conversioun, it was considered that if pietie or duetie could have restrained her from such haynous attempts, there was caus abundantlie ministred unto her, on her Majestie's behalfe, when she not onlie protected her against the violence of her owne subjects, who persued her to death by justice, but covered her honour, when the same by publict fame was tuiched, and by verie haynous and capitall crimes, objected and proved against her before certane commissarie delegats assigned to examine the same, more than

blemished; and spaired her life, when, for her former conspiraceis and confederaceis with the northerne rebells, her Hienesse was, with great instance, pressed by both the houses, in the 14th yeere of her Majestie's raigne, to doe like justice upon her as now is desired, and as her treasonable practises then had most justlie deserved. And where, the penaltie of this act sufficientlie notified unto her sould have terrified her from so wicked attempts, she hath, neverthelesse, insisted in her former practises, as a person obdured in malice against her Majestie, and irrecoverable: so as there was no probable hope of anie conversioun, but rather great doubt and feare of relapse and recidivatioun, forasmuche as she stood obstinatlie in the denyall of a mater most evidentlie proved, and now most justlie sentenced against her, and was not entered into the first part of repentance, the recognitioun of her offence, and so muche farther off from the true fruicts that sould accompanie the same.

As for a surer guard, and more strait imprissounment, it was resolved that there was no securitie therin, nor yitt in the other two meanes propouned of bands and hostages; forasmuche as the same meanes that sould be practised to take her Majestie's life away, (which God forbid,) would aptlie serve for the deliverie of her persoun, and release of the bands and hostages that sould be givin for cautiouns in that behalfe: which, being unhappilie atchieved, and to our irreparable losse, who sould sue the bands, or deteane the hostages? or, being deteaned, what proportioun was there in bonds or hostages whatsoever, to countervalue the value of so pretious and inestimable a jewell as her Majestie is to this realme, and to us all? But she will solemnelie vow and take an oath, that she will not attempt anie thing to the hurt of her Majestie's persoun. She hath alreadie, sindrie tymes, falsified her word, her writting, and her oath, and holdeth it for an article of religioun, that faith is not to b choldin with hereticks, of which sort she compteth your Majestie, and all the professors of the Gospell to be; and therefore have we little reasoun to trust her in that wherof she maketh so small a conscience. As for banishment, that were a steppe *a malo ad pejus*, to sett her at libertie, a thing so greatlie

desired and thirsted for by her adherents, and by some princes, her alleyes, who sought her enlargement, cheefelie to make her a head, to be sett up against her Majestie in tyme of invasioun.

To the which were added some few reasouns collected out of her owne letters, and the confessioun of Babingtoun, her instrument and conspiratour, by which appeared how her owne conscience bewrayed what might justlie fall upon her, incace anie of her intended designements come to light: that she might happilie be shutt up in some more strict and closse prisoun, as the Towre of Londoun, if there befell her no worse thing; and in that she directed Babington, incace he failed in the actioun of her deliverie, that he sould neverthelesse proceed in the residue, which was the death of her Majestie; who also confessed, that upon assurance of her Majestie's death, or the arrivall of strangers, he intended to proclame the Queene of Scots, and made no doubt of the desired successe. And, therefore, her Majestie's death being so earnestlie sought for advancement of this competitour, her Hienesse could not remaine in quietnesse or securitie, if the Scotish queene sould longer continue her life.

THE QUEEN'S ANSWERE.

The queene, in her secund answere, after sindrie speeches, endeth thus:—"And now for your petitioun, I sall pray you for this present to content your selves with an answere without answere. Your judgement I condemne not, nather doe I mistake your reasons; but pray you to accept my thankefulnesse, excuse my doubtfulnesse, and take in good part my answere answerlesse, wherin I attribute not so muche to my owne judgement, but that I thinke manie particular persons may goe before me, though, by my degree, I goe before them. Therefore, if I sould say, I would not doe what you requist, it might peradventure be more than I thought; and to say I would doe it, might perhaps breed perrell of that you labour to preserve, being more than, in your owne wisdoms and discretiouns, would seeme convenient, circumstances of place and tyme being duelie considered." The sentence givin against the Scotish

queene was proclamed with great solemnitie at Londoun, the sixt day of December.

INTREATIE FOR FAVOUR TO THE QUEENE OF SCOTS.

In the meane tyme, the king sent Sir William Keith to the Queene of England, to treate for favour to his mother; and after him, upon the 7th of December, the Maister of Gray and Sir Robert Melvill. Mr Archibald Dowglas, brother to the Laird of Whittingham, cleanged by an assise of his part in the murther of the king's father, was sent in ambassadge to the Queen of England in September, and had full audience at the court then remaining at Winsore. For what purpose he was sent, it was not weill knowne. The King of France sent likewise an ambassader to the Queen of England, to intreat her favour to the Scotish queene, and to lay furth thē dangers which might ensue upon severitie. But her weill-affected subjects continuallie urge executioun of justice, both for her and their owne securitie. Patrik, Maister of Gray, did oftin inculcat to the Queene of England the old saying, "*Mortui non mordent*," that is, The dead byte not, or are not able to revenge; for which speeches and other practises he was, after his returning, accused, but slightlie, as we sall see in the progresse of the historie.

A TAXATIOUN GRANTED.

Upon the 18th of September there was a conventioun of the estats. At this conventioun was granted a taxatioun of fifteene thowsand punds, for reeking[1] out an ordinarie force of horsemen and footemen, to await upon the Lieutenant, Erle of Angus, in the borders, for repressing of theeves at least, as was pretended.

[1] Furnishing.

MAXWELL CHARGED TO COMPEERE.

About this tyme, Johne Lord Maxwell was charged to compeere before the king and counsell upon the 10th of November, to be tryed what obedience he would promise in name of his owne tennents. He excused his non-compearance by a tryst which he had appointed with an English nobleman. His compeerance was continued till the 27th day, at the Lord Hammilton's requeist.

THE SYNOD OF MERCE.

In the Synod of Merce, Tiviotdaill, and Tweddail, holdin at Lawder the 12th of October, it was enacted as followeth:

"Forasmuche as there is rissin a heavie and great slander, not onlie through manie parts of Scotland, but also amongst diverse reformed kirks in forrane natiouns, that we that are of the ministrie of Scotland are divided in opiniouns tuiching the true policie and governement of the hous of God; which is spread and increassed, by subscribing of a letter, presented by the king's Majestie to a number of us of the ministrie, and by mistaiking of the simple and sincere meaning of the subscribers of the same: Therefore we, the whole brethrein conveenned in this present synod, doe manifest, and publishe to the whole world, that amongst us there is no difference nor diversitie of opiniouns tuiching the policie and governement of the hous of God: but doe fullie agree that the same is the right governement of his hous, agreeing with the blessed institutioun of his Sonne, the onlie Head of the same, which hath beene exercised in Scotland by ministers, elders, and deacouns, particular assembleis of kirks, presbytereis, Provinciall and Generall Assembleis, as was before May 1584 yeeres. The true and plaine meaning of us of the ministrie that subscribed the letter, was onlie an obligatioun of obedience to the king's Majestie, and so manie of his Hienesse' lawes as were agreeable to the Word of God allanerlie, according to his Majestie's owne declaratioun to us by word and writt, (that his

Hienesse would presse us no farther,) before the said subscriptioun; no wise allowing of that tyrannicall supremacie of bishops and archbishops over ministers, and their lawes, which directlie repugne to the law of God; as namelie, the 2d, 4th, 5th, and 20th acts of Parliament, holdin in Edinburgh the foresaid yeere; as also the act of annulling of Mr Robert Montgomrie his excommunicatioun, or anie other act made to the like effect. But that we that subscribed, and they that did not subscribe, and they as we, in unitie of opiniouns and mindes, declare our miscontentment and mislyking of the said act of tyrannicall supremacie; and, therefore, will men charitablie to esteem and judge of us all, as united and faithfullie knitt together to the carefull building of the hous of God. And, therefore, this present assemblie ordeanneth everie presbyterie to take order for the publicatioun of this act, as they sall thinke expedient, and as may serve to edificatioun, and removing of the slaunder where it is mōst spread; and farther, that none inveyghe against other publictlie or privatlie, in the pulpit or at table, directlie or indirectlie, tuiching the premisses. Which if they doe, the samine being tryed by the presbyterie, the persoun found guiltie sall be suspended from all functioun of the ministrie, till farther order be tane theranent by the Synod or Generall Assemblie.

(*Sic subscribitur*)

"Mr Johne Knox, Moderator; Mr Andrew Clayhills, Minister of Jedburgh; Mr James Betoun, Minister at Roxburgh; William Balfour, Minister of Kelso; Mr Thomas Storie, Minister at Foulden; Robert Hislope, Minister at Whitsome; Mr Robert Ker, Minister at Marbottle; Mr Archibald Dowglas, Minister at Maner; Mathew Riddell, Minister at St Bothan's; Adam Dickesone, Minister at Peebles; William Sinclair, Minister at Prestoun; William Carraill, Minister at Edrem; David Hume, Minister at Goldinghame; Duncan Waker, Minister at Bassenden; Mr William Methven, Minister at Langtoun; Mr James Daes, Minister at Essiltoun; Mr Johne Spotswod, Minister at *

* * ; Alexander Lawder, Minister at Lawder; Andrew Winchester, Minister at Hiltoun; Johne Smith, Minister at Selkirk; Mr Johne Hume, Minister at * * * ; Johne Lightbodie, Reader at * * * ; Thomas Duncansone, Minister at Boltoun; George Johnstoun, Minister at Ankrome; Robert Alane, Minister at Newlands; Mr Archibald Dowglas, Minister at Kirkurd; Thomas Bisset, Minister at Drummalyer; Mr William Auchinmowtie, Minister at Hawick; Johne Clapperton, Minister at Lennell; James Mitchell, Minister at Stow."

JUSTICE COURTS.

Upon the * * day of December, Johne Lord Hammiltoun obteanned a commissioun to hold courts in Kirkcudbright. He hanged twelve theeves, warded threescore, and brought the Laird of Johnstoun to Edinburgh; who was warded in the Castell of Edinburgh. Archibald Erle of Angus held courts in Jedburgh, where he hanged sixteene persons, and took pledges for the rest. When Huntlie was to hold justice court in Perth, he was stayed by the Erle of Atholl. To take away occasioun of contentioun, the king discharged Huntlie of his commissioun.

About the seventh of December, a conventioun of the nobilitie was holdin at Edinburgh. Patrik Maister of Gray, Abbot of Dumfermline, and Sir Robert Melvill of Mordecarnie, knight, were directed in ambassadge to England, to procure the releefe of Queene Marie, alreadie convicted. At this conventioun it was granted that a voluntarie subsidie sould be lifted, for furnishing ambassaders to be directed to Spaine, France, Denmarke, for her releefe; or for aid, incace of anie executioun, which was feared.

M.D.LXXXVII.

MR JOHNE COWPER INTERRUPTED BY THE KING IN THE PULPIT.

The king commanded the ministers to pray publictlie in the kirks, after sermoun, for his mother. They refused to doe it in the maner he would have it to be done, that is, by condemning, directlie or indirectlie, the proceedings of the Queen of England, and their estats against her, or as for one innocent of the cryme layed to her charge. Wherupon, the king comming to the Great Kirk of Edinburgh, becaus the sessioun and church had refused to injoyne their ministers to pray for her, caused Mr Johne Cowper, minister, to come down from the pulpit, when he was at the prayer, and sould have teached, that he might give place to the bishop. Mr Johne gave place, but uttered his miscontentment in these words:—That he would make an accompt one day, to the great Judge of the world, for suche dealing! The bishop goeth up to the pulpit: a murmuring and noyse ariseth among the people: manie went out of the kirk, and all without order. This accident fell furth upon the thrid of Februar. Mr Johne Cowper was wairded in Blacknesse, but soone after released, for the king feared the miscontentment of the people. And, therefore, upon Wednisday, the eight of Februar, Mr Walter Balcalquall having ended his sermoun, the king stood up, and had a short harangue to this effect: That he was sorie for that which had fallin furth some few dayes before, tuiching the discharging of their preacher; protesting he did it of no evill mynde, and that he would alwayes favour the ministrie, and the religioun presentlie professed. He said he was of that mynde, that none of his subjects would blame him for his affectioun which he caried to his mother, which moved him to doe that which he did. But the charge he had givin to the ministers was to pray to God, not onlie to illighten her with the knowledge of

the truthe, but also that the sentence pronounced against her might not take place. Alwise the people were satisfied with this excuse.

Notwithstanding of this his excuse made to the people for discharging Mr Johne Cowper the pulpit, the king soone after sent a charge to Mr Andrew Melvill and the maisters of the New Colledge, to desist from preaching in English upon the Sabboth dayes, before the people of the burgh, or others of the parish without the burgh. The tenor of the charge heere followeth :—

"Principall and Maisters of the New Colledge, We greete you weill. Forasmuche as we are certanlie informed, that upon the Sundayes yee assemblé to yourselves a number, both of burgh and land, and preaches to them in the English tongue, and inveyghe against the late agreement which, with advice of the Generall Assemblie, was appointed for the quietnesse of the kirk and realme; whereby great inconveniences may ensue, speciallie the divisioun of the members of the universitie, gentlemen and burgesses, who by that means are abstracted from their parish kirk and pastors therin : We, willing that no suche occasioun sould ensue, and for the wealefare and quietnesse of the toun and kirk there, has, by this present, thought good that yee conteane yourselves within the bounds of your owne vocatioun and calling, in suche languages as yee professe for the instructioun of the youth; and that in no wise yee attempt doctrine in English to the people of the parish. We gave our commandement, at Mr Andrew Melvill's returning to the colledge, that he sould not in anie sort preache to the people; wherin, if ather yee or he continue, we will take farther order that our appointment be not so lightlie regarded in tyme comming. Thus, We committ you to God. From Halyrudhous, the ferd day of Februar 1586. JAMES R."

Upon the seventh of Februar, Patrik Maister of Gray, and Sir Robert Melvill, returned to the countrie. They declared they had no assurance of the queene's life; and that there was an English ambassader following them, to perswade the king that the executioun of his mother was for his owne weale and preservatioun.

THE EXECUTION OF QUEENE MARIE.

Upon the eight of Februar, Marie, sometimes Queene of Scots, was executed in Fothringhame Castell. The preparatioun to the executioun, and the maner of the executioun, was as followeth :—

Queene Elizabeth delivered to Mr Davidsone, one of her owne secretars, letters signed with her owne hand, that a mandat sould be made under the great seale to putt her to death, which might be in a readinesse, if anie danger did suddanlie appeare ; and commanded him not to communicat the mater. But, changing her minde, the nixt day commandeth him, by Mr Killigrew, that the mandat sould not be made up. But it was alreadie made up, and signed with the great seale. Queene Elizabeth seemed to chaffe at so great haste. Farther, Mr Davidsone communicated the mandat to the Privie Counsellers. Wherupon, incontinent, Mr Beale is sent furth from the Counsell, with one or two executioners, and letters, wherin authoritie is givin to the Erles of Shrewsburie, Kent, Darbie, Cumberland, and others, that she sould be putt to death according to the lawes. Upon Saturday, the 4th of Februar, Robert Beale came to the Erle of Kent's hous, and shewed him the commissioun and letters, wherupon the erle sent precepts, for stay of the Hues and Cryes. Upon the Lord's Day, at night, Robert Beale came to Fothringhame, and communicated the commissioun to Sir Amias Powlet and Sir Drugh Durie. Sir Drugh Durie and Mr Beale went on Moonday to the Erle of Shrewsburie. Upon Tuisday, the Erles of Shrewsburie and Kent came to Fothringay. The commissioun was read unto her before her owne domesticks. They shewed the necessitie that forced her Majestie to putt the sentence in executioun, and exhorted her to prepare herself for death against the nixt day; offered for her confort the Bishop or Deane of Peterborough to instruct her. She crossed her breast, in the name of the Father, the Sonne, and the Holie Ghost, and said she was readie to dee in the Catholick faith, which her forefathers professed. She forgave them that were the procurers of her death ; yitt, she

said, she doubted not but God would execut vengeance upon them for it. When she was putt in remembrance of the prooffes led against her, and speciallie of the depositiouns of Naue and Curle, her two secretareis, she said, she would accuse none, but after her death it would appeare how she had beene used. She inquired what was become of the said two servants; but no answere was made to her. It was reported that Naue had secreit familiaritie with her, howbeit he had now cleane forsaikin her.

Upon Wedinsday, the 8th of Februar, the erles returne to the castell, with the shireff of the shire. The shireff, with other gentlemen, were sent to her chamber, to bring her doun to the hall, where the erles were, and with them Mr Henrie Talbert, Sir Amias Powlet, Sir Drugh Durie, Robert Beale, and the gentlemen of the countrie adjoyning; Sir Edward Montague, with his eldest sonne, Sir Richard Knight, Mr Thomas Brodwell, Mr Robert Tirro, Mr Robert Winkenfeild, Johne Winkenfeild, Mr Johne Forrester, the Deane of Peterborough, and sindrie others. When she came to the hall, there came with her Robert Melvill, her maister houshold, her physician, chirurgian, and apothecarie. At the foote of the staire, leading in to the hall, she desired Mr Melvill to commend her to her sonne. She required some of her women servants, namelie, Mastresse Curle, to come to her. Then she went up to the scaffold that was sett up in the utter end of the hall, where was a chaire, a cushioun, and a blocke, all covered with blacke cloath. Mr Beale read the commissioun. Then the Deane of Peterborough offered some speeche unto her, as an admonitioun to dee in the feare of God, and in charitie. She desired him to forbeare to speeke anie more; for she was a Catholick, and so would dee. When the erles and others present offered to pray for her, she said, the prayers of that companie would little availe her. Neverthelesse, by the directioun of the erles, the deane had prepared a prayer, which, being read, was repeated by all the auditorie. The substance of it was, that it would please Almightie God to send her his Holie Spirit, to pardoun her all her offences, and of his mercie to receave her in his kingdom; finallie, to blesse the

queene's Majestie. During this publict prayer she kneeled on her knees, and conceaved a privat prayer of her owne, and prayed all the sancts to pray to our Saviour to receave her; and then, turning to her servants, she required them to pray for her, that her Saviour would receave her. To the executioners she said, that she pardouned them, and was glade that the end of all her sorrowes was so neere. Her maids weeping and yowlling, she willed them to hold their peace. Then she kneeled doun, having a linnen cloath tyed about her eyes. Lying upon the blocke, she receaved the stroke of death by beheading, about elleven of the clocke, upon Wedinsday, the eight of Februar. Her bodie was embalmed, and after buried in the cathedrall kirk of Peterborough. But her funeralls were celebrated with pompe at Parise, at the charge of the Guises.

So ended the life of Ladie Marie, sometime Queene of Scots. Heere is a fitt place to call to remembrance, that Mr Knox, when he heard that King Henrie, her husband, had cast the psalme booke in the fire, for her pleasure, denounced that the Lord sould strike both head and taile. At another tyme, being muche moved that she would not come to heare the Word, he foretold, that the tyme sould come when she sould be compelled to heare, maugre her heart. And so it came to passe, indeid; for, at her arraignement, she was compelled to heare the sermoun made before the commissioners.

"MR DAVIDSONE, SECRETARIE, IMPRISSOUNED.

Queene Elizabeth seemed to be muche greeved at the executioun, and willed that Mr Davidsone sould be brought to the Starre Chamber. He was accused, that, notwithstanding of her command in the contrare, he had imparted to the counsellers the mandat to be made for her executioun, she being ignorant. When it was objected, he had sealed the mandat in great haste, and communicated the same to the Privie Counsellors, he answered, that he violated no trust in communicating to them, and that the queene did not expresslie bid

him keepe it to himself. Yitt he would not contest with her, but rather committ himself to their will, and her pleasure. The Lord Gray was vehement for him. The Lord Lumley was vehement against him, and with Lumley agreed the archbishops. In end, he was fynned by them at ten thowsand pund, and imprisouned at the queen's pleasure. So he was keeped a long tyme in prisoun, and all to make the world beleeve that Queene Elizabet was unwilling to the executioun!

THE KING'S BEHAVIOUR AFTER THE DEATH OF HIS MOTHER.

When the king heard of the executioun, he could not conceale his inward joy, howbeit outwardlie he seemed to be sorrowfull. Yea, Chancellor Matlane was so ashamed of his behaviour that night, that he caused ish the chamber, that there might be few or no spectators. He said that night to some few that were beside him, "I am now sole king." This he spake by reasoun of the associatioun which was ever urged, or laboured for, by suche as favoured his mother; yea, at her arraignement, certane notes out of her letters writtin to Mendoza were read before her. She was pressed out of them, as if she had compassed, to transferre the right she had to the kingdom to the Spaniard, and that Allan and Parsons stayed now at Rome for that purpose.

MR CARIE SENT TO PACIFIE OUR KING.

The Queene of England sent to our king, to lett him understand that the sentence of death was executed upon his mother without her knowledge. After that, [she] sent unto him the sentence givin furth against Mr Davidsone in the Starre Chamber, and an instrument signed with the hands of the judges, declaring that the sentence givin against his mother was not, nor could not be, prejudiciall to his right of successioun. Mr Carie, as some write, sent Captan Caywod to the king, to crave to be heard, at least, by some of the Privie Counsell. Sir James Hume of Coldingknowes, and Sir Robert Melvill of Mordecarnie, knight, treasurer-deput, were ap-

pointed to heare him. They mett within two myle of Berwick, at Foulden, twentie-foure on eache side, upon the fourteenth day of Marche. Mr Carie affirmed, the king's mother was executed without his maistresse' knowledge; yitt offered to enter the king in payment of twentie thowsand crowns yeerelie. They answered, as is reported, that if his maistresse were not able to punishe her owne subjects, the king would concurre. As for satisfactioun, it was the custome, that slaughters committed, that the partie offending setteth doun the offers, wherupon the kin and freinds of the person slaine doe reasoun and advise; and, therefore, it was not eneugh to offer what satisfactioun the king would crave, and to enter him in payment of twentie thowsand crowns. And so they sindered. And yitt we heare the twentie thowsand crowns were accepted, and no mentioun of further satisfactioun, if anie was offered.

AMBASSADERS DIRECTED TO FRANCE AND DENMARKE.

Upon the 26th of Marche, the king, whill as yitt the memorie of the executioun of his mother was recent in men's mindes, with advice of his counsell, concluded to send in ambassadge to Denmark the Laird of Barnbarroch, and to France Sir William Stewart: Sir William to treat upon the renewing of the league; Barnbarroch to treat upon a matche to the king. The Maister of Gray travelled with Sir William, to have a sight of the letters directed to France. Sir William informed the king. The king cometh from Dumfermline to his palace in Halyrudhous, the 28th of Aprile. The Maister of Gray, being familiar with him the night before, in his owne hous in Dumfermline, followed, suspecting no evill.

THE MAISTER OF GRAY ACCUSED OF TREASOUN.

Upon the 6th of May, Sir William Stewart accused the Maister of Gray of treasoun in presence of the king and nobilitie conveened in the counsell-hous. He alledged, that he had solicited him to lett him see the king's letters directed to France; that he had traffiqued with the King of France and King of Spain, for sub-

version of religioun in this countrie; that he had altered the king's stamp and seales; that he was a consenter to, if not a furtherer of, the death of the king's mother. He denied all, and said these points of accusatioun were but malicious forgereis. They were both commanded to waird in the Castell of Edinburgh, till the king and counsell were farther advised. The conventioun beginning the 10th of May, they were brought out of the castell, and examined in presence of the king and nobilitie sitting in counsell, till eight at night, and sent backe again to the castell. The day following, the Maister of Gray was found culpable of manie crimes, and in speciall, that he wrote to England, and found fault that they had not in so long a tyme found a meane to cutt off the king's mother privatlie. My Lord Hammiltoun satt doun upon his knees before the king and counsell, and requeisted that his life might be spaired; which was granted, not without admiratioun of manie, and suspicioun that there was some mysterie lurking in the mater. It was concluded that he sould be banished, but so, that he sould enjoy his rents; saving that the Abbacie of Dumfermline was taikin from him and givin to another, little better, if not worse affected to religioun, to witt, to the Erle of Huntlie.

DEEDLIE FEEDS RECONCILED.

At this conventioun, the king reconciled the noblemen who were at variance, and upon the Lord's day, the 14th of May, made a bankett unto them. The Lords satt at a long table by themselves. The king dranke to them thrise, willed them to mainteane concord and peace, and vowed to be a mortall enemie to him who first brake. Upon Moonday, the 15th of May, after supper, the king came from the Palace of Halyrudhous to the Castell of Edinburgh; from that to the Tolbuith, [and] releeved the prisoners warded for debt; from thence came to the Mercat Croce, where a long table was sett, furnished with bread, wyne, and sweet meates. The Croce was covered with tapestrie, and upon it the trumpeters blowing, and the musicians singing. The king, in presence of the multitude, dranke to the nobilitie, and everie lord dranke to another. The

gibbets at the Croce were brokin doun with fire-balls and fire-speares; the glasses, with wyne, sweet meates, were cast abrod in the streets, and from the fore staires. They went backe to the palace, in the same order as they came up. The king, with my Lord Hammilton on the right hand, and the secretar on the left; the duke and Lord Claud in other's hands before the king; Angus and Montrose in hands; Huntlie and Marshall; Crawfurd and the Master of Glames likewise. In the mean tyme, the cannons of the castell thundered.

THE MASTER OF GRAY BANISHED.

Upon the 27th of May, the king tooke journey to Falkland. The Maister of Gray was brought out of the Castell of Edinburgh the same day to the Tolbuith, and in presence of the Lords of Sessioun, found cautioun to passe furth of the countrie, and to remaine furth during the king's will, under the paine of fortie thowsand pund. He went over to Dumfermline to prepare himself, and departed out of the countrie the 7th of June. Upon the 16th of June, the causes of his banishment were published at the Mercat Croce of Edinburgh, viz., that he was a traffiquer with the Pope, the Kings of Spaine and France, to hinder the king of anie aide, except he would grant libertie of conscience; that he had intelligence with the Lord Westmerland, Frier Gray, and Mr Tyrie, to that effect; that he powssed the Queen of England to cutt off the queen's mother, as if there could be no other meane for securitie; that he interprised to take the king captive at Dumfermline; that he banded with Mortoun, alias Maxwell, and late Chanceller, to invade the secretar, the generall collector, and the Laird of Coldingknowes; that he counterfootted the king's stampe, and altered his letters; that he stayed, so farre as he could, the king's matche with Denmarke; that he troubled the peace of the countrie. It is to be woundered, if he was guiltie of so manie crymes, that his life was spaired, and his lands saved, unlesse he had had secreit warrant or connivence for some of them, which procured him favour for all together.

Barnbarroch went aboord in ambassadge for Denmark, the 31st of May. Sir William Stewart his ambassadge to France was stayed.

About this tyme, it was alledged that advertisement came from Captan James Stewart, late Chancellor, to the king, that the king would be ather slaine or led captive to England within fyfteene dayes, by the Lords who were at the Raid of Stirline. The king reveeled the contents. The Lords desired a tryell, but it could not be obteaned; and therefore it was thought the letters were forged, to try the affectioun and loyaltie of the noblemen.

THE * * GENERALL ASSEMBLIE.

The Generall Assemblie conveenned at Edinburgh in the New Kirk, the 20th day of June. Exhortatioun being made by Mr David Lindsey, Moderator of the last Assemblie, the Assemblie proceeded to the electioun of a new Moderator. Mr Andrew Melvill was chosin by pluralitie of votes. For the better expeditioun of maters, and more orderlie proceeding in suche things as were to be proponed, he required the assistance of certane brethrein, to concurre with him at extraordinarie houres, which was granted. The Assemblie nominated to that effect Mr David Lindsey, Mr Nicoll Dagleish, Mr Patrik Galloway, Mr Paul Fraser, Mr Thomas Buchanan, Mr Robert Bruce, Mr Robert Pont, Mr Johne Craig, Mr Walter Balcalquall, Mr Patrik Simsone, Mr James Brysone, Mr Peter Blekburne, Mr Andrew Hay.

Mr David Lindsey and Johne Durie were directed to the secretar, to understand if the king had appointed anie commissioners to attend in his Hienesse' name upon the Assemblie; and to crave their presence and concurrence. They reported his answere in the secund sessioun, that his Majestie had appointed himself and the Justice-Clerk, and that they sould be present as their opportunitie might serve.

As to the bookes of the Assemblie, Mr David Lindsey reported, in the secund sessioun, the king's commissioner's answere, that it being knowne in whose hands the samine are, they sall concurre with the Assemblie for the restitutioun therof. Wherupon the Mo-

derator desired the brethrein that could give anie light in this mater to manifest the same. He enquired at Mr Patrik Galloway, who was directed in the last Assemblie to the king, to sute the deliverie of the said registers, what was his Hienesse' answere? He declared his Majestie had promised to caus them be delivered. Therafter it was testified by Johne Brand, that at the last Assemblie, in his owne hous, Mr Patrik Adamsone, Bishop of St Andrewes, confessed in presence of David Fergusone where they were; and a command being obteaned, the king promised to deliver the same. Johne Durie testified likewise, that he heard him grant he had them. Wherupon, the Assemblie intended to charge him; yitt directed Mr David Lindsey to the secretar to seeke his advice. He returned with this answere, that his Lordship thought meete a supplicatioun sould be givin in to the Lords of the Counsell, to obteane charges against the said Mr Patrik; and that the Assemblie sould likewise use their owne authoritie in charging. Wherupon the Assemblie ordeanned a supplicatioun to be penned, and givin in to the Lords; a charge to passe from this Assemblie, charging Mr Patrik to exhibit the said bookes before them, to be delivered to the clerk within three dayes after the charge, or to shew a reasonable caus why he may not deliver them; and siclyke, to compeare within the said space personallie, to answere for his absence from this Assemblie, and to suche other points as sould be layed to his charge. In the fourth sessioun, it was thought expedient, notwithstanding of the former ordinance made against Mr Patrik Adamsone for randering the registers, that before the samine be putt in executioun, an humble supplicatioun be made to the king's Majestie; and willed their brethrein, Mr David Lindsey and Johne Duncansone, to draw up the same immediatlie, that it might be sent with expeditioun. A letter being directed by their brethrein, Johne Duncansone, &c., bearing the king's command to the bishop for deliverance of the bookes, at the least, of foure of them, and that Mr George Young was stayed till the saids bookes sould be delivered, the Assemblie, in the fyfteenth sessioun, directed their brethrein, Mr James Nicolsone and Mr Alexander Raw-

sone, to my Lord Secretar, to the effect the same might be presented; and after their directioun, and reiterated directioun of their brethrein, Mr Andrew Melvill and Mr David Lindsey, at lenth Mr George Young presented to the sight of the Assemblie five volumes of the Acts, wherof a great part being manked,[1] and after the sight therof being redelivered to the said Mr George, the whole brethrein ordeanned a heavie regrait to be made to his Majestie in article, lamenting the away-taking and mutilating of the said bookes, and to crave that the samine may be restored; and also, that the saids bookes may be delivered in the Kirk's hands, to remaine with them as their owne registers; namelie, in respect of the answere returned from my Lord Secretare, that his Majestie's will was, that the Assemblie sould have inspectioun therof, as they had adoe presentlie, and to give them up again.

THE TRIELL OF MR P. ADAMSONE.

Sessioun 5.

Tuiching the diverse and greevous complaints of sindrie brethrein against Mr Patrik Adamsone, Bishop of Sanct Andrewes, &c., at whose instance he is denounced rebell, and at the horne registred, for not payment of their sustentatioun and stipend assigned to them, and speciallie, of Mr William Strang, Mr David Spence, Mr Adam Johnstoun, and others, and of the slander that he lyeth at the horne, for not furnishing of two gallouns of wine to the communioun; this mater being heavilie regraitted to the king's commissioners, promise was made by the Pryour of Blantyre, to communicat the mater to the rest of the king's Majestie's commissioners, whose advice for redresse heerof he sould report to the Assemblie.

As to the regrait of some brethrein, that partlie by his rebellioun and lying at the horne, and partlie by his suspensioun, some divisioun riseth, that certane resort not to his sermons, nor to the administratioun of the sacraments made by him, or other service, as humiliatioun, others repaire thereto, and so appeareth some di-

[1] Mutilated.

visioun, which would be redressed, the brethrein thinke meete, that before they enter heerin, some answere be reported of the former complaint.

Tuiching the complaint made concerning Mr Patrik Adamsone, Bishop of St Andrewes, and slander givin by him, through lying at the horne at the instance of so manie of the brethrein, and the answere of the king's Majestie's commissioners thereto, the said commissioners being present, thought meete, becaus the mater is civill, wherin the king's Majestie hath interesse, that his Grace sould be forewarned; which they promised to do.

Tuiching the doubt propouned, if it be slander to a Christian to absent himself from the sermouns, ministratioun of the sacraments, or other godlie exercises, used by suche as ly at the king's horne, and are suspended from all functioun in the ministrie, the Assemblie answered thereto, that there is no slander in this cace; and by the contrare concluded, that it is slaunder to a Christian to resort to the sermons and other exercises foresaid, of suche a one whom they know to be at the horne, and suspended from all functioun of the ministrie, as said is.

THE TRIELL OF THE BISHOP OF ABERDEEN.

Sessioun 5.

Tuiching the commissioun givin in the last Assemblie to their brethrein of the Presbytereis of Glasgow and Stirline, to summoun Mr David Cunninghame before them at a certane day, to be tryed concerning the slaunder of adulterie with Elizabeth Sutherland, or anie other persoun, and if they find him by good appearance criminall and guiltie, after the said tryell, to suspend him from his functioun of the ministrie, to this Assemblie, and to summoun him thereto, to heere the determinatioun of the whole brethrein theranent, lyke as at more lenth is conteaned in the said commissioun; wherof the executioun being craved of the said commissioners, and certan excuses pretended by them of the non-executioun theiof, (which the brethrein esteemed of small importance,) of new giveth

and committeth power to the said presbytereis to direct and summouns, to suche a short and convenient day as is possible, to compeere before them in Stirline, there to be tryed concerning the said slaunder, ather with the said Elizabeth, or with anie other persoun; and if they find him by good appearance criminall and guiltie, after the said tryell, to suspend him from the functioun of the ministrie, to the nixt Generall Assemblie, wherunto they sall summoun him, to heare the farther determinatioun of the whole brethrein theranent; and what sall be done heerin to report therunto: Ordeaning, if the said Mr David's resort be in Aberdeene, to caus the summouns be directed to him for the executioun therof, as they will answere upon their obedience to the kirk.

THE TRIELL OF THE BISHOP OF DUNKELDEN.

Sessioun 5.

Tuiching the commissioun givin to Mr Patrik Galloway, Mr William Rind, Mr William Edmistoun, Mr William Glasse, Mr Johne Abercrumbie, and Patrik Wemes, to try the Bishop of Dunkelden, and to summoun him before them at suche dayes and places as they sould thinke good, if they find anie occasioun of slander in his life, conversatioun, or doctrine, betuixt and this Assemblie, and to take probatioun and lead processe therin, to the sentence, remitting the same to the nixt Generall Assemblie, as the said commissioun at more lenth beareth. Which commissioun, in respect the samine hath as yitt beene unexecuted and followed out, the Assemblie reneweth; commanding the saids commissioners to proceed, conforme to the said commissioun, in all points, for executioun therof, as they will answere upon their obedience, and to report their diligence and tryell to the nixt Assemblie.

THE TRYELL OF MR R. MONTGOMRIE.

Sessioun 6.

Tuiching the ordinance givin to certane brethrein concerning Mr Robert Montgomrie, the brethrein directed to that mater de-

clared, they had charge of the Assemblie to sett down to him a forme of repentance, which he sould use, wherin they sould doe their part; but no obedience is givin by him there.

THE TRYELL OF THE COMMISSIONER OF CATHNESSE.

Sessioun 7.

Robert Grahame, Commissioner of Cathnesse, being removed, he was charged that he had a Hieland kirk which he served not, and that he made not residence at his owne kirk. Re-entering, [he] answered, he laiked the knowledge of the Irish tongue, and yitt upon his expences the kirk was served. And as to his non-residence, the caus is, that he hath nather manse nor gleeb, and hath his partie at the horne for the same. The Assemblie remitted him to the commissioners appointed for non-residence, to be processed there.

Mr Peter Blekburne presented the bill to be directed to the king's Majestie, for procurement of the restitutioun of the bookes; which was read, and ordeaned to be delivered to their brother, Johne Duncansone.

Sessioun 6.

For tryell of the bookes of the commissioner's diligence, it is thought meet, that out of everie province a certane be elected, to vissie and consider the said bookes; and to that effect, the brethrein nominated Mr Johne Craig, Johne Durie, William Christesone, Mr Adam Johnstoun, Mr Johne Knox, Mr Thomas Makgie, and Mr Johne Howesone; and to conveene at six houres in the morning, in the New Kirk, and at suche other extraordinar houres as they may, whill they have finallie tryed them, and therafter to report to the Assemblie what they find.

The Commissioner of Lothiane being removed and tryed, some brethrein complained that Mr James Young having two kirks under cure, was placed by him, by the advice of the Presbyterie, minister also at Stentoun; that kirk having a benefice, might sus-

teane a minister. And farther, that in the Synodall Assemblie, constitutiouns being made to represse the insolencie of ministers in their abuilyement,[1] yitt sensyne, he hathe overseene the execution therof against some persons which are present. To the which, re-entering, he answered, that he had not placed *simpliciter* Mr James Young at Stentoun, but onlie desired, whill some provisioun were made for it, that he sould make some helpe; and as to the benefice, it is provided of old. To the secund, answered, the persons which are meaned to be insolent in apparell were admonished; and he receaved no directioun from their said Presbyterie concerning suche persouns: and farther, the Presbyterie sould take order among themselves with the brethrein of their number.

TRIELL OF THE ADMISSIOUN TO THE BISHOPRICK OF GLASGOW.

Sessioun 5.

Tuiching the slander of admissioun of a bishop latelie to the bishoprick of Glasgow, by all order, by the brethrein of the West, the Assemblie hath thought meete, for good causes, that the said mater be first opened up, and treatted in privie conference, after noone, and therafter brought before the whole number, for satisfeing all the brethrein.

Sessioun 8.

Tuiching the slaunder of admissioun of the Bishop of Glasgow by the brethrein of the West, referred first to the privat audience of the Moderator and his assessors, the Moderator, with the rest of the brethrein, declared, that they heard the said Commissioner and Presbyterie, and the whole forme of admissioun of the said bishop, which was onlie to the temporalitie, the ecclesiasticall jurisdictioun being devolved by him in the kirk's hands, and with suche conditions, in cace the Generall Assemblie sould not allow of suche admissioun, that the samine sould be undone; wherupon, his obliga-

[1] Apparel.

tioun remaineth. Which forme, albeit the said brethrein would not mainteane to be agreeable to the Word, nor the order of the kirk heerefore observed, yitt they did nothing therin of minde to hurt the kirk, but rather to preveene greater inconveniences which might follow, if he had not beene admitted: referring them heerin to the good deliberatioun of the whole Assemblie. Which mater being weill weyghed and considered by the full number of the brethrein, albeit they understand the good meaning the said brethrein had, and acknowledge their zeale in resisting the corruptiouns in tymes past to that estat, yitt, in conscience, they universallie voted and concluded the said forme of admissioun to be unlawfull, nather agreeing with the Word of God, nor with the order and custome of the kirk; and, therefore, ordeaneth the said brethrein, admitters of the said bishop, to urge him with performance of the said obligatioun, and to caus the said admissioun to be undone and annulled, and that with all possible diligence, and betuixt and Michaelmesse nixtocum at the farthest, to the effect that the slander may be removed from the kirk, as they will answere upon their obedience to the same.

Sessioun 3.

Tuiching the commissioun givin by the king's Majestie, with the advice of the Assemblie, to certane brethrein concerning non-residents, and others deserving deprivatioun, the said commissioners being present, and inquired of the discharge, and düe diligence of their office in that part, exponed, that for sindrie impediments, their travells had not beene so profitable as is required; namelie, for laike of expences to the commoun effaires, to outred[1] charges therin, absence of the procurator of the kirk, sometimes sleuth of the Presbytereis in not remitting summouns to their due terme, and by dispensatiouns givin by the king's Majestie tuiching non-residence, which is a commoun shift to manie. Alwise, in some, they have proceeded with sentence, others ly at interloquitor; desiring the judgement of the Assemblie, if the said dispensatioun sall

[1] Clear out.

be anie caus to hinder processe against them, and likewise craving the removing of the said impediments, which hinder the executioun of the said commissioun. The assemblie of the brethrein ordeaneth commissioners to give in the speciall impediments, with their judgements how the samine may be removed, at their first opportunitie. And siclyke, the brethrein which would understand the proceedings against anie persons which were summouned before the saids commissioners, to give in their names in writt, that a particular answere may be givin to them for declaring of their diligence.

Sessioun 4.

Forasmuche as there has beene a mater of greefe cônceaved by the king's Majestie against two brethrein, Mr Johne Cowper and James Gibsone, moved privilie to the Moderator, it is thought expedient by the whole Assemblie that the said caus be first privilie treated and considered by the brethrein underwritten; to witt, the Laird of Dun, Mr Peter Blekburne, Johne Porterfeild, Mr Thomas Buchanan, Mr Davill Lindsay, Mr Nicoll Dagleish, and David Fergusone, whom the Assemblie nominateth to travell, reasoun, and conferre with the saids parteis, and to see if they can take up the mater by their owne advice; otherwise, to propone the same to the full Assemblie, that the mater may be heard and reasouned there: and to that effect, ordeaned the said brethrein immediatlie to passe out of the Assemblie, and the said Mr Johne and James to passe with them.

Sessioun 5.

Tuiching the mater of Mr Johne Cowper and James Gibsone, referred to be reasouned and travelled in yesterday, by certane of the brethrein, the Assemblie, by their votes, giveth their full power and commissioun to the Moderator, and the assessors appointed by him, to confer, consult, advise, and, if they may, conclude and putt finall end therin; to the effect the same may be brought to some finall good point and quietnesse, without farther trouble of the Assemblie; praying God to give them good successe therin.

CENSURE FOR PRIVAT MARIAGE.

Sessioun 12.

Elizabeth Lermonth, daughter to Sir Patrik Lermonth of Dairsay, knight, compleaned, that William Challan, reader at Auchintaile, had solemnized the mariage betuixt William Kirkaldie, alias Ker, Laird of Grange, and Maistresse Elizabeth Lyoun, secreitlie, and without proclaming their bannes three severall tymes, according to order, and after lawfull impediment made by her at the kirk of Glames, the secund day of the proclamatioun. The said William being called, and accused, that he had proceeded to the solemnizatioun of the mariage above specifeid, without lawfull proclamatioun of the bannes thrise, and that within a privie hous, in another minister's bounds, answered, that the proclamatioun preceeded the solemnizatioun, as a testimoniall presented by him therupon beareth; and that the giver therof being sicke the day of the solemnizatioun, he executed the office, and solemnized the mariage in the place of * * for the which he submitteth himself willinglie in the will of the brethrein. Which confessioun being considered by them, they find that he hath transgressed the acts of the kirk, in making the said mariage *intra privatos parietes*, and, therefore, to have incurred the penaltie therof, viz., deprivatioun from his office and functioun in time comming.

THE JUDGEMENT OF THE ASSEMBLIE, OF THE BISHOPRICK OF CATHNESSE OFFERED TO MR R. PONT.

Sessioun 13.

Tuiching the presentatioun of their brother, Mr Robert Pont, recommended by the king's Majestie to the bishoprick of Cathnesse, the said Mr Robert, before his removing from the Assemblie, to notifie his minde to the whole brethrein, that no man sould take

anie just occasioun of slander in his person, declared, that for some losse and hurt done to him in his trouble, after diverse sutes givin in to Exchecker, at lenth this presentatioun, without procurement of him, was putt in his hand; and if the living might not be bruiked with safe conscience, and without slander of the kirk, desired their judgement: this farre alwise, being of minde resolved in that mater, that he would agree to be minister of Dornoch; to take visitatioun but by command of the kirk, and for his office and charge bruike the living onlie. With the which mater, after the removing of the said Mr Robert, the Assemblie, being in a part entered in reasoning, delayed their further consultatioun therof whill after noone; desiring Mr Nicoll Dagleish, Mr Peter Blekburne, and David Fergusone, to consider, by the said Mr Robert's advice, what answere sall be givin to the king, to be reported by them again to the Assemblie at after noone.

Sessioun 14.

Tuiching the letter ordeanned to be penned by David Fergusone, Mr Peter Blekburne, and Mr Nicoll Dagleish, concerning the answere to the king's Majestie, tuiching the presentatioun of their brother, Mr Robert Pont, to the bishoprick of Cathnesse, the said letter being presented and ratified, after a few words changed, was thought meete to be directed to his Grace.

Sessioun 15.

Tuiching the new missive thought good to be directed to the king's Majestie, for answere to the king's recommendatioun of their brother, Mr Robert Pont, to the bishoprick of Cathnesse, the samine being read publictlie, was thought meeter to be directed unto his Grace than the answere read of before. Of the which answere the tenour followeth:—

"Sir,—Lett it please your Hienesse: We have receaved your letter, willing us to elect our brother, Mr Robert Pont, to the bishoprick of Cathnesse, vacand by the decease of umquhile Robert Erle of Marche, your Hienesse' uncle. We praise God that your

Majestie hath a good opinioun and estimatioun of suche a persoun, as we judge the said Mr Robert to be, whom we acknowledge indeid to be alreadie a bishop, according to the doctrine of St Paul, and qualified to use the functioun of a pastor or minister at the kirk of Dornoch, or anie other kirk within your Hienesse' realme, where he is lawfullie called, and worthie to have a competent living appointed to him therefore; as also, to use the office of a visiter or commissioner within the bounds or diocie of Cathnesse, if he be burthenned therewith. But as to that corrupt estat or office of them who have beene termed bishops heretofore, we find it not agreeable to the Word of God, and it hath beene damned in diverse others our Assembleis; nather is the said Mr Robert willing to accept the same in that maner: The which we thought good to signifie unto your Majestie, for answere of your Hienesse' letter of nominatioun; and have ordeanned our brethrein to be appointed commissioners, to await upon the nixt parliament, to conferre with your Hienesse and Counsell at more lenth (if need sall be) heerupon. Thus, after offering of our humble obedience, we earnestlie wish the Spirit of the Lord to assist your Hienesse in all good effaires. From our Generall Assemblie, the 28th of Junie, 1587."

ACTS OF PARLIAMENT AGAINST PAPISTS TO BE GATHERED.

Sessioun 4.

Forasmuche as, albeit there be both laws and diverse proclamatiouns published and sett out against Jesuits and Papists, and, notthelesse, their number daylie increasseth, under the maintenance of diverse great men within the countrie, without feare of law or anie punishment to ensue; for repressing therof, seing his Majestie is now of perfyte age, and a parliament is appointed in the nixt moneth, it is thought expedient that the acts of parliament made by our soverane lord and his predecessors, and his Hienesse' regents for the tyme, for the libertie of the true Kirk of God, and Christ's religioun presentlie professed within this realme, and for

repressing of Papistrie and idolatrie, be gathered together, and craved to be confirmed: as likewise, the executioun of the said acts may be considered; and what further, ather executioun or law, sall be desired against the said Papists and idolaters; as also, suche lawes and constitutiouns as are made to the derogatioun of the said libertie, or to the prejudice or stay of the course of the Evangell, may be likewise collected, to the effect their abrogatioun may be sought: to the which effect, they have nominated their beloved brethrein, the Laird of Dun, Mr Robert Pont, Mr Nicoll Dagleish, Mr David Lindsey, Mr Paul Fraser, and Mr Thomas Buchanan, to concurre together at suche houres as they may best spaire, and take the paines in the said mater; and therafter present their travells to the Assemblie, to be considered by them.

ACTS.

Sessioun 9.

Forasmuche as Satan in his members, daylie, more and more seeketh by all meanes to increasse his kingdom of darknesse; and for that caus, in thir latter tymes, he stirreth up craftie and subtile spirits, enarmed mightilie with sophistrie and deceate, to abuse the truthe, and by shaddow of cunning and learning to blind the ey of the simple sort; for the which caus, it is the part of the true kirk vigilantlie to occurre to his craft, and by all meanes to endeavoure the advancement of Christ's kingdom: And, therefore, the Assemblie within this realme hath advised, and found good, that the presbytereis, together with their commissioners, in all the parts of the countrie, and everie ilk one of them for their owne parts, prescribe to everie young man that is minister within suche a presbyterie a part of Scripture, together with a part of the commoun places and controverted heeds of religioun, to be diligentlie read, considered, and learned by him, within suche a space of tyme as the presbyterie thinketh good to appoint to him. And that his diligence may appeare the better into the fruict therof, at certane

tymes in the yeere, everie presbyterie being conveenned, take a compt of the young man of his travells, by requiring of him, in the part of Scripture prescribed to him, 1. The summe and deductioun of the mater: 2. The solide sense and meaning of these places which are most difficill to be understood: 3. A collatioun of the sentences and arguments which, by reading, he may be able to gather out of that part of Scripture propouned to him; the which arguments may serve ather to confirme the truthe, or ellis to refute hereticall opiniouns. And as for the part of commoun places and heeds of religioun prescribed to him, lett him be readie to answere to questioning and reasoning to be had therupon; and so to be exercised in this kinde, not for a tyme onlie, but from tyme to tyme, whill he come to a certane maturitie and solidenesse in the Scripture of God.

Sessioun 11.

Tuiching the particular sessiouns of kirks and congregatiouns, the Assemblie resolved that they are, and sould be, subject to their presbytereis, as hath beene accorded before, by act of the Assemblie.

Sessioun 9.

No maisters of colledges or schooles sall receave in their colledges or schooles, to teache, anie student or scholars being of maturitie of age, which refuse to subscribe to the true religioun presentlie established and professed by the mercie of God, within this realme, or refusing to participat the sacraments, under the paine of the censures of the kirk. And farther, before anie student be promoted to anie degree in the universitie, that they sall, *toties quoties*, as they sall be promoted, subscrive *de novo*, otherwise their promotiouns to be stayed, under the paines foresaid; and that the presbytereis be diligent to see the executioun of this act, as they will answere to God.

Sessioun 15.

Tuiching the questioun moved, if suspensioun of a minister from

the functioun of the ministrie for a time, for just causes, be repugnant to the Word of God or not? the Assemblie, albeit they thinke no just doubt may be moved in this mater, in respect of their conclusiouns of before, with the daylie practises and exemples sensyne, yitt, the mater being reasouned *de novo*, it is found, that the samine agreeth with the Word of God and his Scriptures; and, therefore, the acts made theranent before to stand in full strenth, and not to be called backe againe in anie wise.

Sessioun 16.

It is concluded, that all pastors of whatsomever sort sall be subject to the tryell and censuring of their brethrein, als weill of the presbytereis as Synodall and Generall Assembleis, concerning their life, conversatioun, and doctrine; and suche as refuse their tryell and censure, that the said presbytereis, Synodall or Generall Assembleis, proceed against them.

Sessioun 18.

Tuiching the commissioners of countreis, it is concluded, their commissiouns sall continue from Assemblie to Assemblie; and that the brethrein appointed to await on the parliament supplicat his Majestie, that the commissioners appointed by them in their last Assemblie may be continued yitt, seing there is no fault found with them for the present. It is likewise voted and concluded, that none sall be admitted to anie personage or vicarage who sall not be qualified to teache and preache the Word.

QUESTIONS.

Sessioun 5.

Tuiching complaints and questiouns which have been propouned in Synodall Assembleis, and could receave no resolutioun, the Assemblie appointeth Mr David Spence, Mr Adam Johnstoun, Mr Gilbert Gairdin, and Johne Porterfield, to reasoun the same; with

suche bills as necessarlie must come to the Generall Assemblie; and divide them from others, to the effect they may be presented to the full number; and to that effect, to conveene at eight houres in the morning, and at two after noone.

ARTICLES AND ANSWERS.

Sessioun 17.

For penning of the instructiouns to be givin to the brethrein appointed to tak order, and give answere unto the five articles propouned by the king's Majestie unto the Assemblie, the Assemblie hath nominated their brethrein, Mr James Melvill, Mr Johne Craig, Mr Paul Fraser, Mr George Monro, Mr William Watsone, Mr Johne Keith, and Mr William Stirline; and appointeth them to exhibite the said instructiouns after noone to the conference.

THE TENOR OF THE ARTICLES PROPONNED FOR THE KING'S MAJESTIE.

1. Concerning the Bishop of St Andrewes, if anie controversie be, that it be reasouned in his Majestie's presence.

2. That the Bishop of Aberdeene be not interessed in his jurisdictioun and living, but the same to be exerced by himself, becaus the alledged slaunder whereby he was damnified of before is sufficientlie tryed and removed.

3. Concerning James Gibsone and Mr Johne Cowper, that they acknowledge and confesse their publict offences and slanders against his Majestie, and satisfie therefore as he sall thinke good; or otherwise be deprived from all functioun in the kirk.

4. Concerning Mr Robert Montgomrie, that he be receaved without farther ceremonie in the fellowship and favour of the kirk.

5. Concerning the Laird of Fintrie's excommunication, which was somewhat extraordinar, to be declared null.

THE TENOUR OF THE INSTRUCTIONS TO THE COMMISSIONERS APPOINTED TO AWAIT ON PARLIAMENT.

First, as concerning the king's articles, in the first two, lett the judgement of the Assemblie be followed and notified unto his Majestie.

As to the Thrid, they sall travell by all meanes possible to mease[1] his Majestie in this mater, and bring it in oblivioun; and failing therof, in cace they sall find anie good assured hope, that the Assemblie's articles sall be weill looked upon, and granted to passe in parliament, they sall preasse to bring the mater to suche a midds, as may best agree with the honour of the ministrie, satisfeing the offence of the godlie, and conscience of the brethrein themselves, against the which his Majestie has taikin offence; that in speciall, which his Hienesse' commissioners sent in writt to one of the said brethrein: otherwise, if they be urged to the article as it standeth, they sall leave the mater whole and free, to be tryed and judged by the Generall Assemblie.

As to the Fourth, they sall dispense with Mr Robert Montgomerie in some ceremoneis used in repentance, incace they find his Majestie willing to remitt somwhat of the rigour of his Majestie's satisfactioun craved of the two brethrein by whom he finds his Hienesse offended.

As to the Fyft, concerning the Laird of Fintrie, they sall show his Majestie, that the Assemblie hath appointed certane of their brethrein to see what effect the dealing of them that were appointed in the last Assemblie hath taikin with him; and to travell further, by all good meanes, to bring him, by repentance, in the bosome of the true kirk, whereby that sentence may be in verie deed annulled.

They sall admitt nothing hurtfull nor prejudiciall to the discipline of the kirk, as it is concluded according to the Word of God, in the Generall Assemblie of the kirk preceeding the 84th yeere of

[1] Appease.

God; but preceeselie seeke the same to be ratified and allowed, if possiblie may be.

And, finallie, in all lett God be feared, and a good conscience be keeped, in procuring the weale of the kirk, and taking away all impediments contrare thereto.

Sessioun 18.

An article to be conceaved and givin in with the rest of the articles, that an act may be concluded in parliament, that whereas beneficed men are called to heare them, deprived before the judges ecclesiasticall, deputed thereto, that their living during the tyme of the dependance of processe, incace they be deprived, may be tane up and applyed to the use of the kirk.

As for Mr Patrik Adamsone, the Assemblie had agreed, in the 16th Sessioun, to answere that there was nothing proceeded against him in the Assemblie. As to Mr Daniel Cunninghame, there was a notorious slander in his persone, and the brethrein could not see nor know anie cleere purgatioun as yitt: James Gibsone was absent; Mr Johne Cowper desired to be heard. In the 18th Sessioun, the Assemblie answered to his demand, if they found anie fault in him wherefore his mouth sould be closed, that they found no fault with him. Mr Johne protested, that forasmuche as that mater was committed to certane commissioners, that if they decreed anie thing to his prejudice, he be not obliged thereto, unlesse they all agree in one voice.

In the 15th Sessioun it was agreed, that an article be presented to the king, expressing their greefe, that sindrie Papists of great calling are promoted to offices and benefices, contrare to the acts of parliament; and that suche, and others of high ranke within the countrie, take upon them the maintenance of Papists and idolaters, namelie, the Erles of Huntlie and Sutherland, the Lord Hume, the Lord Gray, the Lord Hereis, the Laird of Fentrie, and young Glenbervie.

Mr Andrew Melvill was ordeanned to penne a letter in name of

the Assemblie, to the ministers of Danskene, to congratulat their embracing of the truthe in the mater of the sacrament.

A COMMISSION.

Sessioun 17.

"The Generall Assemblie of the kirk giveth their full power and commissioun to their loved brethrein underwrittin; that is to say, Johne Areskine of Dun, Mr Robert Pont, Mr Andrew Melvill, Mr David Lindsey, Mr Thomas Buchanan, Mr Andrew Hay, Mr Robert Bruce, Mr Johne Robertsone, Mr Alexander Rawsone, Robert Grahame, Mr Patrik Galloway, David Fergusone, Mr Nicoll Dagleish, Johne Porterfeild, James Andersone, Johne Duncansone, Mr Adam Johnstoun, Mr Walter Balcalquall, Mr Robert Grahame, Mr Andrew Clayhills, and Johne Brand, ministers of Christ's Evangell, or to anie threttein of them, with all humilitie, due submissioun, and reverence, to present to the king's Majestie, and Lords of Articles of his Hienesse' parliament, suche articles, heeds, and humble petitiouns, givin to them by the said Assemblie, tending to the advancement of Christ's true religioun, and establishing of good discipline within the kirk of this realme; and with all earnest diligence, care, and travell, make supplicatioun and right humble sute, that the samine may be granted, past in acts and lawes, and be established and sett doun by his Majestie and noble estats of his parliament: And therupon, if need sall be, to treat, confer, and reasoun, and upon suche other maters and heeds as sall be propouned on his Majestie's behalfe; and further, to give answere to his Majestie's five articles propouned to this Assemblie, and to resolve, and to proceed theranent, according to the instructiouns givin to them. And to the effect that the said brethrein may be the readier and more resolute, that they conveene at Edinburgh, the tenth day of Julie nixt; and what sall be proceeded or done concerning the said commissioun in all points, to report again to the nixt Generall Assemblie of the brethrein, firme and stable,

holding, and for to hold, what their said brethrein in the premisses lawfullie leid to be done. Givin in the said Generall Assemblie of the kirk, day, yeere, and place foresaid."

MR R. BRUCE, HIS CALLING TO THE MINISTRIE.

At this Assemblie, in the 14th Sessioun, the commissioners for the toun of Edinburgh requeisted that Mr James Melvill, or Mr Patrik Galloway, might be appointed to succeed in the place of Mr James Lowsoun, their late pastor; and incace there be lawfull impediments, that they would appoint some other qualified man. Mr James and Mr Patrik alledged sindrie impediments, which were found lawfull; wherupon the commissioners for the toun desired that Mr Robert Bruce might be appointed to supplee that place. The commissioners being removed, the whole brethrein voted the said Mr Robert to be a meetē pastor for the said flocke; a man indued with manie good qualiteis answerable to that place, and assented, incace his owne consent might be obteaned; and ordeanned Mr Andrew Melvill, Mr David Lindsey, to travell with him in their name, and to exhort him, in the name of God and of his kirk, to accept the charge. In the 16th Sessioun, Mr Robert being present, and desired to accept the said charge, declared he was not yitt resolved to accept the samine *simpliciter;* alwise, he would communicat his labours to that flocke till the nixt synod; and if he found himself then resolved, and meete for the charge, he sould continue; otherwise, he would be free.

Becaus there is mentioun heere made of the calling of Mr Robert Bruce to the ministrie, and his ministrie proved so profitable to the kirk of God, and powerfull to convert manie, I will heere sett doun how the Lord prepared him, and after what maner he was inwardlie called.

Mr Robert Bruce, secund sonne to the Laird of Airth, after he had past his course in Philosophie at St Andrewes, was sent by his father to France, where he studied the Lawes. After that he returned to the countrie he was directed to attend on the court and

sessioun, for his father's effaires and his freinds'. Whill he is thus occupyed, the Lord beganne to worke mightilie in his conscience, so that he had no rest nor confort but in the Word of God, and companie of good men. Yitt his father's and freinds' imployment made him to strive against the working of his conscience. He was forced at last to be plaine with his father, that he could have no rest in his minde unlesse he were suffered to goe to St Andrewes, and studie Theologie. His father suffered him, but Mr Andrew Melvill was forced to flee out of the countrie. Yitt continued Mr Robert in his studeis, and at last assayed what gift God had bestowed upon him, for uttering that which he had studied. Walking at a certane tyme in the feilds with Mr James Melvill, he said to him, Or he cast himself again in that torment of conscience which he had, in resisting the calling of God to the studie of Theologie, and to the ministrie, he [would] rather passe through a fire of brimstone half a myle long. He exercised first privatlie before Mr James Melvill and Mr Robert Durie; after that, in the schooles, where the students had their privat exercises before the maisters; therafter, at the table; and at last, on the Sabbath, in the morning. The best affected people of the toun resorted to his doctrine. Mr Andrew Melvill, perceaving how the Lord had wrought with him, and that his doctrine was powerfull, moved the kirk of Edinburgh to seeke him at the Assemblie. He would not yeeld *simpliciter*, but offered to take a tryell. For the further satisfactioun of the reader, I will heere subjoyne his owne discourse of the maner of his calling, dytted by himself.

"As tuiching my vocatioun to the ministrie, I was first called to my grace before I obeyed my calling to the ministrie: He made me first a Christian before he made me a minister. I repyned long to my calling to the ministrie. Ten yeeres, at the least, I never lap on horsebacke, nor lighted, but with a repyning and just accusing conscience. At the last, it pleased God, (in the 81st yeere of God, in the moneth of August, in the last night therof, being in the place of Airth, lying in a chamber called the new loft chamber, in the verie while I lay,) to cite me inwardlie, judiciallie, in my

conscience, and to present all my sinnes before me in suche sort, that He omitted not a circumstance, but made my conscience to see tyme, place, persons, als vivelie as in the houre I did them. He made the devill to accuse me so audiblie, that I heard his voice so vivelie as ever I heard thing, not being sleeping but awaking. And so farre as he spake true, my conscience bare him record, and testified against me verie cleerelie; but when he came to be a false accuser, and layed things to my charge which I had never done, then my conscience failed him, and would not testifie with him. And in these things that were true my conscience condemned me, and the condemnator tormented me, and made me feele the wrathe of God pressing me doun, as it were, to the lower hell; yea, I was so fearfullie and extremelie tormented, that I would have beene content to have beene cast in a caldroun of hote melted leid, to have had my soule releeved of that unsupportable weight. Alwise, so farre as he spake true, I confessed, restored God to his glorie, and craved God's mercie, for the merits of Christ; yea, appealed ever to his mercie, purchassed to me by the blood, death, and passioun of Christ.

"This court of justice holdin upon my soule, it turned (of the bottomlesse mercie of God) in a court of mercie to me: for that same night, ere the day dew,[1] or er the sunne rose, he restrained these fureis, and these outcryes of my just accusing conscience, and enabled me to rise in the morning. There was a brother of the ministrie that lay in the place this night beside me. I recommended my dolorous estat to his prayers, but I found him a confortlesse conforter. Alwise, this visitatioun was the first motioun that chassed me to my grace. I resisted long before; but after this I resolved to goe to St Andrewes to Mr Andrew Melvill, and there to lay out my doleance in his bosome, and to communicat all my greeves with him. It was long before I could gett leave to goe, my mother made me suche impediment. My father at last condescended, but my mother would not, whill I had denuded my hands of some lands and casualiteis that I was infeft in: and that I did willinglie; cast

[1] Dawned.

my clothes from me, my vaine and glorious apparell; sent my hors to the faire, and emptied my hands of all impediments, and went to the New Colledge. And there I abode long, ere I durst open my mouth, I was so bashfull, and oppressed with shame and blushing. Mr Andrew would have had me to the schooles to exercise, but I durst not beginne there. I was content at the last to be heard privilie, and went to a chamber, and caused Mr James Melvill and Mr Robert Durie, and some of the best, heare me; and from that we went to the boord, and noted, and went to the schooles, and taught my day about with great confluence and great motioun, as there are manie yitt living can testifie.

"At the last, in the 87 yeere of God, in the moneth of Junie, there was a Generall Assemblie to be holdin in Edinburgh, and Mr Andrew tooke me over with him. At the same verie tyme Edinburgh laiked pastors; and they made leit of some, and gave them up to the Generall Assemblie, and putt in my name among the rest, and would have me teaching amongst the rest, before the day of the Assemblie. And after long intreatie I condescended, and taught upon the spirituall armour, in the sixt to the Ephesians. The Assemblie sitteth doun, and was verie frequent. I remember Mr Udall, the Englishman, was there, and sindrie other strangers. At the last the leits come in questioun, who sould be chosin? Surelie, with universall consent, verie few excepted, I am chosin and appointed. So it was layed upon me, sore against my will; for at this same tyme I had an outward calling to St Andrewes; with the consent of the whole universitie, and all the gentlemen round about. And, surelie, I liked better to goe to St Andrewes, for I had no will of the court, for I knew weill that the court and we could never agree. And, therefore, I refused long the burthein of Edinburgh, and went over to St Andrewes. I remained no space there, but incontinent I was sent for by the Proveist and Counsell of Edinburgh: James Dalyell, the Proveist's goodsonne, and sindrie others, were sent for me. Laith was I to goe. They threatned me with authoritie. So I advised with my God, and thought it meete to obey; but not to take on fullie the burtheif, but to assay

onlie how the Lord would blesse my travells for a while. For I found within me suche a parpan[1] of iniquitie dividing between His majestie's confortable presence and me, that I thought it was not His majestie's pleasure that I sould take the full burthein upon me whill this parpan were demolished, and impediment removed. And so, by processe of tyme, at the last I condescended, and I remained not fullie twelve yeeres in Edinburgh, when I was chassed out, and have been now banished these twentie-six yeeres. I was twise in France: once before my calling; nixt, in my calling, for the mater of Gowrie; and am not yitt free of continuall exercise, yea, feares continuallie, to be putt away again. The Lord, of His infinite mercie, end my course weill, end it with joy; make me to fight out a good fight, to keepe the faith, and to perfyte my ministrie with the approbatioun of my God in Christ, and good conscience."

DU BARTES' JUDGEMENT OF THE BISHOP AND MR A. MELVILL.

About the end of June, Du Bartes, a Frenche gentleman, and excellent poet, being in this countrie, accompanied the king to St Andrewes. The king calleth for Mr Andrew Melvill, and said, he was come with a gentleman to have a lessoun. Mr Andrew answered, that he had delivered his ordinarie lessoun alreadie before noone. "That is all one," said the king. "I will have a lessoun within an houre." But within lesse than an houre, the king came to the schoole, and the universitie conveened. Mr Andrew taught *ex tempore* upon the governement of Christ's kirk, and in effect, refuted the whole acts of parliament made against our discipline. The auditors were conforted, but the king was in anger all that night. Mr Patrik Adamsone, called Bishop of St Andrewes, had a lessoun prepared, which was an abridgement of all that he had taught the yeere preceeding; corrupt grounds of discipline, which he had putt in the king's head. Mr Andrew went to his lessoun contrare to his custome, and marked with a penne all his grounds and reasouns.

[1] A separation-wall.

He caused ring the bell the same day at two after noone. The king sent to him, and desired him to be moderat, and to have a regard to his presence, otherwise threatned to discharge him. Mr Andrew answered, that seing his tender eares were dangerously filled with errors and untruthes by that wicked man, he could not suffer them passe unrefuted; and that the stopping of the breath of God's mouth, and prejudice of the truthe being excepted, he sould otherwise behave himself reverentlie in all respects. The king sent againe, and desired it might be so; and to tell him that he would have his foure houres repast in the colledge, and drinke with him. The king came to the lessoun. The bishop requeisted the king to grant him libertie to answere, incace anie thing were spokin against his doctrine. Mr Andrew, pretending as if he had none to medle with but Papists, brought with him their workes, and readeth out of them all the bishop's grounds and reasouns. When he had manifested them to be plaine Poprie, he fell to confutatioun, with suche invincible force of reasoun, and flood of eloquence, that the bishop was dashed and stricken dumbe. When the lessoun was ended, the king in his mother tongue made some distinguoes, discoursed a prettie space upon them, and commanded the universitie to reverence and obey the bishop. The bishop, notwithstanding, after that day, beganne to be wearie of preaching, and to fall more and more in disgrace. The king came to the colledge hall at foure houres, where was prepared a bankett of wett and dry confectiouns, whereat he made mirrie, and after went to his hors. Du Bartes stayed, and conferred an houre with Mr Andrew, and then followed after the king. The king asked his judgement of the two. Du Bartes answered, they were both learned; but the bishop's lessoun was prepared, and that Mr Andrew had readie a great store of all kinde of letters within him; and, beside, his spirit and courage was farre above the bishop's. The king approved his judgement.

A PARLIAMENT.

Upon Wednisday, the 12th of Julie, the king and nobilitie being minded to come to Edinburgh to hold a parliament, were stayed,

partlie becaus the noblemen could not agree upon the bearing of the honours, partlie becaus some of them contended for the first vote in parliament. Bothwell and Crawfurd contended. But, in end, Bothwell would not stay, becaus the counsell had found that Crawfurd had the place before him. The Lord Fleeming and Lord Hume challenged other to the combat. Upon Thursday, the 13th of Julie, about foure after noone, the king and nobilitie came to the Tolbuith, which was the Parliament Hous. The duke caried the crowne, the Erle of Angus the sceptre, the Erle of Huntlie the sword. Fleeming went to the place appointed for the combat; Hume was stayed by the toun of Edinburgh. The king sent for them, and reconciled them. Upon Saturday, the 15th, the king went to Falkland, and returned upon Wedinsday, the twentie. Upon Saturday, the 23d, they raid again in pompe, and the parliament ended.

In this parliament the king's perfyte age was declared; the lawes made concerning the libertie of the kirk were ratified. An act was made for punishing of Jesuits, seminarie preests, and their recepters. *Item*, For punishment of troublers of the kirk, invaders of ministers, excommunicated persons entering in the congregatioun in tyme of administratioun of the sacraments and commoun prayers. The commissioners appointed by the Generall Assemblie to attend upon the parliament, were carefull that nothing be concluded prejudiciall to the libertie and discipline of the kirk, as it was agreed upon in the Generall Assembleis preceeding the 1584 yeere. But little farther could they obteane of the nobilitie. At this tyme bishopricks, abbaceis, and pryoreis, were annexed to the crowne. To this act of annexatioun the Bishop of St Andrewes himself consented, howbeit it was the baine of episcopal power and jurisdictioun. At this tyme the small barons obteaned, for fourtie thowsand merkes, place to reasoun and vote in parliament. At this parliament the erledome of Mortoun was ratified to the Erle of Angus, notwithstanding the samine was before givin to Johne Lord Maxwell, after the executioun of the Erle of Morton.

COYNING OF ACHESONS DISCHARGED.

Upon the 7th of August, a discharge [was] published to coyne achesouns, or foure pennie peeces, in respect they were counterfooted in England and other parts; and a charge, that so manie as were alreadie coyned sould have course, and that their printing yrons to be delivered to the Treasurer.

THE PEST.

The pest brake up in harvest in Leith, by opening up of some old kists, and in Edinburgh about the fourth of November. It continued in these two towns this winter till Candlemesse.

CESFURD AND BALCLEUCH WAIRDED.

Cesfurde and Balcleuche were committed to waird, for making incursiouns upon the borders of England this winter, to restore the prisoners and goods again. Their wairding was urged by the Lord Hounsden, who was sent doun, with six hundreth men, to keepe the borders.

This winter the king commented upon the Apocalypse. Yitt were the Catholicks practising bussilie, and preparing for the recept of the Spaniards. The Pope by his bull prepared, or rather instigated, them to rebell against Queen Elizabeth, for some pretended reasouns alledged by him; but, in truthe, the Spaniard aimed at the conquesse of the whole Ile. The tenor of the Pop's declaratioun heere followeth:—

"Sixtus the Fyft, by the providence of God universall sheepheard of the flocke of Jesus Christ, to whom perteaneth the continuall and most lawfull successioun (without spott or blott) of the governement of the Catholick kirk, beholding and seing the great miserie in which the renowned countreis of England and Ireland are fallin, (which in tyme past were so floorishing, by reasoun of

their most holie religioun and Christian obedience;) and are now, by the godlesse and wicked inhumane governement of Elizabeth, their pretended queene, and some of her confederats and associats, not onlie in a most dangerous estat, but also are become pestilentious and pernicious to the whole bodie of Christianitie, and to his Holinesse in lyke maner, not paying unto him his due and lawfull rents, as he has of other natiouns, by the assistance of Christian princes, for the ecclesiasticall discipline, and for preventing of all disorder; seing Henrie the Eight, late King of England, rebelling and revolting from the apostolick seate of Rome, perforce separating himself from the Roman ecclesiasticall discipline, and that Elizabeth, the usurper, presentlie continues in the same estat, to the great danger and trouble of other her nighbour countreis, still continuallie showing her self obdured and impenitent, in suche sort, that without deposing her there is no hope, nor no meane to reforme the countrie, nor keepe it Christianlie in peace and quietnesse: Therefore it is, that his Holinesse, searching (as his duetie is) to foresee for some suddan help and releefe thereto, being inspired of God for the universal tranquillitie of the Roman kirk, and being moved with the love that he and his predecessors have still taikin to the English natioun, as also, being required to the same through the importune zeale of sindrie good Roman Catholicks of the same natioun, yea, and of the principall persons therof, he has most earnestlie dealt and contracted with diverse princes and potentats, and, in speciall, with the Most Mightie and Most Roman Catholick King of Spaine, praying him to give his assistance, for the duetie which he ought to the seate of Rome; and for the ancient love and freindship which has beene betuixt him and the crowne of England, and for the singular freindship which he has shewed to the Roman Catholicks of his countreis therabout, for advancement of the ancient Roman Catholick faith; and, finallie, for the universall good of all Europ: and that he would serve himself with the power which the Omnipotent Power has givin him, to depose that wife, and punish her assisters, which are so malicious and troublesome to the whole world, and to the reformatioun and

pacificatioun of kingdoms, frome which all men will reape suche a great weale and commoun good. And, therefore, to lett the equitie of this caus be knowne to all the world, and to give contentment to the subjects of the said kingdoms, and, finallie, to publishe the just judgements of God upon her, his Holinesse has thought good to decerne the sentence of this wife's punishment, and to declare for what caus he was moved this way to proceed against her.

"In the first respect, She is a schismatick and an heretick, who has beene excommunicated twise before by two of my predecessors, becaus she is obstinat and disobedient to God, and to the seate of Rome. As also, becaus she most unadvisedlie and rashlie usurped the supremacie and spirituall power over the soules of men, contrare to all nature and reasoun, and against all divine lawes and holie constitutiouns.

"Secundlie, Becaus she is unlawfullie gottin, conceaved, and borne of an intestable adulteresse, Anna de Bulloigne, who was beheaded for the said fact, committèd by her brother with her, called George de Bulloigne, in like maner beheaded for the same. And so the said queene was not tailyeable for the said crowne, als weill by vertue of sindrie sentences of Pope Clement 7, and Pope Paul 3, as also by her owne father, Henrie the Eight his owne declaratioun.

"Thridlie, Becaus she has usurped the crowne by[1] right and reasoun, for the hinderances above specified; as also, contrare the intreated arguments betuixt the seate of Rome and the countrie of England, for the reconciliatioun of the same, for the death of Thomas Beccat, Bishop of Canterburie, in the tyme of King Henrie 2d: That is to say, that none could lawfullie possesse the crowne, without consent of the lawfull bishop and soveran Bishop of Rome, which was within short space renewed and recognosced by Johne King of England, and confirmed by an oath: a turne most profitable for the said kingdome, and done at the desire and earnest requeist both of the nobilitie and commouns of the said cõuntrie. Further, becaus she persisteth, and still continueth, in

[1] Beyond.

the breaking of her oath made by her at her coronatioun, most solemnelie swearing to further and mainteane the whole priviledges, both ecclesiasticall and civill, of the said kingdom, by sindrie great wrongs, outrages, extortiouns, incursiouns, and other misorders made by her, and suffered by her and hers to be done and used upon the poore and innocent people of the two kingdoms, both of England and Ireland, aneugh to have stirred up people of other natiouns round about her against their owne lawfull princes, to the subduing of manie soules, and to the destructioun of manie powerfull natiouns and touns; for the receaving and protecting of hereticks, fugitives, rebells, and publict malefactors, to the great prejudice of manie good Christians and their countreis; and, likewise, for the indrawing of the Turke, as an enemie most powerfull and cruell, to surprise all Christendome, and trouble the whole commoun weale therof; for the long and horrible persecutioun of the sancts, deposing, imprisoning, and tormenting of Roman bishops, and for afflicting most miserablie, and wrongfullie putting to death, the members, sancts, and holie Roman Catholicks; for the unlawfull and unnaturall imprisoning and putting to death (short while since) of the most gratious princesse Marie, Queen of Scots, who, upon her promise and offerance of protectioun and help, had fled from her countrie to England; for the outputting of the most true, catholick, apostolick, Roman religioun, profaning of the seven holie sacraments, cloisters, kirks, consecrated persons, memorials of sancts, and of all things which might have served for eternall salvatioun, in so farre as tuiched her particular; for the degrading of the ancient nobilitie, for the advancement of base and unworthie people, athir of civill or ecclesiasticall digniteis, and furth setting of justice; and, finallie, becaus she absolutelie useth all kinde of tyrannie, to the great dishonour and oppressioun of poore people, to the pitifull tinsell of manie soules, and to the utter ruine of the whole countrie.

"Heerefore, seing thir things are of suche nature, that manie thinke her unworthie of a crowne, and others judge her unworthie to live, that our Holinesse, by vertue and gift of the Omnipotent

God, and by our Roman apostolick authoritie which has beene givin to us, renewes the sentence of our predecessors, of Pope Pius 5th, and Gregorie 13th, concerning the excommunicatioun and depositioun of the said Elizabeth. And farther, we excommunicat her, and depose her of all royall digniteis, both of all titles and rights, and pretentioun she has, or can have, to the crowns of England and Ireland, discharging the subjects of both the kingdoms, and all others, of anie sort of subjectioun of oaths, and other sort of obedience which they in anie tyme past gave to her, or to anie other whatsomever, in her name defendant; discharging them therfra, under the paine of incurring the curses of God, and excommunicating them, and punishing them bodilie, according to their demerit: And that none of what calling and conditioun that ever he be, after the understanding of the same, be so bold as to shew her anie obedience or favour, or to assist her in anie thing whatsomever; but that everie one, according to their power, employ themselves, so farre as they can, to chastise and punish her, who has so farre runne headlongs sindrie wise, both from God and the Catholick Roman; to the end that she, seing her self abandoned of all worldlie helpe, and cast off of all men, may confesse her fault, and committ her self most humblie to the justice of the Most Mightie.

"For this caus, then, we make it knowne to all the inhabitants of the said countreis, and to all others, to take good heed to obey thir presents, and make no assistance, nather privat nor publict, to the said Elizabeth and her assisters; but presentlie to couple themselves to the Catholick armie, led by the high and victorious prince, Alexander Farnese, Prince of Parma, in name and behalfe of his Catholick Majestie; everie man, according to his power, to helpe and assist him as is aforesaid, to the deposing and punishing of the saids persons, and for establishing the Roman Catholick faith; declaring by thir presents to all the disobeyers of the same, they sall not escape from their punishment, according to their demerits.

"As also, it is to be understood, that the intentioun of his Holinesse, nor of the Prince of Parma, is not to suppresse or conqueisse,

at this interprise, the two kingdoms; to bereave anie ather of their lives or goods, but onlie the obstinat and rebellious; ather to imbring into anie of the said kingdoms anie alteratioun; ather that agreement will not be made betuixt our Holinesse and his Majestie Catholick, as the estats of the country sall find necessar and expedient, for restoring and establishing the Roman Catholick religioun, and for the punishment of the said usurpatrix and her adherents: Assuring everie persoun, that whatsomever debate or controversie sall happin to turne or come, by deposing of the said wife, or anie other caus betuixt particular persons, ather concerning the successioun to the crowne; or betuixt the kirk and policie, or anie other difference that may happin, sall be appeased and agreed conforme to right and reasoun, justice and Christian equitie, without wrong or prejudice to anie.

"And likewise, there sall not onlie good order be taikin concerning the Catholicks which have beene pilled of their goods, and suffered so muche, but also, there sall be granted pardoun to all who, being sorie and repenting of their misdeeds, sall submit themselves to the Captane Generall of the armie. As also, as the brute is, there are manie innocents that are deceaved through not knowing the Catholick faith, and, notwithstanding, are reckoned among the hereticks, our intentioun is, not to punishe suche persouns, but gratiouslie to suffer them, untill the time, by conference of the learned doctors, they may be instructed in the Veritie: Providing alwise, that in the meane time, they show not themselves obstinat, seing, by thir meanes, we seeke to eshew the effusioun of Christian blood, and ruine of the countrie, which the principall persons being culpable of the crymes above-writtin, make them to understand. This is the caus wherefore we declare by thir presents, that it is not permitted to everie one, whether publict or privat, by and attour these who are workers of this interprise, to arreist, imprissoun, putt hand in, or deliver to the Catholick party the said usurper, or anie of her complices, but the same sall be holdin for a singular good service, and sall be worthie recompensatioun, according to the qualitie of these that sall doe the same.

"Also, all others who, in anie time past, have givin anie helpe, or heerafter may helpe or give assistance, for punishment of the foresaid malefactors, or re-establishment of the Roman Catholick religioun in these kingdoms, sall receave suche good deid, as they sall be rewarded with suche digniteis and honours, as the commoun wealth and their good service sall require: As that, in like maner, a speciall regard sall be had to the ancient lordships, and noble famileis in the countrie, in so farre as can be. And there sall be made free pasports to all these that will conjoyne themselves to the Catholick Roman, to take men, munitioun, and victualls, and suche other things necessarie, promising them good payment for all things they sall bring to them: Commanding, also, all maner of men, according to their power, to furnishe helpe to the same, to the end there be no occasioun to oversee the rigour in punishing suche as misregard this commandement. Finallie, We, according to the fatherlie love which we carie to this interprise, yitt liberallie give out of the spirituall treasure of the holie kirk (of the which we have the keeping and dispensatioun) to all the assisters and helpers in anie sort whatsomever, to the dispossessing and punishing of the foresaids persons, and to the reformatioun of the two kingdoms, full remissioun and pardoun of all their sinnes, having repented and confessed, as they must doe, according to the holie lawes and divine institutiouns of the Roman kirk, and use of the commoun people therof."

The rumour of the Spanish navie and armie being blazed abroad, great was the feare, fervent were the prayers of the godlie, not without abundance of teares, sighes, and sobs, in tyme of fast; powerfull and piercing were the sermouns of the preachers. Sometimes the report went that they had landed at Dunbar, other times at St Andrewes or Aberdeen, some times at Cromartie. Albeit, the Spanish provisioun for three yeeres past was wondrous great, both by sea and by land, yitt did they conceale their intent so farre as they could, till they were fullie provided. The King of Spaine and the Spaniards caried a revengefull minde against the English,

for the domages they had receaved by Hawkins, Christmasse, Ryman, and Drakes, by sea; for aiding the Hollanders, for interteaning Don Antonio, competitour to the crowne of Portugall, crowned in Lisbone. He was no doubt desirous to reduce England to the Roman faith. But his cheefe desire was to possesse himself of this Yle, partlie for the worth of it, partlie to be the more able to subdue the confederat provinces in the Netherlands, and to secure the East and West Indeis. Queen Elizabeth, for two yeeres' space, caused the preachers make knowne to the congregatiouns the King of Spain's preparatioun by sea, the Duke of Parma his extraordinar provisioun in Flanders, and the secreit practises of the Duke of Guise in France for leveing of souldiours, and the dissimulatioun of the Frenche king. So the English were prepared as with one heart for defence and resistance.

M.D.LXXXVIII.

There were manie ancient and strange propheceis concerning this yeere. Excellent astronomers foretold it to be fatall to all estats; and if the world did not perish, yitt there sould be great alteratiouns in kingdoms and empyres, so that, therafter, it sould be called the yeere of wounders. Among other propheceis, this following was most commoun in men's mouthes:—

Post mille expletos a partu virginis annos,
  Et post quingentos rursus ab orbe datos
Octogesimis octavus, mirabilis annus
  Ingruet; is secum tristia fata feret.
Si non, hoc anno, totus malus occidit orbis,
  Si non in nihilum terra fretumque ruent;
Cuncta tamen mundi sursum ibunt, atque retrorsum,
  Imperia, et luctus undique grandis erit.

When after Christ's birth there be expired
Of hundreds, fyfteen yeeres eightie and eight,
Then comes the tyme of dangers to be feared,
And all mankinde with dolours it sall fright.
For if the world in that yeere doe not fall;
If sea and land then perishe, ne decay,
Yitt impyres all and all kingdoms alter sall,
And man to ease himself sall have no way.

Yitt did this, and other like propheceis, resolve onlie upon the invasioun in this Yle. But the Lord disappointed the interprisers, and fought for us.

THE * * GENERALL ASSEMBLIE.

The Generall Assemblie conveenned at Edinburgh in the Little Kirk, upon the sixt of Februar. Exhortatioun being made by Mr Andrew Melvill, Principall of the New Colledge of St Andrewes, Moderator of the last Assemblie, Mr Robert Bruce was chosin Moderator. For the readier expeditioun of maters to be treatted, the Assemblie nominated the king's commissioners, the Maister of Lindsey, my Lord of Altrie, the Laird of Lochbait, the Constable of Dundie, the Tutor of Pitcurr, the Lairds of Colluthie, Caprintoun, Whittinghame, Carnall, Mr Johne Lindsey, one of the Senators of the Colledge of Justice, Johne Johnstoun, one of the Commissioners for Edinburgh, Alexander Scrimgeour, Commissioner for Dundie, William Meinzeis, Mr Robert Pont, Mr David Lindsey, Mr Andrew Melvill, Mr Thomas Buchanan, Mr Peter Blekburne, William Christesone, to concurre with the moderator, and advise upon the speciall maters to be reasouned and treatted in the Assemblie, at extraordinarie houres.

Becaus the Assemblie was extraordinarilie conveenned, for the great dangers which appeared to hang over the kirk and countrie, which were, at lenth, dilated by the moderator, it was propouned,

what might be the readiest way to quenche Poprie, which had spread through all the parts of the countrie. It was thought best, that the barons and gentlemen conveene apart, the commissioners of burrowes apart, and the ministers apart, at foure houres, and advise upon the best overtures they could; and, therafter, propone the same to the moderator and his assessors. The brethrein and commissioners of countreis were desired to give in the names of Papists and Jesuits in writ the nixt day to the full Assemblie; but specialle Mr Peter Blekburne, and Mr Hugh Foullerton, to give in evidences for the provinces where they dwell.

CONCERNING PAPISTS AND PLANTATION OF KIRKS.

Sessioun 3.

Tuiching the heed propouned yesternight concerning a present remedie for purging this land of Papists and idolaters, the noblemen and barons, for their part, presented their advices in writt to the Assemblie, which were read, and by commoun consent of the whole Assemblie thought verie meet and expedient. Alwise, first, it seemed good, that a number of the noblemen, barons, and ministers, sould be directed to his Majestie, to witt, Archibald Erle of Angus, my Lord Marshall, my Lord of Marr, my Lord Altrie, my Lord Sinclair, the Lairds of Coldingknowes, Lochlevin, Tutor of Pitcurr, Constable of Dundie, Mr Alexander Scrimgeour, Johne Adamsone, Mr David Lindsey, Mr Patrik Galloway, David Fergusone, Mr Robert Pont, Mr Peter Blekburne, to conferre and communicat with his Majestie upon the same heed, at suche an houre as they sould receave advertisement from the Chanceller. Followeth the tenor of the said advice:—

THE ADVICE OF THE NOBLEMEN, BARONS, AND GENTLEMEN, TUICHING THE HEED PROPONED IN THE ASSEMBLIE FOR PURGING THE LAND OF IDOLATRIE, AND SEDITIOUS INTYSERS.

1. "That the lawes of the countrie be, without delay, putt to executioun against all Jesuits, seminarie preests, idolaters, and mainteaners of the samine. And for that effect, everie man, als weel of the gentlemen as of the ministrie heere assembled, sall, as they will answere to God, and as they tender his glorie and the weale of his kirk, give up presentlie in catalogue to the moderator and the clerk, the names of suche whom they know and esteeme to be Jesuits, seminarie preests, traffiquers against religioun, recepters, interteaners, or mainteaners of suche persons. The which names sall be givin to Sir Robert Melvill, Treasurer, who hath promised, within forty-eight houres therafter, to dispatche summouns upon them all.

2. "Seing the danger created by the said persons is imminent, and it is true, that the ordinar and formall executioun of the saids lawes sall require a large processe of tyme, his Majestie and counsell to be earnestlie solicited and urged to provide incontinent some extraordinarie remedie for the extraordinarie danger, and execute the same without delay upon the cheefest of the Jesuits and their maintenars; doing as if treason were intended against his Majestie's owne persoun and crowne.

3. "And last, If the Assemblie sall thinke it expedient, the saids noblemen, barons, and gentlemen, presentlie assembled, sall goe together to his Majestie, and regrait the caus of the kirk and commoun weale to his Hienesse, and the danger wherin the libertie of this realme, their lives, and consciences, standeth into, by the craft of Jesuits and traffiquers, who have seduced and stirred up enemeis both intestine and forrane, to bereave them of the samine; and offer themselves, their lives, lands, and freinds, to be imployed at his Majestie's pleasure, for preventioun of their most dangerous attempts and bloodie devices."

Sessioun 5.

Tuiching the diligence of the ministrie in trying the affectioun of the noblemen, barons, and gentlemen, to the religioun, becaus a part heerof hath beene neglected, and shortnesse of tyme, and ignorance pretexed in excuse, the Assemblie exhorteth the brethrein which have beene remisse in doing their duetie heerin, without anie delay to supplee their negligence and travells in all parts where the samine hath beene committed, as they will answere to their duetie; and ordeaneth Mr Nicoll Dagleish, and Mr Adam Johnston, to passe to the Lord Hume, now being in this toun, and preciselie urge an answere in the said mater.

Sessioun 6.

The Lords directed to the king's Majestie reported, they had conferred at lenth with his Grace upon some generall heeds, as namelie, concerning Papists, planting of kirks, discipline, and the poore; of whom they receaved verie good and confortable answeres, as namelie, that there was more mister of executioun against Papists nor advising; and that his Hienesse was glade of the solemnitie of the Assemblie, and before the dissolutioun therof, desired they sould resort to him, where they sould heare farther of his good will. Yitt becaus there were manie particulars under the said generalls, his Grace had appointed six of his counsell to conferre with so manie as the Assemblie on the other side sall appoint, the morne: To the which effect, for the part of the Assemblie, the Assemblie nominated the Lairds of Wedderburne, Colluthie, Caprintoun, Ormestoun, Whittinghame, Johne Johnstoun, Alexander Scrimgeour, William Meinzeis, Oliver Peebles, Mr Robert Pont, Mr David Lindsey, Mr Andrew Melvill, Mr Peter Blekburne.

Sessioun 8.

Tuiching the conference of the brethrein appointed by the Assemblie with the king's commissioners after noone yesterday, report being made by Mr David Lindsey, in name of the rest, that they

had conferred upon two heeds, viz., planting of kirks, and a visitatioun to be had of the dangerous parts of the countrie where Papistrie and corruptioun hath cheefelie made the brasche.[1] And as concerning the planting of kirks, and provisioun, they had found it good that the Laird of Colluthie, Mr Johne Lindsey, the Clerk of Register, and Mr Johne Nicolsone, with suche as the Assemblie sould nominat, sould sitt doun and examine what the summe of the whole thrids will amount to in victuall and money, what is givin out to the kirk, what in pensiouns, and what to the king's hous, that it may be considered how the present necessitie of the kirk may be helped, without prejudice of the full patrimonie therof. And to that effect, desired the Assemblie to nominat for their part, to conveene, as the Chanceller sould give advertisement: to the which the Assemblie nominated Mr David Lindsey, Mr Robert Pont, Mr Thomas Buchanan. And siclyke, it was thought good the Assemblie sould nominat certane persons of the ministrie to visite the dangerous parts of the countrie, wherunto the king's Grace would interpone his authoritie, and joyne certane to concurre with them. For the which effect, the Assemblie hath nominated for the north, Mr Robert Pont, Mr Peter Blekburne, Mr Nicoll Dagleish; Mr David Lindsey, Mr Robert Hepburne, Mr Adam Johnstoun, for the south; the speciall heeds of their commissioun, and the tyme for using therof, to be penned by the said Mr Robert and Mr David.

Sessioun 14.

The articles penned by Mr Robert Pont and Mr James Melvill being presented to the Assemblie, read, and publictlie allowed, were thought meete to be presented to his Grace, by Mr Robert Pont, Mr Andrew Melvill, Mr Patrik Galloway, Mr Peter Blekburne, Mr David Lindsey. The tenor of the articles, with the greeves to be presented to the king's Majestie, followeth:—

[1] Attack.

THE HUMBLE SUTE OF THE KIRK PRESENTLIE CONVEENED AT THE GENERALL ASSEMBLIE TO THE KING'S MAJESTIE.

"Sir, Your Majestie remembreth the caus of conveenning of this Assemblie, at your Hienesse' command; which consisteth principallie in two points: The one, for repressing of Jesuits and other Papists who are entered in this realme, and practise, with their complices, by all meanes to subvert the sinceritie of religioun publictlie professed within the same; and the other, to provide suche meanes, that in tyme comming suche dangerous practises may be avoided and eshewed.

"As to the former two heeds, to give our counsell and advice to your Majestie, as it was devised and appointed we sould doe at this Assemblie, and for the which caus, namelie, the samine was appointed, this is the advice which we thinke most convenient, and the things with all humilitie we sute to be performed; to witt, that some of the principalls of Jesuits, and others, sall instantlie be taikin order with, to give exemple and terrour to the rest; to witt, Mr James Gordon, and Mr William Crichton, who are instantlie in this toun, that they be incontinent called before your Hienesse and counsell, and there to be declared to them how their lives are in your Majestie's hands, for controveening of your Hienesse' lawes, and yitt, of your Grace's clemencie, doeth spaire them: Charging them, in the meane tyme, to remaine in waird within the toun of Edinburgh, untill the tyme of the passing of the first shippes that sall depart, wherin they sall be entered and sent away; and that it be denounced, that incace they returne at anie tyme heerafter in this realme, without your Hienesse' speciall licence, the law sall be executed against them to death, without anie farther processe.

"Nixt, That the Lairds of Fintrie, and Glenbervie younger, and other excommunicated Papists as sall be givin up in bill, sall be called before your Hienesse and Secreit Counsell, and suche things layed to their charge as they are culpable of, according to the lawes and acts of parliament, that the penaltie therof may be executed upon them; and suche as are apostats frome the true reli-

gioun, which once they professed, be called in like maner and punished.

"*Item*, That summouns be presentlie directed against all recepters of Jesuits, seminarie preests, and traffiquers against true religioun; and, likewise, to summoun witnesses, by whose depositiouns they may be convicted of the crimes foresaids; and in speciall, that suche as are of the estate, and are culpable of Papistrie or apostasie, sall on no wise be suffered, but called and convicted therof. And if they be convicted of other crymes, sall on no wise be pardouned untill the tyme they have satisfied als weill the Assemblie as his Majestie and estat. And, generallie, that all noblemen whatsomever without exceptioun, knowne interteaners of Papists, and interprising anie thing contrare the true religion, sall ather be putt presentlie in waird or exiled the countrie.

"As concerning the secund heed, of planting of kirks, this is our advice unto your Hienesse, that commissioners be directed from your Majestie, and from this Generall Assemblie, unto the north and south-west parts in speciall, to the effect that the kirks may be visited, and ministers planted where need requireth, and Papistrie suppressed, which hath overflowed all these parts; the saids commissioners having commissioun and power, als weill of your Majestie as of the kirk, to call before them all that are suspected of perverting true religioun, as revolting therefra; suche, at the least, as they may take order with, and to doe all other things necessar for reformatioun of these parts, and reducing them to good order, providing meanes how the doctrine and discipline may be weill established to remaine heerafter, where they sall passe, and ample commissiouns to be givin to them for this effect. For the which caus, we have nominated in this Assemblie certane brethrein of the ministrie, leaving the nominatioun of others to be joyned with them to your Majestie and counsell. And becaus the said worke cannot passe fordward unlesse there be provisioun also made for the commissioners of the kirk, as ministers, to be planted in necessar places, that certane be deputed from the counsell, with certane of the ministrie, at the least to the number of three on either side, to con-

veene with all good expeditioun, and sight the rolls of the thrids, that it may be considered what may be spaired to that effect. And where the saids thrids have been abused in tymes bypast, to see how the samine may be reformed; and that the act made for discharging of pensiouns out of the thrids and superplus, and proclamatioun past therupon, may take full force and effect, and not be eluded nor frustrated by anie person. The which except it be, the said planting can not take effect.

"And alwise giving power to the saids commissioners to be sent in the countreis, to reforme colledges and schooles; and where the rent therof is abused, to putt convenient remeed thereto, and where it may not serve, to see how it may be helped. And that sufficient men be placed in the rowme of ydle belleis, that consume the patrimonie therof, and doe not their duetie therefore. With power in like maner to depose from the office of the ministrie, and from their benefices, all suche as sall be found unworthie or slanderous in life or doctrine, and that als weill bishops as others.

"Moreover, that it would please your Majestie and Counsell to take some solide order how that the lawes made for punishment of vices which overgoe the whole land, and commissions appointed theranent, may take some good effect and executioun, if the heavie plagues of God which, for that caus, ly upon this land, may be removed, and greater threatned, prevented.

"And, last, that order be taikin with the poore that in suche multituds wander through the countrie without ather law or religioun."

CERTAN GRÆEVES OF THE GENERALL ASSEMBLIE OF SCOTLAND ASSEMBLED IN EDINBURGH, GIVIN IN TO HIS MAJESTIE THE 20TH OF FEBRUAR 1587.

"First, and above all other things, it is an exceeding great greefe to all suche as have anie spunke[1] of the love of God and his kirk, to see Jesuits, seminarie preests, and other teachers of Papistrie

[1] Spark.

and errour, so long to be suffered to pollute this land with idolatrie, corrupt and seduce the people, and spread abroad their poysonable doctrine: to see practisers and traffiquers against the true religioun, and the present libertie of this realme, to be recept, mainteaned, and interteanned, to bring to passe their most dangerous devices and comploits; and the recepters, interteaners, and mainteaners, and professed favourers of both the one and the other, so to abound everie where, and not onlie to be tolerated impune, without executioun of the lawes of the countrie made against suche persouns, but also to have speciall credit, favour, and furtherance, in all their effaires at court, in sessioun, to burgh, in land, throughout all the realme. And, on the other part, to behold the true Word of God contemptuouslie despised by the great multitude, his holie sacraments horriblie profanned by privat, corrupt, and unlawfull persons, the discipline of the kirk nothing sett by, the persons of the ministers and officers within the same invaded, strickin, minassed, and shamefullie abused, themselves beggered, and their famileis shamefullie hungered; and yitt, notwithstanding, nather the lawes made for punishment of idolatrie putt to executioun, nather sufficient lawes made for the libertie and weelefare of the kirk, nor suche as are made caused to take a good effect for removing of the said fearefull enormiteis; lyke as, by the particulars after following, lamentablie compleaned by the severall kirks in everie part of this realme, is more nor manifest.

IN THE SOUTH ABOUT DUMFREIS.

"Mr Johne Durie, Jesuit, corrupting, seducing, and practising to and fro, under the name of Mr William Laing, who, with his complices, had masse within the toun of Dumfreis, before Pasche and Yuile last was; the Lord Hereis, the Laird of Kilquhomate, the Goodman of Drumrushe, Mr Honer Maxwell, commissar, Johne Mackgie, commissar-clerk, Johne Bryce, merchant, Johne Rig, notar, Paul Thomsone, my Ladie Hereis, elder and younger, my Ladie Morton, the Ladie * * the Ladie Tweddail, Papists, apostats, mainteaners, interteaners, and professed favourers of Jesuits.

Item, There is a certane woman that doeth no lesse hurt in Dumfreis than the Jesuits, called Katherine Hairstains: no resorting to heare the Word there, no discipline; holie dayes keeped by plaine commandement and controlling of the deacouns of the crafts; all superstitions, ryotousnesse, at Yuile and Pasche, &c.; no kirks planted there.

THE NORTH.

"Mr James Gordoun, Mr Edmund Hay, Mr Alexander Mackquhirrie, Mr Johne Scot, Mr Alexander Meldrum, Mr Arthure Pantoun, Jesuits, incessantlie corrupting, make residence cheefelie in Murrey, Elly, Boyne, and Strabogie, and Boote; seducing everie where in Buchan, Garioch, Marr, Aberdeen. The houses they commounlie repaire unto are the Laird of Leslie's hous, elder, Andrew Harvie's hous, and his mother, Mr Alexander Leslie of the Peele, excommunicated for Papistrie, the Chanceller's hous of Old Aberdeen, and to young Glenbervie, excommunicated, where they have their house masses at their pleasure; and, namelie, a publict masse erected in the Laird of Leslie's chappell, with two idols above the altar; and there have maried two commoun adulterers, harlots, named Antonie Practur and Jonet Wilsone, who would never give obedience to the kirk.

"*Item*, These Jesuits convcene to the toun of Old Aberdeen, and have their meeting with Papists of the New and Old Toun, diverting manie, and confirming their disciples, dispersing their bookes, and giving of their *Agnus Dei*. And as to the recepters, they are so manie, that few or no honest men are in the whole countrie, that ather for feare or favour have not recept the Jesuits, professed Papists; as namelie, the Bishop of Rosse challenging the personage of * * where Mr Walter Richartson, a minister, persoun, is lawfullie provided, is repossessed, to dispossesse the minister. Siclyke, Mr Patrik Mortoun, an excommunicated preest in * * challenging the personage of * * to dispossesse Mr George Patersone, minister there.

"*Item*, The whole commoun kirks, as Fordice, and the kirks annexed thereto; the kirks of Rathyn, Logilichan, and Kildrynnie, Cabroch, Logymar, are givin to the Erle of Huntlie, to the dispossessing of Mr Gilbert Gairdin, Mr Duncan Davidsone, Mr James Cheyn, and Mr Thomas Melvill, and the whole readers of the said kirks.

"*Item*, There is no visitatioun within the said bounds, by reasoun Mr Peter Blekburne is compelled to desist therefra, by diverse charges of the king's letters, purchassed by the Bishop of Aberdeen; the kirks of Deir are all frustrated of their stipends, and the ministers thereof not * * * . according to their provisioun made in my Lord Marshall's infeftment. The cheefe and principall kirks, Ellon, Fyvie, Tarvesse, Lochy-durnoch, Kyntore, Innerag, destitut altogether of pastors and provisioun, which is a speciall commoun greefe through all the countrie.

IN ROSSE.

"Mr Johne Leslie restored to the bishoprick of Rosse in the last parliament. *Item*, Mr Alexander Leslie, Person of Kirken, in Rosse, newlie provided, a professed Papist, and excommunicated for the same by the Presbyterie of Aberdeen. *Item*, Sir Donald Simsone, Papist, profaner of the sacrament of baptisme, and abuser of mariage. *Item*, Diverse Papists and contemners of the sacraments, whose names follow: Alexander Rosse of Ballingown, Alexander Chisholme of Comer, Alexander Ferme, and Finlay Ferme, his sonne, of Pittellan. And, finallie, there is a great coldnesse amongst all, both gentlemen and commouns, entered in, since the Jesuits had libertie to passe through the countrie, in the tyme of the Erle of Huntlie's lieutenantrie: the kirks are everie where demolished and ruinous, which is a commoun greefe through manie parts of the land.

CATHNESSE.

"The Erle of Sutherland, with his ladie and freinds, Papists, vehementlie suspected latelie to have had masse, and contemners of the Word and Sacraments. *Item*, Verie few ministers there, and all destitute of provisions.

MERNES AND ANGUS.

"William Dowglâs, sonne to the Laird of Glenbervie, hath caused onbesett, at sindrie tymes, two of the ministrie, to witt, Mr George Gladstaines and Mr Andrew Mylne, and that with armed men, at their houses, and lying in wait for them about their houses; and, were not the releefe of God and good men, had taikin their lives.

ANGUS.

"Papists and their mainteaners in the west parts of Angus: Patrik Lord Gray, under the processe of excommunicatioun, Mr Thomas Gray, excommunicated, Sir Johne Fife, preest in Longforgund, David Grahame of Fentrie, excommunicated; James Grahame, younger, hath a brother a Papist. Thomas Abercrumbie of Middlegouide, having subscribed, communicateth not, but continueth a commoun reasoner against religioun, in defence of Papistrie, and receaver of Jesuits, Papists, and seminarie preests; Patrik Lindsay, brother to the Laird of Vane, a reasoner against the truthe in everie place; Mr Andrew Clerk, servitour to my Lord Hume, fugitive in Angus, traffiquing in sindrie places to undermyne the Gospell; avowing himself a Papist, and blasphemouslie railing against the Word, and ministers thereof.

"*Item*, Mr George Haitlie, minister at Abirnyt, cruellie invaded by Thomas Boyd, and in redding of them a man slaine.

FYFE.

"No resorting to the kirk. In manie parts the kirks are ruinous, and destitut of pastors and provisioun in manie parts. There is superstitious keeping of Yuile, Pasche. They compleane that the Lords of the Sessioun keepe not their ordinar dayes, to witt, Wedinsday and Fryday, for calling of the ministers' actiouns.

"*Item*, Mr Thomas Dowglas, minister of Logy, was cruellie invaded by Johne Forret, brother to the Laird of Forret, as he came from his kirk on Sunday, and his blood shed, and no remedie putt therto.

"*Item*, The Abbacie of Dumfermline givin to the Erle of Huntlie, to the which he resorting, bringeth with him flocks of Papists, Jesuits, and excommunicated Papists, as Mr James Gordoun, Mr William Crichtoun, the Laird of Fentrie.

"*Item*, The Bishop of Sanct Andrewes continueth in giving collatioun of benefices to unworthie persouns, by the consent of his assessors; namelie, to Mr William Thomsoun the personage of Fliske, and to Mr Andrew Allane the vicarage of Leuchars.

"*Item*, The said bishop is most injurious to Mr David Spence, withholding from him a whole yeere's stipend, which he was assigned to pay him. And notwithstanding he hath him at the horne, yitt he can gett no payment, nor order of him.

LOTHIAN, PRESBYTERIE OF EDINBURGH.

"Sindrie Papists and seminarie preests confessing themselves to have said masse, and preached Papistrie within this land, being apprehended by the magistrats of Edinburgh, and putt in waird, are sett at libertie without anie punishment, or satisfactioun to the kirk; as by name, Mr Alexander Mackquhirrie, Mr James Scot, and others.

"The Presbyterie of Dalkeith compleaneth, that manie of their kirks are destitute of pastors and provision, unto the which Papists

flocke and resort, and that sindrie of their ministrie are bereft of their stipends by annexatioun, as namelie, Mr Andrew Simsone, whose whole stipend is taikin away, and givin to the Abbot of Newbottle.

MERCE AND TIVIOTDAILL.

"The principall men of the countrie corrupt in religioun, as namelie, the Laird of Edmistoun; my Lord Hume letting his owne kirk ly waist, and mainteanning Mr Andrew Clerk, a malicious enemie to the Gospell, and ministers therof; the whole people readie to revolt from the Evangell, becaus they see the prince carelesse therof; the sacraments profaned by deposed readers, and some that never bare office in the kirk, as namelie, Sir Thomas Ker in Aldroxburgh, Sir Johne Hall in East Tiviotdaill, Robert Hepburne there, Archibald Simsone beside Jedburgh, Johne Scot there, James Scot, called Vicar of Askirk, Thomas Newbitt, Vicar at Hassinden, Thomas Hall in Rowart, Simon Robesone, and some other; manie superstitiouns, pilgrimage, and keeping of holie dayes, &c. *Item*, Professed Papists, Sir John Bennet, excommunicated for Papistrie; the Ladie Phairnihirst, the Ladie Minto, who horriblie usurped the ministratioun of the Supper of the Lord upon Pasche day, with her hands, with bread and water; the Ladie Riddell, Bartill Johne in Simprein. The greatest part of the kirks want ministers, and the Word altogether vilipended by the gentlemen of the countrie.

PRESBYTERIE OF LANERK.

"There is not a minister resident in the toun of Lanerk, howbeit it be the cheefe toun of the shyre, becaus the minister hath other kirks annexed to him, where he findeth a place of residence; and can find none in the said toun, for the vicarage of the said toun is usurped, without collatioun, by Gawin Hamiltoun, servitour to my Lord Chancellor. Therefore, the Chancellor would be solicited in this mater to make his servant leave the said vicarage to the

minister there, according to the act of parliament, and good conscience.

STIRLINE.

"Walter Buchanan, sent to the Goodman of Auchinpryer, and a Flemis woman, his wife, both obdured Papists, and have caused a preest latelie baptize their barne: Maistresse Helene Hay, Maistresse of Livingstoun, a malicious Papist. The Sabbath there is everie where abused; the kirks evill planted, skarse three have a minister; superstitious ceremoneis, pilgrimages to Christ's Well, fasting, festives, bone-fires, girdles, carralls, and suche like.

OF DUMBLANE.

"The Bishop of Dumblane restored, and latelie come home, accompanied with a stranger Frenche man or Italian, supponned by manie probable appearances, by men of great judgement, to be imployed heere in some strange turne. His comming hath encouraged all suspected Papists, and brought the simple in great doubt; for by his authoritie he draweth all with him in the old dance. The ministers are heereby despised and troubled in their livings, and the kirks ruined and desolate.

OF GLASGOW.

"Receavers of Jesuits, the Abbot of Paisley, who also since his last comming in Scotland, refuseth to subscribe and communicat; Archibald Hegat, Clerk of Glasgow, Gawin Grahame, burgesse there, and Robert Aldjo, burgesse of Paisley. These that resort to them are, the Laird of Fintrie, Mr Robert Bruce, and Mr Gilbert Browne. The whole ministers there disappointed of their living, by giving of thrids in pensioun, or setting doun in tacks; and namelie, Mr Johne Bell, minister at Calder, by reasoun of the thrid of the sub-deanrie givin to Mr Johne Grahame.

OF DUMBARTANE.

"The Laird of Fintrie hath seduced the cheefe there, and stollin away the hearts of the commouns, by banketting at Yuile, continuing three dayes, enduring which tyme all Papisticall ceremoneis were used. The Ladie Marr interteaneth in the place of Areskin an excommunicated preest, called Sir Andrew Naismith, whose masse-cloths were ance apprehended, but is sensyne, of new, weill provided therin, and in masse bookes, everie where reasoning and perverting. More, there are great brutes and suspicioun of masses in manie places of the countrie, which have genered in the hearts of the people a contempt of the Word and ministers, who, when they beginne to deale with them with discipline, contemptuouslie despyse the same, and proudlie minasse and boast them in their faces. There is in the Lennox twentie-foure kirks, and not foure ministers amongst them all.

OF AIR.

"Persons refusing to communicat, pretending frivole feeds. Johne Lokhart, burgesse of Air, Johne Kennedie of Brochloch, in Carict, and Gilbert Kennedie, monke of Corceragwell, profane the sacraments, baptize childrein gottin in fornicatioun and adulterie, and others in privat houses and feilds. Thomas Kennidie, tutor of Cassils, a Papist; Sir Johne Mure of Kilmarnock, a Papist and perverter; the Laird of Ladyland in Cunninghame, latelie come home out of Flanders, an apostat, reasoning against the truthe and blaspheming.

"Secundlie, It is greevouslie lamented in all the parts of this realme, that the planting of kirks and floorishing of the religioun is hindered, by want of qualified ministers and teachers, and laike of sufficient provisioun for the same. For how can qualified men be found, except the youth be trained up, and sufficiently instructed in the knowledge of the Scriptures, and course of Theologie, in the

originall languages of the same, wherin the same is writtin; and in the arts of Grammar, Rhetorick, Physick, and Logick, which are necessar instruments to come to the true meaning and sense of the will of God revealed in his Word? And how sall the youth be so trained up, or qualified men take charges upon them in the schooles and the ministrie, so long as the patrimonie of the kirk is so rugged[1] from it, and dispouned to profane persons that can bruike no offices in the kirk, yea, to Papists and enemeis to the same; the rents therof erected in temporall lordships; lawfullie provided pastors dispossessed of their livings, and professed Papists repossessed in the same? This mater, therefore, must be remedied, or then religioun cannot stand; for the onlie way to plant and continue true religioun in this countrie is to repaire universallie through this realme all ruinous kirks, big[2] and repaire parish kirks that are demolished and fallin doun, and to restore again the patrimonie of the kirk to the sustentatioun of the ministrie, schooles, and poore; which cannot be done without the act of annexatioun be retreated and annulled, or at the least, the thrids reduced to their first integritie, according to the old assumptioun, and no superplus to be made whill the ministers and schooles in all parts be sufficientlie stailed, the acts of repossessioun whereby actuall ministers are dispossessed be cassed, and persons unqualified and ydle-bellcis be deposed from benefices, and sufficient men placed in their roomes; and so, a sufficient living be provided for everie kirk, with a commodious gleeb and manse for the residence of the minister therat. And, finallie, that out of the temporall lands, namelie, there be livings sufficient founded for professors and students of Theologie within the New Colledge of St Andrewes and Colledge of Edinburgh, so manie as may make a convenient seminarie for the reteaning and floorishing of learning and religioun within this realme; and this for the present urgent necessitie, till provisioun sufficient be made, and colledges in everie part.

"Thridlie, The great dissolutenesse of life and maneis, with the

[1] Torn. [2] Build.

uglie heapes of all kinde of sinne, lying in everie nuike and part of this land, is most heavilie regraited and deplored. For what part of this land is there that is not with a spait[1] overwhelmed with abusing the blessed name of God; with swearing, perjurie, and lees; with profaning of the Sabboth-day; with mercats, gluttonie, drunkennesse, fighting, playing, dancing, &c.; with rebelling against magistrats and the lawes of the countrie; with blood tuiching blood; with incest, fornicatioun, adultereis; with sacrilcdge, thift, and oppressioun; with false witnesse; and, finallie, all kinde of impietie and wrong: and how can the wrath of God, alreadie kindled, be anie wise quenched, so long as it hath suche mater to burne upon? And albeit there be some good lawes for repressing heerof, yitt none of them are putt in executioun, or take anie effect.

"Fourthlie, and Last, What heart, tuiched with anie sparke of naturall humanitie or godlie charitie, can, unblooding, behold the miserable estat of the poore, vaiging[2] in great troupes and companeis through the countrie, without ather law or religioun?"

Sessioun 16.

The brethrein appointed to give their advices concerning the articles of the Exchecker presented their opinioun, which was read and allowed, and ordeanned to be givin to the said lords. And for concurring with the said lords for the part of the Assemblie, conforme to the said answere, are nominated, Mr Robert Pont, Mr David Lindsey, Mr Adam Johnstoun, and the moderator. Of the which articles and answeres the tenour followeth:—

THE TENOR OF THE SAID ARTICLES, WITH THEIR ANSWERES.

"To remember the Assemblie before their dissolving, incace they sall so thinke convenient, if they will authorize foure, or anie three of them, to deale and conclude tuiching the stipends, als weill of this present yeere 1587, as of the yeeres to come.

"If the things past by Privie Seales to ministers sall stand un-

[1] Inundation. [2] Wandering.

changeable; or sall they be subject to the commoun conditioun of other ministers, as it falleth?

"Sall assignatiouns, in so farre as is alreadie directed this yeere, stand unchanged, and proceed to the rest which is unanswered; or sall we speeke of the whole mater, as if no thing had beene done of before this yeere?"

THE ADVICE OF THE BRETHREIN APPOINTED TO GIVE ANSWERES TO THE FORESAID ARTICLES, PROPONED BY THE LORDS OF EXCHECKER; READ AND ALLOWED BY THE GENERALL ASSEMBLIE.

"As to the First, the brethrein agree, that certane of their number be adjoyned with the lords, modifiers, to perfyte the assignatiouns of this present yeere. As to the concluding of a perpetuall platt, the said brethrein sall have power to confer with the saids lords, and give their advice how a perpetuall platt can be established; and the conclusioun of the saids lords and brethrein sall be sent to everie presbyterie in this realme, that the said presbytereis may give their advice to the nixt Generall Assemblie, concerning all heeds that sall be necessar for to conclude and end the said perpetuall platt. The brethrein nominated heereto by the Assemblie, Mr Robert Pont, Mr David Lindsey, Mr Adam Johnstoun, with the moderator.

"As to the Secund article, their opinioun is, that the assignatioun purchassed under the Privie Seale stand this yeere, and that it sall be advised therafter: and seing that the said assignatiouns be givin for the service of a kirk onlie, and out of the fruicts of the same parish, and be not prejudiciall nor hurtfull to their brethrein serving at other kirks; and that the brethrein whose gifts are rescinded or altered be not anie wise deteriorated, or putt in a worse estat nor they were.

"As to the Thrid article, the brethrein agree, that all assignatiouns past stand as they are givin out, providing that suche as are hurt be reponned to their former assignatiouns, and suche as

have small stipends be augmented, and that suche as have no stipends be sufficientlie provided. And, last, that suche kirks as want stipends and ministers, may be sufficientlie provided of stipends, and men appointed to serve the same, as they sall be admitted in everie presbyterie."

MR P. ADAMSONE CENSURED.

Mr Patrik Adamsone was cited, by the directioun of the Synod of Fife, to compeere before the Generall Assemblie, the secund day therof, with continuation of dayes, to answere for giving collatioun of the vicarage of Leuchars to Mr Andrew Allane, without consent of the Presbyterie of St Andrewes, where the benefice lyeth, and without consent of his assessors; expreslie against the act made by his Majestie and Generall Assemblie. He was called on in the fourth sessioun, but compeared not. He was ordeaned, in the seventh sessioun, to be present at the nixt sessioun. In the eight sessioun, an excuse sent from him was presented to the moderator, bearing in effect, that if he were present, he would onlie seeke the copie of his delatioun; and, therefore, desired a copie, that the processe be not led verballie. The Assemblie directed the minister of Dysert to charge him to compeere personallie. He compeared, and answered, The summouns were negative, wherof he would prove the affirmative; to witt, that he gave collatioun with advice of the most part of his assessors, being exeemed by speciall exceptioun from the presbyterie, in so farre as Mr James Wilkie, Mr Robert Wilkie, and Mr James Martine, gave speciall consent thereto; and produced an instrument, dated the 20th of Aprile 1587, to that effect. Mr Robert denied before the Assemblie that ever he gave consent. Mr James Martine denied he saw instruments taikin therupon. He alledged; likewise, that he required Johne Ure, and other of his assessors, by writt, to come to him for that purpose, but that he refused. Johne Ure granted he was writtin for, but went not to him, nor wrote not, becaus he caried no favour to the bishop, and heard evill brutes of Mr Andrew.

He alledged, likewise, that he had required Mr Adam Mitchell, and other his assessors' presence; that he refused to come, and refused to give his assent, and, therefore, he alledged he had the consents of three of his assessors, and that Johne Ure his taciturnitie was to be taikin for a consent. And, therefore, howbeit Mr Adam Mitchell refused, yitt he had proceeded to the collatioun, with the advice and consent of the most part of his assessors, being seven in number. But the Assemblie findeth that the silence of Johne Ure induceth no consent; and that he had controveened the act, in giving collatioun without the advice and consent of the most part of his assessors. Mr Patrik protested, in respect he had required his assessors, as he alledged, at diverse dyets, they not compeering, he was not holdin to delay the collatioun, but might have proceeded as he did. The Assemblie ordeaned the officer of the kirk to warne them to compeere before them the nixt day, after noone. In the twelveth sessioun [they] judged him, in respect of transgressing the act of the conference, to be worthie of deprivatioun; but before anie sentence be pronounced, the Assemblie willeth their brethrein appointed to present their articles to the king, to informe his Majestie of their proceedings against him. In the sixteene sessioun, it was voted in the Assemblie that he had incurred the paine of the act, viz., deprivatioun from his office of Commissionarie, and substitute in his rowme Mr Thomas Buchanan, till the nixt Assemblie.

In the elleventh sessioun he was delated for giving collatioun to Mr Patrik Thomsone of the parsonage of Flisk, without the advice of his assessors; and of the vicarage of * * * to a childe of ellevin yeere old, it being a benefice of cure. He being present, answered, that both the one and the other were done before the act of the conference, and that the Bishops of St Andrewes are bound to the Erle of Rothesse to doe the first, by an old indenture. I find no farther of this point.

In the fyfteenth sessioun, the brethrein who deduced the processe in St Andrewes against a witche presentlie deteaned in prissoun, were ordeaned to subscribe the same authenticklie, that it

might be delivered to the counsell of Edinburgh. Mr James Melvill was ordeaned to travell in the coast side, for mater of dittay against her. Appearandlie this was the witche that the bishop was familiar with.

MR R. MONTGOMRIE.

Mr Robert Montgomrie, at his supplicatioun, the Assemblie, having taikin consideratioun of the processe led against him, and circumstances of that mater, findeth he may be admitted pastor over a flocke where he hath not beene slanderous, providing he be found qualified in life and doctrine.

FOR REPARATION OF KIRKS.

It was ordeaned, in the fyft sessioun, that an article sould be givin in to the king, bearing regrait for the decay of certane kirks which are ruinous, and without haistie repaire are not able to be remedied, namelie, Glasgow, Dumfermline, Dumblane; and that his Majestie sould be desired to interpone his power to caus the Erle of Huntlie, now Abbot of Dumfermline, to repaire Dumfermline, the Bishop of Dumblane, Dumblane. And for repairing of Glasgow, to take order that the leid fallin, or like to fall, may be employed to the sclating and repairing therof, which would be a great part of the charges.

Sessioun 6.

The Assemblie thinketh meete, considering the present necessitie of the ministrie, that his Majestie may be intreatted to grant to the act devised by the Lords of the Exchecker, of the thrids, in favour of planting of the kirks; and to establish the samine by act of Secreit Counsell, and that without prejudice of anie farther benefite or right givin and granted to them by Acts of Parliament made in their favours.

AN ACT.

Sessioun 10.

Tuiching the forme of repentance prescribed for adulterie, homicids, and other offenders, who were ordeaned before, by acts of the Generall Assemblie, to make satisfactioun before the synod; seing, in manie parts of the countrie the penitents, at suche times of the yeere whén synods are holdin, are at their lawfull traffique out of the countrie, it is found expedient in tymes comming, where presbytereis are weill ordered and established in the judgement of the synod, that the penitents sall performe their satisfaction before the presbytereis, in the same forme that they were accustomed before the synods. Where presbytereis are not weill ordered or constituted, as yitt, in the judgement of their synods, that the accustomed order be keeped.

VISITERS.

Sessioun 14.

The Assemblie, understanding the great necessitie of visitatioun in the north and south, where Jesuits and Papists cheefelie resort, and have overthrowne the greater part, not onlie of the simple, but also of the better sort, with the unhappie seed of Poprie; and with all, weyghing the great perrell als weill alreadie fallin furth, as that which may after ensue, have givin power and commissioun to their brethrein, Mr Robert Pont, Mr Peter Blckburne, Mr Nicoll Dagleish, for the north parts, from Dee to the Diocie of Cathnesse, inclusive; to Mr David Lindsay, Mr Robert Hepburne, and Mr Adam Johnstoun, for the south-west parts, viz., the Shirefdoms of Galloway, Nithesdaill, Air, and Lennox, including the Ile of Boote; Mr George Monro for the bounds of Orkney; to visite the said bounds as they be above divided; and therin to plant kirks with qualifeid ministers; depose and deprive suche as be unqualifeid, whether in

life or doctrine, als weill bishops as others of the ministrie; to crave of all men, als weill of high estat as others, subscription to the Confession of Faith, and participatioun of the Lord's Supper; to trie, call, and conveene, Papists and apostats, and to proceid against them conforme to the acts of the Assemblie. And, finallie, to doe all other things that are necessarie for reformatioun of the saids bounds, and reducing them to a good order, establishing of the Evangell, and good discipline of the kirk, firme and stable, holding, etc.

Sessioun 15.

All ministers within their parishes sall travell diligentlie with the noblemen, barons, and gentlemen, to subscribe the Confession of Faith; and to report their diligence to the nixt Assemblie.

VISITERS CONTINUED.

As for the ordinar commissioneirs of countreis or provinces, becaus they were ordeaned to be continued from the last Assemblie to the nixt, and this Assemblie hath beene extraordinar, they are continued in their charges till the nixt Assemblie, except that Mr Robert Inneis, in place of Mr Robert Grahame, is appointed for visitatioun of Cathnesse, Mr Thomas Buchanan for Fife, Mr George Monro for Orkney.

JAMES GIBSON SUSPENDED FROM THE MINISTRIE.

In the eight sessioun, the Lord Privie Seale, directed from the king, declared, that his Hienesse was informed that James Gibsone, minister of Pencaitland, had promised to the brethrein upon the conference, to satisfie the king for some words uttered in his sermoun; and willed the Assemblie to inquire at the said brethrein what he had promised, and to see if the samine had beene performed; if not, that satisfaction be made to his Hienesse' honour. James Gibsone being called, confessed he had promised to the brethrein that which he had not performed; and that he was induced

to the said promise through infirmitie, meaning the feare of danger to the kirk in generall, and the destitutioun of his owne flocke in particular; but that he did know, or find nothing in his owne conscience wherin he had offended his Majestie in anie thing he spake. The Assemblie ordeanned him to be present at the privie conference after noone. In the nynth sessioun, the Chanceller being present, desired the brethrein to consider if the said James had not offended his Majestie, not onlie in that he uttered the words following in his sermoun, to witt, that "he thought before that James Stewart, Ladie Jesabell, and William Stewart, had beene the persecuters of the kirk; but now, he findeth plainlie by experience that the king himself hath beene the persecuter. As Jeroboam, for the erecting of idolatrie, and permitting the same, was the last of his posteritie, so, he feared, if he continued, he sould conclude his race;"—but also, in that he acknowledging to the brethrein of the conference that he offended his Hienesse, he had promised to make satisfactioun, but had failed and brokin promise? The said James was called, but compeered not. The Chanceller desired the moderator to referre to the votes of the Assemblie, whether the words above specified were offensive. Becaus none offered to reasoun against his desire, he proponed the questioun in the same termes; and so the brethrein for the most part voted affirmative the said words to be offensive. In the tenth sessioun he compeered, and was ordeanned to be present after noone, that is, in the elleventh sessioun, to heare that mater reasouned. Sindrie brethrein who satt neere him heard him promise to compeere; yitt, being often tymes called, he compeered not. The Assemblie findeth him contumax for not compeering, nor sending anie reasonable excuse of his absence. In the 13th sessioun, the Chanceller declared, that for the king's commissioners they had considered the articles penned by the brethrein for planting of kirks, and thought a great part therof sould be granted; but desired the Assemblie to determine in the actioun concerning James Gibsone. He alledged the Assemblie had proceeded thus farre, that the words produced in writt were alreadie found by the Assemblie offensive; nixt, that he had confessed the uttering of the samine, and promised satisfactioun and repentance:

but being cited to present himself before the Assemblie, was declared contumax. So resteth, said he, to consider of the penalteis deserved by him. But becaus some brethrein oppouned that they heard not anie suche confessioun, he produced Mr David Lindsey, Mr Peter Blekburne, my Lord Privie Seale, Sir Robert Melvill, Mr Nicoll Dagleish, witnesses. They being all sworne, deponned in opin Assemblie as followeth: The said Mr David Lindsey deponing, that in the conference and reasoning had with the said James in the galrie, at command of the Assemblie, the said James confessed the words conteaned in the writting. Sir Robert Melvill deponeth, that in the galrie he demanded at the said James, if he spake the words conteaned in the writting; who answered, he could not deny the same. Mr Peter Blekburne, my Lord Blantyre, confirmeth to Mr David. Mr Nicol Dagleish deponeth, that at the tyme of the conference, when as he was present, that James Gibson alledged that he spake this, That Captan James and Ladie Jesabell were not the onlie persecuters, but the king also; but denyeth that he spake thir words, that the king of himself, or by himself, was the persecuter. And the last words concerning Jeroboam, he declared, he spake by a comminatioun. Upon the depositiouns followed this sentence of suspensioun following:—

"Tuiching the actioun concerning James Gibsone, seing it is alreadie found by the most part of the votes of the Assemblie, that the words following are offensive, to witt, 'I wount before that James Stewart, and Ladie Jesabell, and William Stewart, had beene the persecuters of the kirk; but now, I find plainlie by experience that the king himself hath beene the persecuter. As Jeroboam, for erecting of idolatrie, and permitting therof, was the last of his posteritie, so, I feare, if he continue, that he sall conclude his race.' And that the said James being cited by the voice of the moderator to be present, to have answered in the said mater, for not compeerance is alreadie declared contumax; and that it hath beene sufficientlie verified before the said Assemblie, by depositiouns of diverse of the brethrein, who heard the said James his confessioun of speeking therof: Therefore, the Assemblie present, advising with the said mater, for the most part voted and adjudged

the said James to be suspended from his office and functioun of the ministrie, during the will of the Assemblie."

In the 16th sessioun, at the king's desire, it was ordeanned that the sentence sould be extracted by the clerk of the Assemblie, and subscribed by him; and libertie was granted that the samine might be intimated in the pulpits of the kirks of Edinburgh. I have often heard that Mr Robert Bruce was admonished in his dreame the night before, not to be present at the pronouncing of this sentence. He thought he heard these words following, "*Ne intersis condemnationi servi Dei.*"

MR JOHNE COWPER TRANSPORTED TO GLASGOW.

In the tenth sessioun, my Lord Privie Seale desired Mr Johne Cowper to be removed from Edinburgh to Glasgow. Mr Walter Balcalquall alledged he was bound by an act of the sessioun of the kirk of Edinburgh to them, as their ordinar minister. Mr Walter was ordeanned to produce the act after noone. The mater being reasouned in the twelve sessioun, and the reasouns of the counsell of the toun being heard, the Assemblie remitted the acceptatioun of the ministrie at Glasgow to his owne choice, and ordeanned him to resolve. In the fourteenth sessioun, he declared his willingnesse to be admitted minister of Glasgow. The Assemblie therefore ordeanned him to be admitted by the Presbyterie of Glasgow. Johne Adamsone, one of the commissioners of Edinburgh, was ordeanned to intimat his resolution to the counsell of the toun. Soone after, William Little, Proveist of Edinburgh, and Johne Johnstoun of Elphinstoun, directed from the toun counsell, desired the Assemblie to requeist Mr Robert Bruce to accept the charge of the ministrie at their kirk upon him, which he had not yitt done; and, if they could not find presentlie one to be placed in Mr Johne Cowper's roome, that they would give libertie to the Presbyterie of Edinburgh to transport suche a one to that vacant place as they could agree with, the touns speciallie excepted by the acts of the kirk being exeemed, which was granted.

A FAST APPOINTED.

The nixt Generall Assemblie was appointed to be holdin at Edinburgh the first Tuisday of August, betuixt and which tyme a generall fast was appointed to be keeped universallie the first two Sundayes of Julie. The causes are these following: 1. The universall conspiraceis of the enemeis of the truthe against Christ's kirk, to putt in executioun the bloodie determinatioun of the Councell of Trent. 2. The flocking home of Jesuits and Papists to subvert the kirk within this countrie. 3. The defectioun of a great number frome the truthe. 4. The conspiraceis intended against the samine by great men, interteaners of Jesuits and Papists. 5. The coldnesse of professors. 6. The wracke of the patrimonie of the kirk, abundance of bloodshed, adultereis, incest, and all kinde of iniquitie.

A ROAD PROCLAMED.

Upon the sixth of Februar there was a proclamatioun at the mercat croce of Edinburgh, making mentioun, that the Lord Hereis being constituted Wardan of the West Marches, had not onlie beene negligent in discharging his office, but also had erected masse, taikin up the houses of sindrie of the king's counsellers, shott the ministers out of Dumfreis, and, therefore, that he was charged to answere, but had disobeyed. The lieges, therefore, on this side of Forth, and within the shirefdoms of Perth, Fife, the stewartrie of Stratherne, &c., were commanded to repaire to Edinburgh upon the fyft of Marche, to accompanie his Majestie, who was to passe in persoun to the west borders.

SUSPICIOUN OF A CONSPIRACIE.

Upon the 16th of Februar, the courteours were informed that the Lord Hammiltoun, Huntlie, Hereis, Glencarne, Paisley, and the rest

of their associats, were conveenned at Linlithquo. The king sent Patrik Murrey, one of his speciall courteours, to Huntlie, to learne the certantie. Huntlie assured him they intended no alteratioun, and promised to come in to the king. The king, pretending to goe furth to the hunting, mett with Huntlie at Cramond. He came in with the king to Halyrudhous, and lay in the king's owne chamber; was weill lyked of by the king, for what causes it was not knowne. The Lord Hereis came the same night to the king's chamber, and conferred with the king.

THE KING REFUSETH TO CHANGE THE OFFICERS OF ESTATE.

In the end of Marche Huntlie returned from the north. He, Montrose, Crawfurd, Hammiltoun, and Paisley, came to court. They desired some officers of estat to be changed. The king not yeelding, they delay further persute, till the king went over to Dumfermline, to a bankett prepared by the Erle of Huntlie. They desired that Huntlie might be made captan of the Castell of Edinburgh, Lord Claud chanceller, Colonell Stewart captan of the guarde. But the king did not yitt yeeld. The king answered to Huntlie, "If yee have sent for these noble men, treate them weill; but I minde not to change anie officer of estat for the present." Some say, Atholl, Claud Hammiltoun, Rothesse, and the Maister of Livingstoun, were there, that the Lord Hammiltoun and Glencarne were ignorant of their intentiouns; and referre this to the eleventh or twelve of Aprile. The day after this motioun was made the king riseth earlie in the morning, rydeth to Burlie, before manie of the court understood of it. So the noblemen went everie one their owne wayes, disappointed of their intentioun. The king returned to Edinburgh upon the 14th of Aprile. Chanceller Matlane mett him weill accompanied at the Queen's Ferrie, being advertised so to doe.

THE KING'S ROAD TO THE SOUTH.

The king taketh journey toward the south. From Tiviotdaill he went to the Merce. Manie of the toun of Berwick came furth to meete him at Berwick bounds, and at his departure gave him a volie. The king sent to the cannoneers an hundreth peece of gold. At this tyme he entered some persons in England for bills, as Hunthill, Greenheed, Robert Elliot of Ridhous, and releëved others.

MAXWELL APPREHENDED AND WAIRDED.

After the king returned from the Merce to Edinburgh, understanding that the Lord Maxwell had waiged souldiours to be in readinesse when the King of Spain's armie sould come, he tooke up a guard of men of warre both on horse and foote, upon the 15th of May. The lieges within the shirefdoms be-south Forth, the shirefdoms of Perth, Forfar, the stewartreis of Stratherne and Menteith, were commanded by opin proclamatioun to be in readinesse, within six houres after the nixt proclamatioun, to follow the king or his lieutenant. At the nixt proclamatioun they were charged to repaire to Biggar, the 25th of May, with ten dayes' victuall: Maxwell fortified the Castell of Lochmabane, and tooke himself to a ship, for his owne safetie, till the king were forced to returne. When the king came to Dumfreis, he directed his heralds to summoun the Castell of Lochmabane, and, in the meane tyme, sent Sir William Stewart, brother to Captan James Stewart, some tyme Erle of Arran, to persue Maxwell. Sir William persued so hotelie, that Maxwell, forsaiking the shippe, tooke him to the shippe boat and fled.. Sir William seazed on the shippe, and therafter followed Maxwell to land, and, finding him in a coathous, apprehended him, and brought him to Dumfreis. The king committed him to the custodie of Dumlamrig, till he was further advised. It is recorded by some, that Maxwell's shippe was lying

before Kirkcudbright, when Sir William persued him; and that he withdrew himself from the ship, accompanied onlie with one of his followers, in a cocke-boat, toward Ilsa; and upon the backe of that yle he found a fisher-boat, wherin he came to land over against the Abbey of Croceraguell in Carict. Becaus he could gett no entrance in the Abbey, he was forced to retire to an oastler hous[1] in the toun, to gett his dinner. Whill he is at dinner, six or seven gentlemen were breaking up the doores of the hous. He fleeth to the wood, where he was taikin in a cave upon the fyft of June, by Sir William Stewart. Upon Saturday, the eight of June, Sir William Stewart went to the Castell of Lochmabane, and craved a parlee, which was granted. He offered safetie to the captan and his companie, if they would come in the king's will. The captan, Mr David Maxwell, brother to the Laird of Cowhill, randered upon the Lord's day, the nynth of June. The captan, and five of the cheefe of his companie, were hanged before the castell gate. The king alledged that he had made no promise, but that Sir William had counterfoote his hand-writt. The rest were sent to Dumfreis, but their lives were spaired. Seventeene that were in the shippe with Maxwell himself were hanged. Sir William gott the spoile both of the shippe and of the castell. Robert Maxwell, brother to the Lord Maxwell, vexed the countrie about in the meane tyme, burning, killing, and spoiling. In end, fearing to be betrayed by some of his owne, [he] convoyed himself secreetlie from them. The king remained in the south till the 27th of June, and then, committing the governement of the countrie to the Erle of Angus, returned to Edinburgh, and brought with him the Lord Maxwell, who was warded into Robert Gourlaye's hous in Edinburgh, and committed to the custodie of Sir William Stewart.

SIR WILLIAM STEWART SLAINE.

Upon the tenth of Julie, there fell furth a controversie betuixt Bothwell and Sir William Stewart, in the king's owne presence,

[1] Hostelrie, or inn.

where eache one gave other the lee. Sir William disdainfullie bade Bothwell kisse his arse. Bothwell vowed to kisse his arse where few sould be to red. The king went over the water; Bothwell and Huntlie stayed in the Abbey. Sir William comming doun the High Street of Edinburgh, upon the penult of Julie, Bothwell invaded him. Sir William stobbed one of his companie, and left his sword sticking in him: Bothwell persued after him, and stobbed him with his rapper. Sir William fleeth to a hollow celler, where they stobbed him with whingers whill he was dispatched. When the king returned to the Palace of Halyrudhous, Bothwell stayed, as nothing affrayed for the king.

THE ERLE OF ANGUS' DEATH.

About this tyme, Archibald Erle of Angus departed this life, taikin away, as was vehementlie suspected, by witchecraft, and was therafter transported to the kirk of Abernethie, where he was solemnelie buried. William Dowglas of Glenbervie succeeded to the erledome of Angus, William Dowglas of Lochlevin to the erledome of Morton. This erle was the seventeenth Erle of Angus, and the nynth of the surname of Dowglas, the thrid named Archibald; more religious nor anie of his predecessors, yea, nor anie of all the erles in the countrie, muche beloved of the godlie. The king was wount commounlie to call him "The Ministers' King." He gave a prooffe of his religioun and pietie at his last and greatest extremitie; for howbeit he was assured that he was bewitched, yitt refused he all helpe by witches, but referred the event to God. It was constantlie reported that his bodie pynned and melted away with sweates, and, in the meane tyme, the witches were turning his picture in waxe before a fire.

CAPTAN SEMPILL APPREHENDED, ESCAPETH.

About this tyme Captan Sempill came to this countrie, with the Spanish gold to the Popish lords. The king directed Carmichaell

to apprehend him, which he did; but Huntlie rescued him perforce from Carmichaell, and would not suffer him to be wairded. The king came over the water that same verie night, and being informed what Huntlie had done, commanded him, under the paine of treasoun, to present Colonell Sempill. Huntlie obeyed, and Colonell Sempill was wairded in Robert Gourlaye's hous in Edinburgh; but soone after brake waird and escaped, and that by Huntlie's moyen and assistance.

PREPARATION FOR RESISTANCE TO THE LANDING OF THE SPANIARDS.

Upon the fyft of August, a proclamatioun was made at the mercat croce of Edinburgh, wherin were discovered the dangers imminent to religioun, arising ather from intestine enemeis the Papists, or Spaniards and other enemeis without. The band devised before, for maintenance of the truthe, was ratified, commissioun givin to certane noble men, and others particularlie named. They are charged to conveene the forces of everie shire within the realme, as occasioun sall be offered, for defence of the said professioun, his Majestie's estate, and withstanding of strangers to land within his Hienesse' bounds, as also, to make proclamatiouns for conveening of his Majestie's subjects, as they sall thinke good, at suche times as they sall thinke meete, and as hath beene accustomed in tymes bypast; and to sett bale-fires upon hills, for gathering of the subjects, as was used before; and command the subjects to rise under the paine of losse of life, lands, and goods: that there be frequent musters throughout the whole kingdome, be-south Forth, upon the 20th of this instant; beyond Forth, upon the last day of this instant moneth. There was, at this tyme, a great rumor, that there was a huge armie of the Spaniards upon the seas, purposing to land in Scotland, and to passe through it to England; but it had beene a deere passage to Scotland.

THE * * GENERALL ASSEMBLIE.

The Generall Assemblie conveened at Edinburgh in the Little Kirk, the sixt of August. Exhortatioun being made by Mr Robert Bruce, Mr Thomas Buchanan was chosin Moderator. Mr Robert Bruce, Mr Robert Pont, Mr David Lindsey, Mr Johne Robertsone, Mr Johne Keith, and Mr Peter Blckburne, Mr James Balfour, Mr Robert Hepburne, Johne Durie, Mr James Nicolsone, Mr Andrew Melvill, David Fergusone, James Andersone, Mr Andrew Young, Mr Andrew Mylne, Mr Andrew Hay, Johne Porterfeild, George Gordoun, Johne Clappertoun, Mr Andrew Clayhills, the Maister of Lindsey, the Laird of Lochlevin, the Tutor of Pitcurr, the Laird of Elphingstoun, the Laird of Kerse, Johne Johnstoun of Elphingstoun, were nominated assessors, to concurre with the Moderator, and to give their advice and counsell at certane houres, in all maters which are to come before the Assemblie.

DANGERS FROM PAPISTS TO BE PREVENTED.

Sessioun 2.

Forasmuche as it is thought expedient, that in the frequencie of this Assemblie, the most necessar things be first handled; and that there are certane generalls, which, before all others, come to be resolved, namelie, concerning the present dangers imminent to the kirk of Christ within this realme, and to the commoun wealth therof, by the arrivall of forrane natiouns, as Spaniards and barbars: as also, the danger and decay of religioun, by the raritie and povertie of the ministers of the Evangell, occasiouned by the continuall spoilzie of the patrimonie of the kirk: For the first, the Assemblie hath thought, for their part and duetie in this behalfe, that a Fast be proclamed the morne, by the ordinar teacher in the Kirk of Edinburgh, to be continued in the said toun, with supplicatiouns to God, and continuall exhortatiouns to be used the whole

weeke, by the brethrein underwrittin. The dayes of fasting to be, the Thursday and Sunday nixt. And likewise, the samine Fast to be keeped upon the said Sunday, by so manie kirks about this toun as may have the opportunitie. And for using the said exhortatiouns in this meane tyme, appointeth the brethrein following, viz., Mr Walter Balcalquall upon Wedinsday after noone; and upon Thursday in the morning at seven houres, Mr Johne Craig; at five houres after noone, Mr Patrik Simsone. Upon Fryday, at eight houres, David Fergusone; and after noone, James Andersone. Saturday; before noone, Johne Durie, and Mr James Robertsone, after noone. On Sunday before noone, in the New Kirk, Mr James Balfour, incace of the absence of Mr Robert Bruce; and in the High Kirk, after noone, Mr Johne Knox: and these brethrein to lay out the dangers of the saids enemeis, and circumstances therof to the people, exhorting them to the defence of the true religioun, libertie of the countrie, and maintenance of the king's Majestie.

And becaus, of duetie also, they ought to putt his Hienesse in minde of the saids dangers, that his Majestie, with concurrence of the nobilitie and realme, may provide for tymous defence, they ordeane their brethrein, Mr David Lindsey and Johne Duncansone, the morne in the morning, to passe over to his Hienesse to that effect, and to crave some present order for the Papists; wheranent, to receave injunctiouns from the assessors at five houres.

As concerning the secund heed, of the raritie and povertie of the ministrie, the Assemblie hath desired the Laird of Colluthie, the Proveist of Edinburgh, Johne Johnstoun, Mr David Lindsey, Mr Robert Pont, and David Fergusone, to take a consideratioun of the estate of the thrids; what quantitie is dispouned to the ministrie, what the superplus, and to give their advice how the present necessitie of the kirk may be releeved.

Ordeane a Commissioun of Justitiarie to be craved of the king's Majestie and Counsell, to be granted to the persons underwrittin, or anie three of them; to witt, my Lord Chanceller, my Lord Justice-Clerk, his deput, the Treasurer or his deput, the Clerk of Regi-

ster, Mr Johne Grahame, Mr Johne Lindsay, the Captane of the Castell, the Laird of Merchinstoun, the Laird of Elphinston, the Proveist of Edinburgh, Johne Johnstoun, Mr Johne Schairp, Mr Johne Nicolsone; giving them power, as Justices in that part, to punishe suche crimes as in speciall sall be givin in ticket by Mr David Lindsay; and ordeans the presbytereis therof to give in the names of Papists excommunicats, and mainteaners of them, to their commissioner, to the effect they may be presented to the saids Justicers.

Sessioun 5.

Forasmuche as the Assemblie is informed, that there is a shipp latelie arrived in this Firth from Dunkirk, which is suspected to be a spy, wherout of also there is landed a man, as appeareth, of some marke; and albeit the Assemblie, with the counsell present, hath desired the proveist and bailliffes of Edinburgh to manne the shipp, and take the men, and keepe them whill his Majestie come over; yitt it is reported they refuse, in respect it will be hinderance to their traffique; the brethrein thinke it meete that Mr Robert Bruce, Mr Andrew Hay, and Mr Andrew Melvill, passe to the Chanceller, and understand of the said answere; offer unto his Lordship all their concurrence to requeist the toun.

Sessioun 7.

Report being made by the brethrein of the conference, and certane others past out of the Assemblie with them, by Mr David Lindsay, of the king's Majestie his good minde and earnest affectioun to the defence of the true religioun, and of his commoun wealth, against the forrane enemeis, of his Majestie's singular and good will offered therunto, the Assemblie most heartfullie thanked God for the same, and ordeanned the right honourable the Lairds of Colluthie and Dundas, with their brethrein, to witt, Mr Robert Bruce, Mr Patrik Galloway, Mr Andrew Melvill, and David Fergusone, to passe unto his Majestie after noone, giving unto him most humble thanks in name of the whole kirk, and to exhort his Majes-

tie to continue in that good minde, to the glorie of God, and singular confort of his Hienesse' subjects.

PROVISIOUN TO MINISTERS.

Sessioun 11.

It was found expedient, before anie other sute be made to his Majestie, that Mr Robert Bruce, Mr David Lindsay, Mr Johne Craig, be directed to his Hienesse, to understand by what meanes the religioun sould be mainteaned within the realme. They were presentlie sent furth, and ordeaned to bring backe the king's answere with expeditioun.

In the fyft sessioun it was enacted as followeth :—"Forasmuche as since the late act of annexatioun, his Majestie hath transferred the right of the patronage of diverse benefices from his Hienesse to diverse temporall men, as erles, lords, barons, and others; and hath annexed the samine unto his lords and lairds, of whom some have gottin confirmatioun therof in parliament, others have obteaned the same since the said parliament, and the thrid sort have gottin gift of the naiked patronage allanerlie, to the evident danger, hurt, and prejudice of the whole kirk: Wherefore, it is thought good, his Majestie be supplicated by earnest sute and supplicatioun, that the saids dispositiouns, authorized as said is by parliament, may be brought backe in the nixt parliament, and suche others as have sensyne beene granted since the said parliament may, in like maner, be annulled. And, in the meane tyme, that it would please his Majestie to close his hands from disponing the said right of patronage, and transferring the same from his Majestie, which as yitt remain undisponed; and that his Majestie will provide, that the commissioners and presbytereis to whom the collatioun apperteaneth of the saids benefices, be not processed nor horned for not giving of admissioun therupon: inhibiting, in the meane tyme, all commissioners and presbytereis, that they on no wise give collatioun or admissioun to anie person presented by the said new pa-

trons, as is above specified, untill the nixt Generall Assemblie of the kirk."

In the 13 sessioun, all ministers and pastors were exhorted to opin up publictlie in their sermons the prejudice done to the whole kirk by the spoile of the patrimonie therof, and publictlie to disallow and oppone against the commoun abuse therof.

In the same sessioun, the Assemblie understanding the appearand ruine and decay of the Evangell within this realme, for fault of provisioun of ministers, and interteanement of schooles and colledges, hath thought good and expedient to give their commissioun, and by the tenour heerof, to committ full power to their loved brethrein underwrittin: they are to say, Mr Robert Pont, Mr Robert Bruce, Mr David Lindsey, Mr Adam Johnstoun, Mr Johne Craig, Mr Andrew Mylne, Mr Thomas Buchanan, Mr Andrew Hay, Johne Porterfield, Mr Peter Blekburne, Johne Duncansone, David Fergusone, Mr William Stirline, Mr Gilbert Gairdin, ministers of the Evangell, or anie seven of them, to compeere before his Majestie and counsell on Moonday nixt, or some other day his Majestie and counsell sall appoint, to call, confer, reasoun, and advise upon the said heed; and to crave humblie of his Majestie, that the ministers' and readers' assignatiouns may be yeerelie givin out at Allhallowmasse, and that suche as are provided alreadie of their stipends *ad vitam*, and others that are content with the assignatiouns alreadie made to them, be unaltered therin, whill they may obteane better provisioun; and to that effect, to travell earnestlie with his Majestie and counsell, and to report again answere to the nixt Generall Assemblie of the kirk, firme and stable, &c.

MR P. ADAMSONE ACCUSED.

The Presbyterie of Edinburgh having agreed with the Erle of Huntlie, that if he would subscribe the Confessioun of Faith, his mariage sould be solemnized, sindrie of the ministrie were forbiddin, and speciallie Mr Patrik Adamsone, called Bishop of St Andrewes, to celebrat his mariage, till he subscribed the Confessioun of Faith;

with certificatioun, if they did, they sould be called before the Generall Assemblie. Notwithstanding of this admonitioun, Patrik, called Bishop of St Andrewes, solemnized the said mariage upon the 21st of Julie, wherupon he was cited before this Assemblie. He being called, Mr Thomas Wilsone, his procurator, produced a testimoniall of his sickenesse, and desired the brethrein, in his name, that they would rather suffer him to depart in peace, nor to disquiet him in his sickenesse. The Assemblie findeth the testimoniall not sufficient to excuse his absence. In the fourth sessioun, Mr Thomas was enquired if he had anie mandat to compeere for Mr Patrik, and if he would take in hand to wairne him to compeere before them before their dissolving, or then produce a sufficient testimoniall of his sickenesse. He answered he had no power, but compeered *excusatorio nomine*. The Assemblie findeth it expedient, to take away all pretext, that he be wairned to compeere before them upon the twelveth of this instant, to answere according to the first summouns; with certificatioun, if he compeere not, they will proceed so farre as they may, according to the law of God, and with a good conscience. He was called on in the ellevinth sessioun, to answere for the solemnizing of the mariage of George Erle of Huntlie and his spous, contrare to the inhibitioun of the moderator of the Presbyterie of Edinburgh, and commissioners of the Generall Assemblie, and for suche other things as sould be layed to his charge. Mr Thomas Wilsone compeered for him, and produced a testimoniall of his sickenesse. Although they found the testimoniall not altogether sufficient, they gave commissioun to the Presbyterie of Edinburgh to summoun him to compeere before them, at suche convenient tymes as they thinke expedient, to answere for the actioun conteanned in the said summouns, and for suche other complaints and accusatiouns as sall be in particular givin in against him, namelie, by Mr Robert and Mr Adam Johnstoun, to heare and consider his defences, and to proceed and give sentence, as the Assemblie itself might doe, according to the law of God, good order, and discipline of the kirk.

VISITORS AND COMMISSIONERS.

Sessioun 13.

Forasmuche as in default of visitatioun of the north parts, where cheefelie greatest necessitie is, have great inconveniences followed, albeit no wise in default of the brethrein appointed to that charge, but for laike of provisioun and expenses, the assignatioun for their charges being made to be payed by the Bishop of St Andrewes, who, contemptuouslie disobeying good order, lyeth at the horne; it is not the lesse found expedient that the brethrein to whom commissioun was givin of before, sall yitt undertake the burthein of the said commissioun, their charges and expences to be assigned unto them out of some readie payment; and that to this effect, the commissioners of thé north, Mr Johne Keith, Mr Gilbert Gairdin, and Mr Alexander Rawsone, sall travell with the Lords of the Exchecker, and dilate the necessitie of their visitatioun, and crave the same assignatioun to be altered, and the commissioners' payment more commodiouslie appointed. Tuiching the ordinar commissioners and visiters of the kirk, nominateth the persons following, viz., for Orkney, Thomas Swintoun; for Cathnesse, Mr Robert Inneis; for Rosse, Mr Johne Robertsone; for Murrey, Mr Alexander Dowglas, for whose better support the brethrein requeisteth the Bishop of Murrey to give his aide to further the discipline there: and for assessors to the said Mr Alexander, has appointed Mr Johne Forrester, William Dumbar, Mr Johne Keith, with the rest of the assessors granted to the former commissioner. For Bamf, Mr George Hay; for Aberdeene, Mr Peter Blekburne; ordeaning the bishop there to concurre with him in the ministrie of the said kirk, als weill in his presence as absence. For Angus and Mernes, the Superintendent of Angus: alwise, in respect of the infirmitie of the said superintendent, giveth power to their brother, William Christesone, to designe the manses and gleebs within the said bounds. For Fyfe, Mr Thomas Buchanan; for Dumblane, James Andersone;

for Nithisdaill, Mr Johne Howesone, ordeaning the Presbyterie of Glasgow to provide for his absence in his place; and the brethrein directed to the Exchecker to be carefull that some reasonable remedie be made to beare his charges. For Lothian, Mr David Lindsey; for Merce, Tiviotdaill, and Tweeddaill, Johne Clappertoun; for Galloway, Johne Duncansone; for Kyle, Carict, and Cunninghame, Mr Johne Porterfeild; for Cliddisdaill, Renfrew, and Lennox, Mr Andrew Hay; for Dunkelden and Perth, Mr Patrik Galloway.

ACTS FOR THE POORE.

Sessioun 3.

Forasmuche as universallie through the realme there is nather religioun nor discipline with the poore, but the most part live in filthie adulterie, incest, fornicatioun, their barnes unbaptized, and themselves never resort to the kirk, nor participat the sacraments; therefore, it is thought expedient that all ministers in their parish kirks sall make intimatioun, and denounce to all poore that sall ather be parochiners or resort to them, having weomen and barnes, that if they report not sufficient testimoniall of their parochiners, and baptizing of barnes, so manie as have wives and barnes, and siclyke, where they have participated the holie communioun, that they will be refused of their almous at the hands of all good and charitable persons; exhorting also their parochiners that they rather extend their liberalitie to suche as be of the houshold of faith; and have discreit judgement in giving anie suche persons their almous that give not evidence to them as said is.

AGAINST BURIALL IN KIRKS.

Sessioun 5.

Forasmuche as in no countrie where anie religioun is allowed, it

is permitted that the deid be buried in the kirks; and that, albeit inhibitioun hath beene diverse times made for avoiding of that abuse, neverthelesse, the acts and constitutions of the kirk are daylie brokin, therefore, the Assemblie inhibiteth that anie person in tyme comming be buried in the kirk; and that no ministers give consent thereto, but directlie oppone thereto: Certifeing suche persons as sall be the authors and inbringers of the dead to the said kirk, that they sall be suspended from the benefits of the kirk whill they make publict repentance therefore; and the minister that giveth his consent, or dischargeth not his conscience in opponing thereto, sall be suspended from his functioun of the ministrie. And to the effect this act may have better executioun, supplicatioun sall be made to his Majestie, that an ordinance may passe by his Hienesse and counsell, discharging the said buriall within kirks, and siclyke erecting of tombes, and laying of thruches in kirk-yairds, under suche paines as his Hienesse and counsell please to devise.

A FAST THE FIRST DAY OF EVERIE ASSEMBLIE.

Sessioun 14.

According to the laudable custome observed among the ancients, of humiliatioun and fasting of the pastors before their assemblie, the brethrein and Assemblie have thought meete, and by ordinance statuted, that in tyme comming, when it sall please God to conveene the Generall Assemblie of this realme, that the first day of the Assemblie, at the place and toun where they conveene, a publict fast and humiliatioun be of the whole inhabitants therof, als weill as of the pastors there conveenned; and the chaire of veritie als weill occupied before noone in the morning, as after noone by the ordinar pastors therof, the tyme and houres of the exhortatioun made before the Assemblie being keeped as of before, to the effect it may please God to give his blessing to the conventioun, and good issue to their travells. And becaus the nixt Assemblie is concluded to be in Edinburgh, the pastors therof are ordeaned to give intima-

tioun heerof to the congregatioun the Sunday before the said Assemblie.

QUESTIONS.

The questioun being moved, If a man convicted of adulterie six yeeres since, satisfeing the kirk by repentance, and now presented to serve in the ministrie, sould be admitted or not? it was answered negativelie, That he ought not to be admitted. Questiouns and bills remitted to the full Assemblie, which have not receaved answere, the brethrein remitt the decisioun of them to the commissioners which are appointed to attend upon his Majestie, giving them full power to decide.

COMMISSIOUN FOR PAPISTS.

In the thritteenth sessioun, the Assemblie giveth full power and authoritie to the Presbyterie of Edinburgh to call before them Papists and apostats which sall happin to resort to court, or to the said toun; and in speciall, to summoun my Lord Setoun, the Erle of Huntlie, William Schaw, Johne Chisholme, Colonell Stewart, and to proceed against them, and everie one of them, according to the acts of the Assemblie. In the nynth sessioun, Mr Robert Bruce, Mr Andrew Melvill, John Duncansone, were directed to crave of the Erle of Huntlie subscriptioun to the Confessioun of Faith.

J. GIBSONE PURGED OF CONTUMACIE.

James Gibsone gave in his supplicatioun in the sixt sessioun, desiring to be heard, to purge himself of contumacie for non-compeerance at the last Assemblie. The Assemblie referred him to the privie conference. They report after noone to the Assemblie, that he hath declared of his conscience the caus of his absence was nather rebellion, stubburnnesse, or evill will, but onlie the good affectioun he had to the weale of the kirk in generall, being

informed, that if he compeered, and [had] not beene punished, the effaires of the kirk would have beene rejected by the king. The brethrein thought this declaratioun sufficient to purge him of contumacie.

MR R. BRUCE REFUSETH AS YITT TO ACCEPT AN ORDINAR CHARGE IN EDINBURGH.

The commissioner for the toun of Edinburgh desired the Assemblie to requeist Mr Robert Bruce to accept upon him the ordinar charge of the ministrie in their toun; which they promised to doe when he came to the Assemblie. In the tenth sessioun, Mr Robert being heard, answered, that he would not presentlie accept the said ordinar place. Alwise offered his labours, as he had done of before, till the nixt Assemblie. The Assemblie thought it not expedient to urge him farther for the present. In the thritteenth sessioun, the commissioner for Edinburgh desired the Assemblie to ratifie and approve the calling of Mr William Watsone to the ministrie in Edinburgh; which was done in his owne presence, howbeit he himself was desirous of transportatioun, but was refused.

THE OVERTHROW OF THE SPANISH ARMADA.

"The Spanish fleete, the best furnished that hath beene seene upon the Westerne seas, and arrogantlie intituled "The Invincible Armado," loused out of the river Tagus, beside Lisbon, the 30th of May. The Dukes of Guise and Parma expected the armie sooner, and were prepared at the beginning of June, according to the king's appointment, better than they were afterward. The sommer being halfe spent, they doubted whether he would send his armie this yeere or not. But the King of Spaine could not helpe it; for his shippes were provided at diverse ports, and by reasoun of contrarie winds, could not be moved. With muche adoe, the fleete after some dayes came to Groyne in Galicia.

Upon the 12th of Julie, Alphonsus Peresius, Duke of Medina,

generall of the fleete, departed from the Groyne. Within one or two dayes after, he sent advertisement to the Duke of Parma that the fleete was approaching. Upon the 16th day, the Spanish fleete was scattered with the wind blowing roughlie, and hardlie could be gathered till they came within sight of England, the 19th day of Julie. The Admirall of England being advertised, brought furth the English fleete to the sea. The English give them leave to hold on their course, and when they were passed by, came behind them. The admirall sent upon the 21st of Julie a pinnage before, called the Defiance, to denounce battell, by shootting of some pecces. Others followed, and thundered upon the hindmost shippes. After two houres' fight, the English admirall thought it good not to continue longer, seing that 40 shippes were absent, which were skarse drawin out of Plimmouth haven. Upon the 23d of Julie, the Spaniards having a favourable north wind, turned saile upon the English; the English fetched about a compasse for the wind. They fought confusedlie for a while; yitt the Spanish shipps were so high, that the shotts went over the English, but the English had a faire marke to shoot at. Yitt the admirall would not suffer the English to boord their shippes, becaus they had a full armie, which he had not; and the English could not so conveniently grapple with them that were above them. If they had beene overcome, it would have putt the whole kingdom in hazard.

The Spaniards hold on their course again, and sent to the Duke of Parma advertisement to joyne with all speed. The English resolve not to sett on the enemeis till they came to the Strait of Calice, but followed after them. Upon the 27th of Julie, the Spaniards cast anker neere to Calice; for their seamen wairned them, that if they went anie further they might perhaps be drivin by the force of the tyde into the north sea. There were an hundreth fourtie shippes in the English fleete, yitt onlie fyfteene boore the burthein of the battell. The Spaniard sent to the Duke of Parma, to send fourtie fleeboates, becaus they could not fight with the English for the greatnesse and slownesse of their owne shipps; and intreatted him to come to the sea with his armie. But the

duke was unprovided, and the ports of Dunkirk and Newport were besett by the Hollanders and Zelanders; yitt he did what he could. The nixt day the English admirall tooke eight of the worst shippes, and filled them with mater fitt for fire, which, by helpe of the winde, were sett full secreitlie in the night upon the Spanish fleet, as they lay at anker. The Spaniards seing the flamme shyning, and giving light all over, and supposing the shippes, besides the danger of fire, to be furnished with deadlie ingynes to make horrible destructioun among them, raised a wofull cry. Some pulled up ankers, others for haste cutt their cables; and so they fled confusedlie, for feare of the fierie shippes, some to the opin ocean, some for feare were drivin upon the shallowes of the shoare of Flanders. The Spanish fleete beganne to gather themselves together again before Graveling. Drake, Fenner, Fentoun, and after the admirall and others joyning together, came upon them. The duke and his vice-admirall, with others, had much adoe to gett out of the shallowes whill they were susteaning the force of the English; manie of their shippes were pierced and torne. Upon the last of Julie the Spaniards strived to recover the straits again: they were drivin toward Zealand, where they were like to be cast upon the shallowes. The wind turning, they gott out of the shallowes, and beganne to consult what to doe. [They] resolved to returne to Spaine by the Northerne seas, becaus they wanted manie necessars, speciallie shott, and had no hope that the Duke of Parma could bring furth his forces. So they tooke their course toward the north. The English admirall appointed Seymer and the Hollanders to watche upon the coast of Flanders, to stoppe the Duke of Parma from comming furth. He himself followed the Spaniards upon their backes, till they were past Lothiane Firth. The Spaniards seing all hopes to faile, were drivin about Britane by Scotland, Orkney, Ireland, tossed and shaikin with tempests. Manie of their shippes were cast away upon the coasts of Scotland and Ireland, and other northerne parts. So this great navie, rigged out, after three yeeres' preparatioun, with great coast, was overthrowne within one moneth, and returned home much impaired,

and with great shame. Wherupon was stamped in England a coyne, with a navie fleing at full saile, and this inscriptioun, "*Venit, vidit, fugit;*" another with shippes fired, the navie confounded, and with this inscriptioun, "*Dux fœmina facti.*"

Thus have yee the summe of that discourse which is made by Carletoun and Camdene, which is sufficient for this our historie. If anie desire farther informatioun of this great overthrow, lett them read Stow, and others who have writtin amplie of that subject. This great deliverance is never to be forgottin by us or our posteritie; for it was the intentioun of the cruell Spaniard to extirpat the native inhabitants, and to plant themselves in their roomes. It was, therefore, no small mater of joy and confort of the godlie, to heare that the great and invincible Armado was scattered, and to see hundreths of their enemeis cast away upon our coasts, to wander abroad through our countrie begging. They found greater clemencie and charitie nor they ather deserved or expected. Some of the shippes were taikin and spoiled by the English, in the narrow seas; some were taikin by the Hollanders; some, driven through necessitie, landed in Scotland, but the most part perished upon the Irish coast. The Duke of Medina arived in Spaine about the end of September, and of all the royall navie he caried furth, there returned onlie threescore saile sore distressed. Skarse was there anie familie of note in Spaine which had not lost a kinsman or a neere allie.

THE POPISH LORDS TRAFFIQUE WITH THE SPANIARDS.

Notwithstanding of this notable overthrow of the Spanish Armado, the traffiquing Papists in this countrie ceassed not from their traffique; like the serpent, which being cutt and wounded in diverse places, still stirreth and minasseth. The Popish lords, Huntlie and his confederats, still solicited the Spaniards to come to this countrie. They drew Bothwell to their factioun. He waged men of warre, pretending he was to goe to the Lewes, and obteaned a warrant from the king to caus the toun of Edinburgh pay him five thow-

sand merks. They refusing, he said he sould caus the carles of Edinburgh dryte him a thowsand crowns, in despite of their hearts. Upon Thursday, the thrid of October, he urged James Nicoll, merchant, to find cautioun to come to him to Crichtoun the day following, under the paine of foure thowsand merkes. Becaus he refused, he tooke him captive to Crichtoun. The citicens threatned to pull Bothwell out of Crichtoun by the eares, and to make his hous equall with the ground. The magistrats sent some of the citicens to the king to complaine. Bothwell, fearing the king and the toun of Edinburgh, sett James Nicoll at libertie, and so gained nothing but shame and discredit to himself.

AN UNIVERSALL FAST.

There was a fast keeped through the whole countrie for the notable deliverie God had givin from the invasioun attempted by the cruell Spaniard, which beganne upon Saturday, the nynteenth of October, and continued three Sabboth dayes, wherwith was joyned the celebratioun of the Lord's Supper.

Colonell Stewart returned from Denmark the 17th of November, with answere, that the king had appointed his sonne as successour, to performe that which was treatted upon concerning the matche.

HUNTLIE MADE CAPTAN OF THE GUARDE.

A conventioun was holdin at Halyrudhous the 28th of November. Huntlie was made captan of the guarde, and the Maister of Glames removed from that charge. Huntlie and his factioun stayed with the king, who stayed all this winter in the Abbey. They dealt earnestlie with the king to remove from the court the Chanceller, Treasurer, and other officers of estat, or ellis to change them; but could not as yitt perswade him.

APPENDIX.

THE TESTAMENT OF MR JAMES LAWSONE, SOME TIME FIRST MINISTER OF EDINBURGH, IN SCOTLAND, MADE IN HIS EXILE, AT HIS DECEASE IN LONDOUN, THE ''' DAY OF 1584; FALSE AND FAINED BY BISHOP ADAMSONE.

"I, Mr James Lawsone, a man of obscure birth and parentage, knowne first in my povertie by my educatioun and good literature, and therafter, more famous by promotioun and opinioun popular; now in a forrane land, called by God's pleasure from the miserable servitude of this bodie and mortall life to the esperance of happie libertie and life eternall, and moved by instigatioun divine, to direct to my countrie men this my latter will and testament, whereby my conscience may be discharged, and the contrarious opinions which the diversitie of men's phantaseis and affectiouns might otherwise collect, may be satisfeid: wherin I heartilie crave patience of the reader in my single and round dealing, becaus I am in the time of naked veritie, where dissimulatioun and hypocrisie has no farther place; as also, to receave that which I am to propone, as proceeding from the authoritie of God's Holie Spirit, and to esteem therof as of mater of weight and importance, as is accustomed to be spokin and intreated at the times of extremiteis, when men's judge-

ment is most resolved, and the tongue most freelie opened, to utter gravelie and solemnlie the weightie concepts and deliberatiouns of the minde, ravished from the worldlie in heavenlie contemplations.

The First Article of the Author's Confession.

1. "I confesse that I have beene in all the course of my life a greevous sinner, offending the Majestie of God, violating his holie lawes, and transgressing his blessed institutions.

2. "I confesse that, by the instigatioun of Sathan, the tempter of the world, I have beene covetous of the vaine wind of man's praise, and have followed, with the first parents, the deadlie apple of ambitioun, wherby I was so upblowne and uplifted, that I altogether disremembered the poore sheild or cottage wherin I was borne, the obscuritie of my parentage, and thought the places and societeis of the prince and nobilitie inferiour to my great deservings.

3. "I confesse I was so carefull to retaine and conserve this unhappie prey of vaine glorie which I had once catched, that stood by interteaning opiniouns of the inconstant multitude, that for the preservatioun therof, I have often times teached affectionatelie in the chaire of veritie, directed rather by popular sermouns to pleasure the seditious affectioun of the multitude, nor for the confort and instructioun of the godlie.

4. "I was in opinioun that all the monarchs, princes, and great men in Christianitie, are manifest tyranns, oppressing their inferiours, and opposing themselves, for the most part, to the establishment of reformed religioun; and, therefore, that all the present estat of princes and noblemen sould be reduced to equalitie and governement, or rather, confusioun popular.

5. "I was in opinioun that all magistrats, of whatsomever kinde or title, sould be elected, receaved, and deposed, by the suffrages and devotioun of the multitude; moved by the exemples of the governement of Israel in the time of their Judges, of the regiment of

the Romans in the dayes of their Consuls, and by the administratioun latelie receaved amongst the Cantons of the Switzers, professors of religioun.

6. "I was in opinioun that the ministrie sould acknowledge no superiour in their professioun, but all sould be equall amongst themselves; and, therefore, damned publictlie the reverend, ancient, and godlie estate of bishops, moved by the exemple of Geneva, who banished their lord and bishop, in the first embracing of our religioun.

7. "I was in opinioun that the ministrie sould receave no certane governement whereto they sould be bound, but detean themselves alwayes in mutable estate under the colour of the apostolick exemple, to be thereby the better coverture and cloake to everie factioun that they sould raise to disquiet the countrie, and so in troubled waters to establishe their supremacie.

8. "I was in opinioun that kings and all estats sould be judged by the ministrie in maters of conscience; which I extended more largelie than ever was meant by the Bishops of Rome, in time of their greatest corruptioun.

9. "I was of opinioun that the ministrie sould be exeemed from all jurisdictioun temporall, in maters of their doctrine, that thereby they might extend their libertie to exclame against the estat and publict lawes of the realme, with impunitie.

10. "I was in opinioun that the king and nobilitie sould be censured, and admonished to receave and obey the lawes and acts of our Assembleis, under the paines of excommunicatioun; and if they disobeyed, to be exauthorized and deposed.

11. "I was in opinioun to degrade all the bishops of our countrie, ather directlie, in condemning of the estate, as was agreed in our Assembleis, under the paines of excommunication, or ellis indirectlie, by calumniating their maners and conversations, wherin I have givin my pernicious consent and counsell.

12. "I was in opinioun that the king, the noblemen, and all the counsell, and all the subjects of the realme, who injoyed anie possessioun or commoditie of the patrimonie of the kirk, sould be

charged to dimitt and renunce the same, by authoritie summar of our Generall Assemblie, under paine of excommunication ; and so to alter the constitutions of the countrie, to dispossesse the greatest part of the nobilitie and gentlemen, and therby to induce a perellous and perpetuall dissensioun in the land.

13. "I was of opinioun that the erles sould not sitt in parliament and counsell, but by commissioun direct from the conventions of barons ; nather the prelats, but by commissioun givin from the authoritie of assembleis of the ministrie ; meaning to induce thereby the like contradictioun among the state of barons, as we have alreadie induced betuixt us and the prelats.

14. "I was in opinioun that weemen for their sexe, and children for their non-age, sould not beare regiment in anie sort of commoun wealth.

15. "I was in opinioun that subjects might judge and correct the maners and abuses of their prince and his counsell ; wherupon, I concluded the *coactam deprivationem* of the Queene of Scotland, the unleasome taking and seasing on the king's person at Ruthven, and the rebellious attempt, in the last usurping of the castell and toun of Stirline.

16. "I was in opinioun that the discipline ecclesiastick sould proceed onlie from the authoritie of the assembleis of ministers, under the pretence of the imitatioun of the apostolick puritie ; and that the princes and estats were bound to obey and execute the conclusiouns of the said assembleis, without contradictioun or oppositioun thereto.

17. "I was in opinioun that the forme of religioun now receaved in England, etc., or ellis where, which is not approved and confirmed with the order observed at Geneva, was superstitious and idolatrous.

18. "I was in opinioun that the ancient counsells and fathers had often times erred in maters of religioun and discipline, and, therefore, might be better informed and corrected by our late and recent doctors, and present Assembleis.

19. "I was in opinioun that subjects might lawfullie invade and

defend in armour, *hostiliter*, against their princes and superiours, for reformatioun of religioun.

20. "I was in opinioun that everie minister might judge upon the acts of parliament, and allow or condemne of them in publict, if the same derogated anie thing to the conclusiouns of the Assembleis; for which caus, I was moved to protest against the late parliament at the Croce of Edinburgh.

21. "I was in opinioun, at my late departure from Scotland, that all the ministers of the realme sould leave their charges; meaning thereby to raise an universall disobedience in the land against the king and the estate; and to provoke the remanent by my exemple, I deserted my flock of Edinburgh, to the great trouble of my conscience.

22. "I was in opinioun that treasoun spokin in pulpit sould be judged of the kirk, and not by the king, in the first instance; and, therefore, I approved the audacitie of Mr Andrew Melvill, who being conveened before the counsell, to answere upon his seditious and treasonable doctrine, provoked and appealed from the king's judgement to his judge competent.

23. "I was in opinioun that the deposing, disheriting, and exiling of all men, of everie and whatsomever estate, refusing to receave and professe the reformed religioun, and discipline established by our Assembleis, was pleasant and acceptable to God.

24. "I was in opinioun that Generall Assemblies sould be conveened in a Christian monarchie and republick, by the absolute power of the kirk, and without the authoritie, knowledge, and consent of the Christian magistrat.

25. "I was in opinioun that they who are called by us Papists are more contrarious and opposite to Christ, and salvatioun in him, than the Jew, Turke, Saracene, or other infidels."

The Second Article of the Author's Repentance.

1. "I repent from my heart the offences which I have committed against my God, craving humblie his pardoun and mercie

in the name and obedience of my Saviour, Jesus Christ, his Sonne; praying that he will not call me to a compt in his rigour, but in his mercie; and sings to him, with the prophet and singer David, 'Lord, in thy wrathe reprove me not, nor in thy furie me correct, etc.'

2. "I repent my proud ambitious presumptiouns, acknowledging I am an unworthie worme of the earth, as short experience will manifest, when this my carcase sall become the food therof; and therefore sings, with the father Job, that I have beene produced naked in the world, and sall depart naked therefra; acknowledging the punishments of God, in this my doole and dejectioun, justlie to falle against me, for my ambitious intentiouns in time of my prosperitie; acknowledging, how vaine it is to putt confidence in creature, or to putt felicitie upon the inconstant wheele of worldlie honours and estimation.

3. "I repent that, in the time of my libertie, my minde and mouth was more inclined to the pleasures of men, and interteanement of their affectiouns toward me, nor the advancement of the glorie of God, kingdome of Christ, and quietnesse of my countrie; and, therefore, I acknowledge that God now in his justice has closed my mouth in this land, wherin I expected and looked for greater refuge and libertie; and now mones, with the prophet David, that I have no place to praise my God in his holie sanctuarie.

4. "I repent that I past the bounds of my calling, and dipped in the maters that were not in my professioun; and acknowledge my errour in determining against the estat of monarchs, princes, and noblemen of Christianitie, becaus they are the ordinances of God, whatsoever they be in their owne maners and conversatioun; and, therefore, who resists the higher powers rebells against God, and who obeyes the higher powers obeyeth in them also God; as the doctrine of the Sonne of God and his apostles verifeis, in the times of the governement of the Roman emperours, albeit infidels in religioun, and tyrannicall usurpators of the Judaick libertie. And becaus the monarchs, princes, and noblemen of Europ, are suspicious of our inclinatioun to obedience, who professe the reformed

religioun, whereby the course and successe therof is this day vehementlie impeded, I exhort all my brethrein and professors of the said religioun to a greater reverence in words, to a greater submissioun, and more obedient reverence in deed, to the authoritie of their princes, in time to come, nor heertofore they have declared.

"As to the forme of establishing of magistrats, whether by successioun or by electioun, both the formes are lawfull, and are authorized by exemples and testimonies from Scripture, in the governement of Israel; as also, by the lawes and exemples of the regiment receaved among the Romans and other nations. Alwise, in this iland, the successioun of princes is more convenient nor the electioun, becaus the same is confirmed by perpetuall lawes and ancient consuetude, the perverting wherof will carie with it a perellous novatioun; and also, by the heritable descent and birth of a prince, God is made a judge to decide that right and pre-eminence, which in our contentious land would hardlie be accorded by electioun.

"I confesse that the ministers sould be answerable to a certane superiour judge of their owne professioun, and that, for good order, and eviting of schismes, sects, and dissentiouns amongst them; otherwise, if all be of equall estate, there will arise, as the learned Augustine sayes, as manie hereseis in the kirk as there are preests; and, therefore, the authoritie of the godlie and discreet governours, who, in antiquitie, were called bishops, is weill constitut in the kirk, and has givin experience in all ages how profitable their governement was in times when the magistrats were Christians, as also, in times when the kirk was unquieted by the multitude of hereseis and cruell persecutions of the bloodie tyranns. And, therefore, I allow not of the fact of the citicens of Geneva, who degraded their lord and bishop, under pretence of contrare religioun; and muche lesse now I approve that now they have not elected their superiour of the former estate.

"And albeit this alteratioun may be debated by some reasonable colours by the authors therof, yitt I cannot be induced to assent that this extraordinar exemple sould bring an universall imitatioun

to alter and change the godlie estat of bishops, cheefelie in the regiment of kings and monarchs, wherin the alteratioun of estats is so perellous. I remember it is writtin in an ancient historie, that the Roman Primacie arose by the dissensions of princes and factiouns in countreis. But that we, in possessioun of reformation, sould aspire by the like meanes, and to the same greatness which we condemne in others, it is not tolerable, without evident arguments of ambitioun and seditious nature, contrare to the works of the Holie Spirit which we professe. And, therefore, I damne the uncertane governement which has beene receaved in our reformed kirk before, and wills the same to be brought in a solide order, partlie from the precepts of Scripture, and partlie from the exemple of the primative constitutions.

"I confesse that Paull taught all soule to be subject to the superiour powers, which the reverend father, Chrysostome, extends to all persons, of all estat and professioun. And, therefore, it is not tolerable by the Scripture, that ministers sould be exeemed from the civill jurisdiction, specially in maters concerning the estate, notwithstanding anie locall or personall immunitie that may be alledged in the contrare therof. There is no good warrant nather from testimonie, from Scripture, doctrine, nor exemple of antiquitie.

"As concerning the ecclesiasticall judgement, I understand the same is concluded in the right administratioun of the spirituall keyes whereby the heavens are opened in the promises of God's merceis to the penitent, and the heavens are closed to the rebellious and impenitent. And so, the preaching and interpretatioun of the Word is the first point of ecclesiasticall judgement, wherupon dependeth the constitutioun and executioun of ecclesiasticall discipline, which ought to be grounded upon mercie and charitie, that thereby the kingdome of God may increasse; and not to be writtin in letters of blood, as were the lawes of Draco, and execute with great severitie, which gave occasiouns of great dissensiouns in the primative Church. Nather sould the cloke of conscience be so farre enlarged to everie mater that falls in controversie, least we appeare to follow that ecclesiasticall tyrannie, which we, in our doctrine, condemne in the

Pope's usurped jurisdictioun. It is but a rare exemple that kings and princes have beene publictlie censured. And, therefore, I would beware in following rare exemples in maters of perellous practise and great importance, becaus, as Demosthenes weill affirmed, '*Vivimus sub legibus, et non sub exemplis.*' It is not read that kings and princes, howbeit of ungodlie professioun and wicked conversatioun, have beene deposed and exauthorized by decreet and assent of pastors, before the time of corruptioun. And, therefore, I disassent that the kirk sall meddle in maters of the prince's crowne, speciallie in the contradictions and questions of policie, discipline, and ceremoneis.

"I confesse, that audacious and ignorant zeale moved me to assent to condemne the necessar, ancient, and godlie estate of bishops; and the samine were the occasiouns of my pernicious counsells to proceed indirectlie against them, by calumniating their maners and conversatioun. I repent that I have presumed to damne that which has beene so lovablie established. I repent that malice has prevailed with me, whereby I have beene sett to enter over-curiouslie in the maners of my brethrein, which exact triell and examinatioun my self is not able to abide; and, therefore, I desire that all our ecclesiasticall censures may be ruled by the law of charitie, not to destroy, but to build up the hous of the Lord.

"As to the restitutioun of the kirk's patrimonie, I grant the same is manifestlie abused, but sould be orderlie redressed, and by the authoritie of the lawes and magistrats; which I doubt not will be done, when it sall please God to move and incline the hearts of the prince and his estats thereto; which is yitt delayed for the punishment of our avaricious intentiouns.

"As concerning the forme and authoritie of Parliament and Counsell, it is not in our professioun to determine therin, wherefore, I referre the same to the practick, consuetude, and positive lawes of our countrie. And if it were leasome to me to interpone my judgement, I would be in opinioun that the multitude sould not have place nor suffrage therin, becaus of confused opiniouns, but rather, the said priviledge to stand in certane places and persons, according

to the ancient erectiouns; which persons I would wishe to be indued with the qualiteis correspondent to the said priviledge.

"I confesse that weomen, childrein, and wicked princes, are givin in God's punishement, as the Scripture testifeis; but yitt, they are the ordinance of God, authorized by good lawes, and, therefore, sould be obeyed; wherin I disassent from the author of the booke called 'The Blast of the Trumpet,' and all others that have written in the argument against the governement of weomen.

"I disassent that subjects sould tak place and authoritie to correct and controll the prince and his counsell; and, therefore, abhorre the late rebelliouns and conspiraceis which have beene attempted by the subjects of Scotland against their naturall prince, contrare all good lawes and exemples, and wherethrough the saids attempters have felt the punishment of God's justice. Wherupon I will exhort my brethrein of the ministrie to a more quiett dispositioun, and all the subjects of our countrie to a better inclinatioun to obedience of their naturall prince, and all the late rebellious attempters to humble themselves to God's mercie and his Majestie's favour.

"Concerning the authoritie of ecclesiasticall discipline, I am in opinioun, that where the Word of God beares an expresse perpetuall command, the same craves a necessarie and universall obedience of all faithfull. But where constitutions by the expressed Word are necessar for the ecclesiasticall policie, that the same sould be institute and authorized by commoun consent of the civill and ecclesiasticall authoritie; becaus, in ceremoneis and constitutions, *quod omnes tangit, ab omnibus approbari debet.*

"Concerning the diversitie of the forme of religioun, now diverselie allowed in diverse countreis and kingdomes professing reformatioun, I am in opinioun, if diversitie be in substance, that the same cannot be imposed *ex imperio partium*, nather by the exemple and prescriptioun of onlie Geneva, but by the generall determinatioun of a councell, conveened by mutuall consent and authoritie of all princes and magistrats professing the reformed religioun. And if the diversitie consist in maters of ceremonie and policie, the nature wherof is not so prejudiciall, becaus it is nather possible nor expedient

that an universall uniformitie be observed in ceremoneis and traditiouns, but rather, it is more profitable and expedient that the same, being agreeable with God's Word, be framed and constitute for the advancement of religioun and service of God, upon the right consideratioun what may be best expedient in respect of the circumstances of the times, persons, and places, leaning alwise to the ground of the law of God and weelefare of the kirk.

"I confesse I have presumptuouslie laboured with my companiouns to diminishe and extenuat the samine, and authoritie of the ancient councells and fathers; as also, in advancing and extolling the conclusiouns of our Assembleis. But now, being more familiar with the grave workes and sentences of the ancients, I am compelled to grant, that there is no comparisoun betuixt their honours and ours, moe nor is betuixt the naturall brightnesse of the sunne and borrowed light of the moone. And, therefore, I confesse, that nixt and after the Scriptures, the authoritie to be attribute to the judgement of primitive councels and ancient fathers, in the determinatioun and compositioun of all thir questions in religion and discipline.

"I have learned from ancient times and exemples, that the armour of Christian subjects is patience in the crosse, and esperance of victorie in the power and promises of God through Jesus Christ: And, therefore, I remember not to have read, that Christian subjects have at anie time armed themselves, in persute or defense, against their princes and magistrats. And therefore esteemes, that all the bookes compyled and made by recent authors, to approve the rebellious Christian subjects against their princes for anie caus, to be perellous and seditious doctrine in a Christiane commoun wealth, seing in the primitive kirk Christians triumphed in patience and suffering, and were crowned with the glorious crowne of martyrdome.

"It is not tolerable, that subjects of whatsomever estat or professioun sall, by privat authoritie, condemne the publict lawes of the magistrat, albeit the same appeare to derogate to privat constitutions. But if the publict law be offensive, it is the part and

office of the subject, of whatsomever professioun, to secke the reformation therof by humble supplicatioun, that the estat of the countrie be not unquietted by suddan and extraordinar novations.

"I repent from my heart that ever this pernicious opinioun entered in it, to perswade the ministrie to desert their vocatiouns, thereby to induce a generall defectioun in this land, and miscontentment against the king and his state; wherin there has entered a multitude of monstruous imperfectiouns, as the contempt of the Word, negligence of the charge, defrauding of the flocke, seditious intentiouns against the prince of the same religioun and profession with us. And, therefore, in remembrance therof, I am brought in great debate of conscience, and had almost succumbed in despaire, if God's mercifull promises had not conforted me. Alwise, my battell is ended with bloodie victorie, and by losse of the life present; and I gladelie yeeld to redeeme myself from troubles of conscience, and inexcusable accusatiouns from my flocke. And for the further satisfactioun and quietting of minde, I crave pardoun frome God, from the king, my soverane, and from my flocke, and from the whole kirke of Scotland, whom I maliciouslie offended and abused, in the unleasome deserting of my said vocatioun, and upon ungodlie intentiouns. I am sorie that the meaning of treasoun sould enter in the heart or in the mouth of the ministers of God's truthe. But if, by the craft of Sathan, men of that professioun be corrupted and abused, to profane the chaire of veritie with the doctrine of devills and treasoun, I am in opinioun, that in all instances, and in all persons of whatsomever estate, the crime of treasoun sould be judged and punished by the civill magistrat. And, therefore, I confesse and avow, that the fault of Mr Andrew Melvill, in declyning the king's judgement, in the accusatioun of treasoun, was temerarious and audacious, without anie warrant of the Word, and exemple in antiquitie.

"I am not perswaded, that men sould be forced or compelled to receave religioun; ather that the mercie of God is pleased with crudelitie; ather that we sould rejoice in the miserie and afflictioun of anie man who beares God's image, whose heart is in the Lord's

hands, to fashioun and frame at his owne pleasure; but rather, men are induced to religioun by doctrine and perswasioun, joyned with instructioun and operatioun of the Holie Spirit, and God the Father of mercie is pleased with mercifull and charitable behaviour: and as the angels of heaven are said to rejoice in the conversioun of sinners, by their exemple we sould also be glade of the conversioun of our brethrein.

"Concerning the authoritie to conveene Generall Assembleis, I learne in the registers of antiquitie, that where the princes and magistrats were Christians, the Generall Assembleis were conveened and assisted by their presences and authoriteis: but where the magistrats were adversars to the truthe, then the kirk, under the crosse of persecutioun, assembled themselves, as God ministred the opportunitie and occasioun.

"Albeit, in burning and vehement indignatioun against suche as were called Papists, I affirmed them to be in equall ranke with infidels, yitt now, when this great ardor is somewhat mitigated, and in this time of my extremiteis, when the passiouns and perturbations of my minde are better composed, and my judgement resolved, I am brought almost in the contrare sentence: becaus, I consider an argument in the articles of faith and salvatioun, and our principall controverseis, to stand upon the diversitie of the interpretation and meaning of Scriptures, in the authoritie and nature of the testimoneis and traditiouns; which questiouns are intreatted with suche injureis on either part, that thereby the said diversiteis are muche aggravated; wherein, I would crave of God a more Christiane, brotherlie, and modest forme of disputatioun, whereby, I doubt not, but greater profite sould be gathered, to the increasse of God's kirk, nor by the blasphemous invections wherewith so manie papers and bookes, by the contradictor writters of this age, are profaned and defiled."

THE THRID ARTICLE: CONCERNING CERTAN EPISTLES DIRECTED TO HIS BRETHREIN, SOME OF THE CHEEFE MINISTERS IN SCOTLAND.

To Mr Andrew Hay, Person of Renfrew.

BROTHER,—There are manie conditiouns and necessiteis betuixt us, whereby our freindship has beene contracted and conserved, and whereby all impediments, generall and particular, heretofore have beene covered. But now, seing I am at this point, ye will please appardoun me, to preferre the veritie above our particular freindship, and the glorie of God above your privat honour, and so distinguishe your maners from the cloke of religioun wherewith ye have covered the corruption therof in times bypast, whereby ye may learne to reforme yourself, and good men may be forewarned of your hypocrisie.

Brother, be remembred, that after yee were entered in the ministrie, and a little before your mariage, yee begatt a daughter in adulterie with Alisoun Weir, spous to Johne Galloway, whereby that mariage and familie was dissolved and skailed. Ye were guiltie of the blood of one called Seigneur Davie, servitour to the king's mother. Ye were heavilie bruted and delated in the late justice courts, for the art and part of the king's father's murther. I ken ye stirred up, by all your moyen and diligence, the attempt against the king's person at Ruthven, as some of the nobilitie that suffered, and some that are yitt alive, testified. Ye travelled by all your moyen to invade the honour and life of the late Duke of Lennox, in raising the kirk to be his contradictor. Ye were in the counsell and device of the usurping of Stirline, and of all the seditious attempts which have beene raised against the king and his estates; for the which, as I am informed, ye have receaved the king's pardoun and remissioun, which is no good evident for a man of your professioun. Ye are so inclyned to companie, that everie night ye passe so merrilie to bed, that men may understand your

intemperancie. I know myself, that after your merrinesse, and in your companionrie, yee have spokin irreverentlie of the king's birth and parents. Yee are so proud and ambitious in your owne opinioun and conceate, that albeit yee be a gentleman of meane birth, qualitie, and estate, yitt ye darre contemne the greatest of the nobilitie in the realme. Ye are so invyous of nature, and prodigall of men's honours, that yee cannot report good of your best freind, and rather ere yee sould laike argument to detract, yee will lee on yourself. Yee are bruited to be a commoun bryber, and to oversee all the corruptiouns within your jurisdictioun, and punishe no man, but ather him that will not, or may not, brybe your good will. Yee have sett your benefice in assedatioun to your brother-in-law, as a mediat person, and for a small duetie, presuming thereby to convoy the commoditie therof to your wife and childrein, after your decease. Yee have named your eldest sonne to succeed in your benefice, and make heritage of the Lord's honour. Yee are so negligent in your studie, that yee are not leasured to preache, and so occupied in companionrie, and embracing seditious attempts, that ye are not leasured to doe good. I heare say, ye have procured the vicarage of Inchemaine to your eldest sonne, by circumventioun of a young gentleman of the name of Maxwell, to whom ye gave your testimoniall and admissioun, in your commissionarie of before. Yee have procured another vicarage of Evendaill to another sonne, with dispensatioun of the charge.

Thir corruptions, brother, and manie moe, are so manifest into you, that, except yee reforme the same, yee cannot have place to reprehend others. Appardoun my familiar and single dytement, proceeding from true love toward you, and affectioun to God's glorie and true religioun; and learne, that God so abhorres hypocrisie, that he will not suffer the same undiscovered, and, therefore, will sometimes mak instruments of the hypocrit's most familiars, as ye may see, by my exemple, of whom I am assured, ye looked not to be disclosed. But if God has destinat me to be that instrument, ye know, I cannot eshew the conclusiouns of his fatal

counsells. And for departing from you, I take my last good night, etc.

To Mr David Lindsay, Minister at Leith.

BROTHER,—I have learned by your conversatioun, that yee are a man double in all your proceedings, and make your advantage of all turnes that come in your maniement. As ye practised latelie in following the Duke of Lennox his intentiouns, so long as he appeared to be the instrument of your advantage; therafter, seing his wheele like to alter, ye putt your hand first to the worke, and was participant of the attempt of Ruthven, and of the said duke's persecution and banishement; and therafter, ye insinuat yourself with the king, as a secreit favourer of the said duke, and offered yourself to serve his Majestie's intentions, in the alteratioun of his competitors, wherupon yee were putt in commission with Colonell Stuart to England; and espying a better advantage at the enemie of England's hands, ye changed your cloke, and joyned in a privat commissioun with Mr Johne Colvill, contrare your former allowance of the duke, and so circumveened the said colonell, that he might weill report, that a souldiour had more truth under the coat of his armour, nor a minister under the syde cloke of his religioun.

Ye are verie negligent in teaching, that ye like rather to be esteemed readie to the Linkes and taverne, nor to your booke or pulpit; becaus your auditors in Leith cannot judge so weill of your theologie, as your companions can discerne your skill in games, and habilitie in taverne craft. Yee have purchassed by money the personage of Restalrig to your sonne, with reservatioun of a great part of the commoditie therof to yourself induring your time. Ye have appropriate the frier's lands of Beritie to your particular and privat use; has fewed them to your wife and childrein after you, and troubles the ancient possessers, burthened with great and honest famileis, of whom ye receave more maledictiouns daylie, nor ye give benedictions in sindrie sermouns. I heare it reported

heere in England, that ye are one of her Majestie's pensioners, which is suspicious, and unseeming in a man of your professioun. When ye were commissioner in the West, it was assuredlie declared to me, that ye had begottin two bairnes in adulterie. Which slaunders and corruptiouns are so intolerable in you, that if yee reform not the same, in my judgement, ye sall bring the religioun itself, and estat of ministrie, in great contempt of the people.

My sickenesse will not suffer me to insist longer with you, and, therefore, I bid you fareweill in the Lord.

To Master George Hay.

BROTHER,—When I remained in the North of Scotland, ye knew I mislyked manie things in you; and, first, that ye possessed two benefices incompatible, the one being distant one hundred and twentie myles from the other, wherof ye are not able to discharge the cure. Ye defend this your corruptioun by the colour of your onlie provisioun from the dayes of the Pope. But if ye have not a better warrant from God and good conscience, I think the Pope's dispensatioun sall not excuse you in the day of the Lord, when ye sall answere for the blood of them that have perished by your negligence. I understand your benefice of Rathene is founded for the interteanement of an hospitall of poore, and ye to be the master therof: with what conscience, then, have ye spoiled the poore, and converted that which is proper unto them, unto the particular use and profite of yourself, and childrein after you? Brother, yee are evill slaundered. It is an odious conqueist to raise up your hous by the spuilzie and oppressioun of the poore; and yee have latelie felt a part of God's punishment, in the suddane decease of your eldest sonne, in the day of his mariage, for whom yee had destinat the unleasome conqueist. I heare, also, by some of your owne name, that ye have unleasomlie ejected them furth of their ancient possessiouns, and has appropriat the samine to the increasse of your said conqueist, wherewith, no doubt, ye will injoy manie and perellous maledictiouns upon yourself and your posteritie.

I know, myself, that ye allow the good companioun at the taverne, and is of sanguinean temperature. And, therefore, your countenance now being solitare, may be suspected, speciallie when suspiciouns are fostered by credible reports. You are so negligent in your office, and so carefull in maters of the world, and preservation of your conqueist, that your sermons are rare, and your residence, for the most part, in attending upon court and sessioun; and when yee remain at your hous, ye fall in suche debate with your nighbour, Mr Gilbert Gardin, a minister not unlike yourself, and a man of a troublous nature, that if a marke of our reformed kirk consisted in unitie, ye would hazard, by your dissentiouns, the whole estate therof. Ye are of a proud and ambitious nature, and stands meekle upon your owne reputatioun, which is a vice of an evill exemple in a man of your professioun. Wherefore, brother, I exhort you in the name of God, that ye repaire thir corruptiouns; and in speciall, to mak restitutioun to the poore, and to provide for your posteritie by lawfull meanes, that God's benedictioun may remaine with you and them, to whose Holie Spirit I committ you.

To Mr Robert Pont, Proveist of the Queen's Hospitall.

Brother,—Albeit I boore good countenance with you, yitt, in conscience, I abhorred diverse corruptiouns. First, although ye professe letters and humanitie, ye are of nature so churlish and untractable, that yee can nather shew your civill offices and dueties to men of better ranke, nather can ye keepe societie with your *pares* and *æquales*; wherin yee give occasioun to men to thinke, that ministers have rejected all humanitie and civill maners, which maks men odious to the people. Ye have affirmed and taught, that it is unsufferable to a minister to injoy pluralitie of functiouns and charges, wherin yee have declared your great hypocrisie; becaus ye yourself, in your acclamed worthinesse, allowes that ye may lawfullie, in your persoun, beare the office of a senator in Sessioun, of a proveist in Hospitalitie, of a preacher in pulpit, and of a bishop or commissioner in dioceis. Ye are of a bussie head, and in ingyne

inclined to the inventiouns of novatiouns, and pertinax, obstinat, and wilfull in mainteaning your perellous inventiouns, that ye cannot be induced to yeeld to reasoun. And, therefore, yee have beene the cheefe author and patron of thir late novatiouns and dissentiouns betuixt the ministrie and estate of bishops, wherin no little trouble and unquietnesse has entered in the kirk. Ye were in the counsell and advice of all the attemptats which have beene latelie interprised against the king's obedience; and most cheefelie, yee withstood the authoritie of the king's late parliament, and was the author of the protestatioun which was made in name of the kirk, at the Croce of Edinburgh. Which vices, brother, I crave heartilie to be reformed, that thereby the better quietnesse may be sett doun in the kirk, to the increasse and advantage of our professioun.

To D. F., J. Durie, J. B., J. Davidsone, N. Dagleish, and remanent Brethrein Ministers, ignorant Zeloters of Religioun.

BRETHER,—Yee have zeale with ignorance, and, therefore, yee are not able to cutt the Lord's bread with discretioun, nather to sow the Lord's seed with measure, nather to open the Word of God with judgement; wherefore, your ministrie is more perellous nor profitable, as has beene provin, by dangerous experience, in our land. Ye are all of an audacious and temerarious nature, bold to dippe in the hid mystereis of theologie, wherein ye have small intelligence. Ye are vehement in railing and reviling your prince and superiours. Ye are seditious, by inflaming subjects against their magistrats. Ye are diligent to comptroll the king's counsell and estats. Yee are muche occupied in invectiouns against the estate of bishops, and in detracting in publict of their maners and behaviours. Ye avowed in publict and in assembleis, that the seazing on the king's persoun at Ruthven, and all the late rebellious attemptats, were lawfull and profitable for the kirk and commoun wealth. Ye are like flammes and firebrands; like to Catiline the Roman conspiratour, everie day to sett and burne your countrie in flammes of intestine seditioun, whereby ye divert all the good men

from the following of our religioun; and in conversatioun and maners, speciallie in drinking and companionrie, in leing and detracting ye may give exemple to the most raylers, and greatest skolds in the countrie. I remember a great part of you, being men of mechanick professioun, or ellis ignorant moonkes, intrused yourself in the functioun of the ministrie in time of confusioun and necessitie. And so, your extraordinarie calling has produced perellous effects in our kirk and countrie. Wherefore, I am in opinioun, that now, in time of better order, and where there is no so great necessitie of men of your qualiteis and dispositions, that by the authoritie of the kirk, ye sall be dispossessed from the usurped possessioun of the ministrie, and remitted again to your former estats and conditiouns; whereby the kirk may be purged from your corruptions, the countrie might be delivered from your trouble, and so better peace and quietnesse may be interteaned among all the estats, to the glory of God and weelefare of our countrie. The Lord grant this good intentioun may enter in the kirk's counsells, and to give you humble and quiett mindes to obey the same.

To Mr Johne Craig, Johne Duncansone, and Mr Peter Blekburne.

BRETHER,—The worthinesse of the places which ye three occupie requires a correspondent worthinesse in your persons. Wherefore, I have thought expedient to admonishe you in the name of God, to reforme some generall and particular corruptiouns in your selves, whereby your ministrie may be more profitable to the honourable places where ye serve. First, ye are all three of an avaritious and greedie nature, which yee know the apostle affirmeth to be the root of all sinne. Ye are malicious and invyfull, which proceeds of an evill spirit, and instigatioun of Satan. Ye are fained and double in all your proceedings, although ye know that single and upright dealing is the cheefe ornament of the ministrie.

And ye, brother, Mr Craig, are vehementlie bruited to be a quiett usurer, albeit ye read in the Scriptures that usurers sall not inherite the Lord's tabernacle. And ye, Johne Duncansone, are

muche addicted to your ease and bellie, and has procured pluralitie of benefices, wherof ye are nather able nor willing to discharge the cure. And as I understand by commoun complaint of the ministrie in the North, our brother, Mr Craig, has conveyed the whole superplus of the fruicts in the diocie of Aberdeene to his particular stipend, whereby the said ministrie is redacted to miserable povertie. And ye, brother, Mr Peter Blekburne, are bruited of a proud and ambitious minde and inclinatioun, and to have learned the lessouns of seditioun and rebellioun against the prince, for troubling the estate by the novatiouns of Mr Andrew Melvill, a man whom I would wishe to be of more quiett dispositioun.

Ye are bruted to exerce your discipline with suche severitie and austeritie, that thereby ye are like to eject moe men from the kirk nor ye are by your doctrine to adjoyne thereto, albeit ye know that over great severitie used by the fathers in ancient times gave great occasiouns to the rysings of schismes and heresis, whereby the unitie of the kirk was miserablie confounded. Wherefore, I exhort you all, then, to amend thir forsaid corruptiouns, whereby your honorable audience may be instructed by your doctrine, and taught by the better exemple of your behaviour and conversatioun.

ADMONITIONS TO MRS ANDREW AND JAMES MELVILLS, PATRIK GALLOWAY, WALTER BALCALQUALL, JAMES CARMICHAEL, AND ANDREW POLWART, FUGITIVE BRETHREIN, NOW PRESENT IN ENGLAND.

Bretiher,—My conscience is vehementlie troubled, when I remember that I deserted my vocatioun and flocke without just caus; and, speciallie, upon the intentioun to raise a commoun trouble in the countrie, and miscontentment in the subjects against my naturall prince. In which intentioun and course, brethrein, yee heere present, and the greatest part of the ministrie at home, were all associat, and communed with me; wherof I can find no warrant, nather out of the Word, nor by exemple of the primitive kirk, nor yitt firme, solide, or good reason; but rather, in the contrare, to be

increasse of my displeasure: the more diligent and earnest that I am to seeke the warrant of my conscience in this unhappie attemptat, I find the greater difficultie therin. And, therefore, am brought in conscience to damne our course and intentiouns, and exhort you all, with myself, to convert to the onlie and soverane remeid, which is, the mercie of our God, the clemencie of our prince, and pitie of our flockes. In my opinioun, this is the onlie warrant and releefe of our afflicted and sorrowfull conscience, and sall give and minister, by our conversatioun and conversioun, a godlie and profitable exemple to the noblemen, banished heere for the like caus, to follow and embrace the semblable remeed.

We are more than blind, brether, if we see not our greater thraldome in bodie and conscience, in this land of our refuge, nor we perceaved in our own native countrie; which is the punishement of God for our deservings, and abuse of the great libertie which we injoyed at home. See we not, that a woman raignes head in policie, both temporall and spirituall, in this land of England, against our sound of the Blast of the Trumpet, and against our protestatiouns made by us of the late act of Parliament? And so, we are forced to suffer, in a forrane land, that which we thought intolerable in our owne kingdome. We see the estat of bishops authorised in this realme, with great honours and immunitcis, against the determinatioun of our Generall Assembleis. We see ancient ceremoneis and traditiouns receaved in the externall religioun, which we reckon to be superstitioun and idolatrie. And where the puritie of godlie reformatioun? No man has place heere to teache in pulpit or schooles, but by the testimonie of the bishop his ordinar, against the authoritie of our presbytereis. We see the bishops are judges above pastors, contrare to our pretended equalitie in the estate of the kirk. And so, to conclude, in seeking libertie we have found servitude; in seeking puritie we have found corruptioun; whereof, I desire you all to gather this admonitioun, That God has compelled us, in our adversitie, to learne, that we unreasonablie usurped in our owne countrie that no other natioun can permitt, and which is not expedient nor tolerable for us to injoy.

THE FOURTH ARTICLE: CONCERNING CERTAN EXHORTATIONS DIRECTED BY THE AUTHOR TO THE PERSONS FOLLOWING:—

1. *To the Queen's Majestie of England.*

Albeit, most honourable princesse, it is not pertinent that I, a stranger, sall seeme curious in your commoun wealth; yitt, becaus I am borne in this island, and at this time in your Majestie's protectioun, in testimonie of my great minde for your benevolence, and to redeeme your honour from blame and reproache, I have, with your Majestie's patience, taikin boldnesse to indyte, in time of my extremitie, thir few lynes, which, in all submissioun and humilitie, I present unto your Hienesse, wherin I crave your pardoun, in the naikednesse and simplicitie of my words and argument, proceeding always from a whole minde, albeit the judging in bodie be now debilitat.

First, I consider that your Majestie has propouned your owne particular standing and securitie to be the end of all your high counsells and deliberatiouns. To come at anes, and to conserve this felicitie, your Grace, (with your pardoun,) as is reported, followes manie unlawfull meanes. It is said, that ye kindle and foster the flammes of dissensioun in all the kingdoms of Europe, wherin the floorishing estate of Flanders, France, Spaine, Scotland, are presentlie burning, and almost consumed. And becaus thir fires must be nourished by moyen, which your halfe yland may not sufficientlie suppeditat unto you, ye are bruted to spoile and invade, by sea and by land, the goods of all natiouns, without respect or discretioun. It is said, that ye cover unfaithfull and cruell attempts, and the violatioun of the conditioun of peace promised to other princes, under the cloake of the caus and patrocinie of religioun, that no reformatioun may be attempted against you at home. It is spokin, that ye have cruellie slaine, exiled, and imprisoned the greatest part of the noble and ancient blood of your realme, that ye sould not bring furth the birth which might burst

you, as is writtin of the nature of the viper. Ye have absteaned from mariage, albeit to the great reproache of your fame, and contempt of your God. Least credible report sall be receaved, ye reteane the successioun of your crowne uncertane, becaus, if ye sould declare your successour, ye think moe sould looke to the sunne rysing nor to the fall and cadencie therof; speciallie, seing there have appeared so manie bloodie eclipses in your appearing and shyning. It is bruted, that ycc interteane the King of Scotland in esperance of your good will to the crowne of England, as also, to deale in like maner with the hous of Cumberland, pretended contradictor to his Majestie; and that, to assure yourself for the present, and cares not, if ye have quietnesse in your time, what fire and sword sall consume England after you; yea, as the tyranne speekes, if ye stand in the port, though the heaven mixe and confound with the earth therafter.

Madame, I grant it is tolerable and necessar, that princes sould provide for their standing and securitie, speciallie in thir perellous times and age; but yitt, by following godlie, lawfull, and honorable meanes; by peace, amitié, and freindship with princes, their nighbours beside them, which assuredlie are the most certane pillars of quietnesse. And becaus ye are approaching, to stirre and raise the subjects of Christian princes to rebell against their naturall soveranes, under the colour of propagatioun of religioun, the commoun caus of religioun is become thereby suspect and odious to all Christian princes, as though the professours therof intended, in the establishment of the reformed religioun, to deject and overthrow the sceptres and thrones of kings and monarchs. Wherefore, Madame, in respect of the reproaches whereby your vertues and honours are stained amongst all natiouns, I humblie exhort your Majestie to a quiett spirit and dispositioun, speciallie in your age and gray haires; and to permitt your nighbours to governe their owne subjects, as they will answere upon their compt and obedience to the great God, of whom they have receaved their administratioun. Lett your Majestie sattle your owne land and crowne, that your perpetuall fame and memorie may be nobilitat

after you. I exhort your Majestie not to unquiett the young King of Scotland, a prince of all good expectatioun, if his vertuous inclinatioun were not interrupted. Suffer him, without molestatioun, to administer his owne estate, as ye would be suffered in the peaceable administratioun of yours; and if your Majestie lookes to be praised of the commoun weale, nobilitie, and subjects, after your deceasse, lett them not have occasioun to reproache you, that ye have regarded more your present standing and securitie, nor respected the commoun weelefare and quietnesse of your kingdome to continue after you. Take good and solide order in your owne time, that the contradictiouns which may arise after you, in the challenging of the crowne of England, may be finallie composed, whereby your name may be blessed in all posteritie; otherwise, remember, that the subjects of England, in the civill armour, will open their mouths to curse your negligence, and to regrate that in your life ye were onlie studious and carefull for your self, and carelesse of the republict. And, therefore, with yourself sall be buried that honour for which ye are this day so contentious.

Remember, Madame, the exemples of the ancient Romans, whose names are in honourable register, becaus they preferred the republict to their owne life; of whom, some degraded themselves willinglie from the publict honours, to pacifie the publict unquietnesse. Remember, in your owne dayes, the voluntarie fact of Charles the V., great Emperour of the Almaines, who, about the yeeres of your owne age, being satisfied with honours worldlie, upon intentioun to quiett his kingdome and subjects, declared in his owne time his successour; and, therafter, contemning the world, gave himself to his privat contemplatiouns: whose end was so honourable and blessed, that his life, name, and death, remaines in worthie and honourable memorie. And seing, Madame, ye are now growne in yeeres, and full in all worthie honours, if ye were assured of a happie and blessed ending, and honourable fame therafter, wherunto, in my opinioun, ye may most assuredlie atteane, if it will please your Majestie to establish the quietnesse of your crowne and subjects in the young King of Scotland, your undoubt-

ed heyre and successour, by whose promotioun and conjunctioun with your good intentiouns, this whole iland shall be reduced to uniformitie, and your Majestie sall be the instrument of establishing a wealthie and potent impyre, whereby your reputatioun sall be greater nor if ye had conquered dominioun in forrane lands and countreis, and the subjects of this iland sall praise and reverence your name in all posteritie. God grant your Majestie to receave this my simple exhortatioun in als good part as the same has proceeded from my single heart and affectioun towards your Grace, and the quietnesse of this iland.

EXHORTATION TO THE KING'S MAJESTIE OF SCOTLAND.

As God hath indued your Majestie with rare and princelie vertues, above all other princes in Europ, sua, he craves of your Grace the right administratioun and dispensatioun of his gifts, in the governement of your kingdome, which he has committed to you; the which commission, as I understand, is givin in two articles: The former is, your obedience to this great God, your superiour; the secund is, in the impyring rightlie above your subjects and your inferiours. In the former, ye are bound to obey the lawes of your God; in the secund, your subjects are bound to obey your lawes and constitutiouns.

But becaus the prince is not able in his owne person to administrat and beare the charge of the whole estate, therefore, the ancient exemples from Holie Scriptures, and precepts of your owne positive lawes, has induced your lieutenants and officiars to comport under the soverane prince, the burthein of the publict estate and effaires in the kingdome; the electioun of whom is the cheefe and best part in the king's governement, that they be chosin men of qualitie correspondent to their charges. And to convert this oratioun to your owne estate, your officiars or lieutenants in your kingdome are of two rankes, according to the constitutioun of your countrie: the one is in the estat ecclesiastick, the other is in the temporall. Give heed, therefore, Sir, that both be advisedlie and

discreetlie elected, seing they are your under pillars, to beare and support the swey and burthein of your estate; but speciallie, Sir, provide that your ecclesiastick officiars be men of good dispositioun, becaus the people and multitude esteeme most of their exemples, in respect their calling and vocatioun is in opinioun to have place in the conscience; as also, if they be men of perverse inclinatioun, in respect they are publict orators, may move alteratioun in your estate. Wherefore, I beseeke your Majestie to be carefull that thir officiars be men of good inclinatioun to peace and to quietnesse, and speciallie to your owne obedience, wherof I grant the number has beene small thir yeeres bygane, wherupon all thir debates have risin in your land, and by the samine men (alas!) yitt are fostered.

The first caus and origine of this enormitie in the ecclesiastick officiars, in my opinioun, proceeded from the dissensiouns in the beginning of the alteratioun of religioun, wherin the first preachers, in defense of their extraordinar calling and proceeding, were forced to impugne the authoritie of the magistrat and kirk for the time. Which libertie being some colour, becaus the magistrat and kirkmen were opposite to the reformatioun offered, has caried with it now a perellous imitatioun; that, albeit the prince and kirkmen be now of uniforme religioun with the ministrie, yitt they ceasse not to innovat and impugne the estats, becaus they would acclame the libertie of exclamatiouns, which were somewhat tolerable in themselves; and becaus they refuse to be ruled by their superiours, and have induced a confused equalitie in the ecclesiastick estate. Wherefore, Sir, my opinioun is, that your Majestie sall not easilie quiett your estate and countrie, unlesse ye reduce the popular men of the ministrie to be commaunded to rule their affectiouns by the moderatioun of some learned and discreet men, answerable to your Hienesse. Lyke as the princes in the primitive kirk, for eviting of schismes, sects, and factiouns, whereby their kingdomes were disquietted, they ratified the governement of bishops, who gave good experience how necessarie and profitable their office was, to the quiett administratioun of Christian kingdoms; in whose

exemples I will humblie requeist your Majestie to insist, notwithstanding the dissuasiouns and contradictiouns proponed in the contrare. As to your civill officiars, the corruptiouns are innumerable in their administration; for in your supreme parliament, the greatest part therof is of little counsell, which your Grace cannot reforme, but by tolerance and successioun of time.

The Nixt, which is your Grace's Counsell, is almost in your Grace's electioun and discretioun. But becaus of your Majestie's minoritie, great abusses have been receaved heeretofore therin; and would to God the present counsell were not justlie blamed of the like corruptiouns! It is shamefullie reported through all natiouns, that your Majestie has made a commoun exchange to satisfie the avarice of some in credite about you, or ellis to satisfie the affectiouns of some princes, who have deserved weill of suche as are presentlie with you. If this bruit be true, the Lord preserve your Majestie from the unhappie counsellers, and graunt suche as better tender your persoun, your honour, and weelefare of your kingdome.

The Thrid is, your Sessioun, the which, as I understand, is this day abused to the greatest tyrannie that may arise in your land; and would wishe that ather the same were better reformed, or ellis that the ancient forme of judiciarie exerced in your kingdome, before the erectioun of the said Sessioun, were reduced, where actiouns were quarterlie decided in the king's presence; which was to the furtherance of justice, and ease of your subjects: where as now, the Sessioun serves for nought ellis but to spoile the countrie, and inriche Edinburgh; to spoile your other subjects, and inriche your senators, advocats, and scribes, wherof some abound in suche wealth, that there is no gold in the land but in their purses; and men of honour can scarcelie save their fathers' heritages from the direct or indirect conqueist of thir startups.

The Fourth is, your Shiriffs, Bailiffes, and Justices of Regalitcis; becaus their offices are heritage, and partlie themselves evill qualifeid, committs the administratioun therof to unskilled and corrupted deputs, wherof has insued an universall misorder in your land.

The Fyft is, the High Justice of burrowes and priviledged touns, amongst whom is seene, in like maner, the semblable or greater imperfectiouns. And so, by this universall inlaike of justice, and impunitie of crimes and offenses, your whole kingdome is miserablie disturbed by murther and homicide, by oppressioun and theft, by fraud and deceate, that it is a miracle, if the memorie or face of a republict sould continue or appeare in this great and odious confusioun. My opinioun were, for reformatioun therof, seing your lawes are so weill institute, that ye sould tak order onlie to see the same executed and obeyed, under the unpardonable penalteis conteanned therin.

Farther, if reports sould be beleeved, it is reported that your Majestie is vehementlie troubled with contrarious counsells, whereby some intend, under colour of religioun, and esperance of the Queene of England's favour in your birthright, to draw you in a particular band with England, and so to hazard your ancient freindship with other Christiane prīnces and kings. Some are in opinioun that your Majestie sould keepe equall favour with all Christian princes, and speciallie with your ancient freindship, unlesse it would please the Queen of England to discusse and declare your right to that crowne in her owne time; otherwise, if ye sall losse your ancient friendship upon uncertane events, it may be thought that the Queen of England's affectioun alter, as weomen's mindes are variable, and would inclyne to another successioun, that when yee sall imploy your ancient freindship, which now they would move you to reject, ye sall not find them readie at that opportunitie; unto whose opinioun I more heartilie condescend, craving humblie your Majestie's patience of my presumptioun, who, being but a scholler, and unskilled in publict effaires, have entered in the maters of your Majestie's persoun and estate, which I heartilie crave that your Majestie will reasoun with all good affectioun, as the same proceeds from my single, loving, and obedient heart towards you.

EXHORTATION TO THE NOBILITIE OF SCOTLAND.

Noble and ancient erles, lords, and barons of Scotland, remember the origine of your nobilitie, and conservatioun therof from the dayes of your progenitors in your owne age, that ye be not abused, by the stile and title of nobilitie, to forgett the ground and origine whereupon the same is builded, and wherefra the same is deduced. I suppose your progenitors were nobilitat by their virtuous acts, reward, and advancement of their princes, as yourself may understand by reading your ancient infeftments; and sua, good service to your prince has raised up your hous and digniteis, which also has beene confirmed by the like means. Wherefore, I exhort you all of the ancient nobilitie, that ye, by the exemple of your progenitors, insist in the humble and heartie service of your prince and countrie. And albeit the princes have their particular imperfectiouns, yitt yee sould remember that yourselves are subject to the like or greater. And, therefore, as ye think it is intolerable that your subjects and inferiours sould have place to controll your maners, suppose that it is likewise unseeming that your prince and superiours sould be subject to your discipline. And remember, that when ye presume against your prince and superiours, ye minister occasioun to your inferiours to rebell against you. Remember that the law of God, the lawes of your countrie, the band of your service, your oath, and servitude to your prince, commaund you, which sould be an assured warrant to you against all the seditious perswasiouns which darre be propouned to you in the contrare. Remember, that as ye esteeme ye may lawfullie displace and forefault your inferiours for their disobedience against you, your prince and superiours has greater place and power to punishe your rebelliouns against him. Remember how odious your memorie sall be if it sall be registered of new, that ye have loosed by your rebelliouns against your prince that nobilitie, dignitie, and rents which your progenitors acquired by faithfull and obedient service; wherin if ye offend, I am assured, your fathers from the heaven will lament there is

suche posteritie descended of them. Wherefore, I exhort you, that thir curious correctiouns of your prince's maners enter not among you; but whatsoever the prince be in his particular behaviour, ye reverence his persoun and obey his authoritie, wherin the blessing of quietnesse and prosperitie may enter and continue with yourselves and your posteritie.

Certanelie, I am sorie that some of our professioun of the ministrie are persuaders of you to esteeme irreverentlie of the prince; which their counsells, proceeding from the laike of judgement in the ignorant among them, and from malice in the most learned sort, becaus princes impugne the novatiouns which they attempt in the estate, and becaus the greatest part of recent writters in the argument of theologie are popular men of the Cantons of the Switzers, the ministers of the citie of Geneva; enemeis to the estate of monarchs and nobilitie, whose commentars are dispersed with sentences derogating to the reverend estate of kings; which works and commentars being inconsideratelie read, and indiscreetlie applyed by our malicious and ignorant ministers, breeds a great contempt in the hearts of the people against the estate of kings and nobilitie. Wherefore, it is expedient that your Honours be forewarned, and the said ministrie, for your publict quietnesse, be ordered and ruled under the regiment of some weill affected men to the estate of princes and nobilitie. For the which caus, in my opinioun, the estate of bishops is necessar in your land, which they this day so vehementlie impugne, for no other caus, but that, in the abolishing therof, they make the greater and more easie assault against your whole monarchie and remanent estats, to reduce the same to popular governement, as ye may read has been practised in the natiouns where their counsells have been receaved. Wherefore, I exhort your Honours to be forewarned, lest ye be abused by popular ministers, instructed by the commentars of popular doctors, to applie the publict doctrine and privat admonitiouns to the indirect overthrow of your ancient estate, under the perellous colour of the puritie in religioun, and reformatioun of the ecclesiasticall policie and discipline, by the apostolick exemple, thereby to reduce a con-

fused equalitie within the estat ecclesiastick, and thereby to attempt the like in your estate temporall, etc.

EXHORTATION TO THE BURROWES OF SCOTLAND.

As I have learned by reading of ancient historeis, and experience of the late time, the prosperitie of touns and citeis proceeds from the commoun quietnesse in the estate, and particular vertue and industrie of the inhabitants; as by the contrare the decay comes by the contrare occasiouns; and seing God has blessed your land with profitable moyens, if the same were industriouslie used, then the occasioun of your present povertie is to be attributed to the troubles and unquietnesse in the commoun estate, and to the particular negligence of your inhabitants. Then, brethrein, your part is, to be studious of peace and tranquillitie in the whole kingdome, and speciallie, to suffer nō dissensioun enter into the walls of your citeis, which is the fire of your owne consumptioun, and to tak order that your inhabitants use vertuous trade and industrie. Ye sall easilie eshew the fire of dissensioun if ye leane to the obedience of your king and supreme magistrat. Ye sall induce and conserve vertue in your citie, if ye putt your privat constitutiouns in perfyte obedience and executioun.

I have observed diverse impediments and alteratiouns, whereby, in the times bygane, ye have beene diverted from the right course of quietnesse and prosperitie, by the questiouns and alteratiouns in religioun, whereby the estate was troubled. Ye entered yourselves against the power of the magistrat for the time, and by ignorant zeale ye overthrew and dejected the ecclesiasticall estate, by whose standing ye were in ancient time advanced and supported. The noblemen of the countrie, divided in factiouns, did also, under colour of a commoun caus, practise your favour and concurrence, wherin some of them falling in male grace with the prince, drew you to participat the same reward, and in the end left you to your owne ransoms. Your eldermen and magistrats are often times elected, or rather intrused upon you, of diverse rank and pro-

fessioun from yours, who are ather ignorant or ellis negligent in your publict effaires, and onlie carefull to intertaine your citicens at their particular devotioun, whereby the executioun of your constitutiouns are neglected, and thereby vertue and industrie ceasse among you, vice and prodigalitie confound your estate. The names of the clannes of the countrie are priviledged within you, upon their oath to the observance of your constitutions, and defense of your republick, who, oftentimes disremembring their promised fidelitie, decline to the particular favour of their kinred, and thereby become factious and troublesome in your citeis. The last and most dangerous perell is, when, in the conformitie of religioun and governement of a godlie and good prince, ye are abused, under the cloke of religioun and commoun weale, to follow privat and particular querrells.

The remeed of thir former impediments is easie: for now, by the grace of God, the prince, the estats, and the people, are reduced to an uniforme professioun of one onlie religioun, wherin the occasioun of that controversie, whereby the estate in generall, and ye in particular, were troubled, is takin away. If yee sall consider, that by your ancient erections in heritage and priviledges, ye are onlie astricted in service, homage, and obedience to your prince, then ye sall not be moved to enter in particular factiouns. If your eldermen be elected of your owne burgesses, indwellers, and traffiquers, according to your ancient constitutions, and the professioun and qualiteis required in your owne law, then assuredlie ye may looke, that, by their care and diligence, vertue and industrie sall flourish among you. As to your new citicens, descended of names and clans in the countrie, I am in opinioun that none of them sould participat your publict honours, whill their minde and affection were sufficientlie tryed to your republick, the clerk, and commoun caus. Concerning particular men's affectiouns, they are easilie discovered by the nature and intentioun of their attemptats. For if in this time men attempt to impugne the king, the estats, and his lawes, then ye may sufficientlie understand that particular malice is cloked with the colour of the commoun caus: and would to

God ye had diligentlie used your discretioun in times bygane, when ye have beene at everie occasioun inflammed to embrace the defense of everie perellous actioun, under the blind zeale of religioun and republict.

But yitt there rests one perell, which is almost inevitable, when ye are instigat to rebellioun by the voice of preachers, of whom the most subtle and eloquent are placed in your pulpits, to mak insurrectioun, and assist the factions in the land, as now lately has beene practised, when as, by their intysement and perswasion, ye have been moved to allow and assist the attemptats of Ruthven and Stirline; against the which dangerous perell yee sall arme yourself, if yee esteeme that it is altogether unlawfull that subjects sould rebell against their prince; and if yee sall remember, that ministers are men subject to the like, and would to God to no greater, corruptioans and affections nor other men of civill professiouns; and if yee sall compell them to keep them within the bounds of their owne calling and vocation, wherefra, if they sall exceed, ye are not bound to their affectioned counsell.

EXHORTATION TO THE BISHOPS OF SCOTLAND.

The title of Prelats, which signifeis *preferment*, is attribut in antiquitie to bishops, in consideration of their honorable place in the ecclesiasticall regiment, that thereby the persons in that preferment sould be advertised what is their office and authoritie; and the inferiour pastors, what sould be their obedience to their superiour prelats and bishops. For as concerning equalitie in ecclesiasticall regiment, albeit I was in that commoun errour with the rest of our ministrie, yitt, in *my greater leasure, I have diligentlie* searched and considered the estate, both of the apostolick kirk under the crosse, authorized onlie by the favours of the multitude, as also of the estate of the primitive kirk therafter, when the Evangell was receaved by the Christian Emperours, and can find in nather of them the exemple of our pretended equalitie. For as to the apostolick disciipline, I find a great diversitie in the office-

bearers among them. And albeit that the cheefe offices, to judge the brethrein, and to choose and elect pastors, was not perpetuall in one man's person, that mutabilitie is to be attribute to the dangers of the time and nature of the apostolick office, which was not to be resident at one place, but to sound the trumpet of the Gospell in all the coasts of the earth. And albeit there was some appearance of equalitie among the apostles, in whose regiment and discipline, yitt I cannot find a commaund, that their forme sould be perpetuall in that point; and, therefore, am in opinioun, that a great part of the apostolick discipline was temporall; and am induced so to beleeve, by the grave judgement of the primitive kirk immediatlie succeeding the apostles, in whose regiment and discipline I read that the honourable estate of bishops was receaved; and also, in the dayes of Constantine, Theodosius, and other godlie emperours, who confirmed the said estate, the which has continued with great honour and praise whill thir late dayes, wherin some curious men, desirous to be authors of sects and novations, have travelled to alter that estate. In which intentioun, I grant, I was sometime myself, and wherof now I repent. I remember, in the beginning of the reformed religioun of Scotland, there was nothing more desired by our first ministers, than that good and learned men sould be promoted to that estate. For the which caus, publict and privat prayers were conceaved, and diverse supplicatiouns direct from the Generall Assemblies to the queen's Majestie, our king's mother, to provide qualifeid men, when the place of bishops present sould vaike. As also, in time of the king's minoritie, a solide order was established, by consent of commissioners from the king, and from the Generall Assemblie, of the forme to be observed in electioun and inauguration of bishops; which forme was observed in the time of all the king's regents, without oppositioun, whill of late, that the king has receaved the administratioun in his owne person, that controversie was raised in the electioun of the Bishop of Glasgow; speciallie, as I suppose, to give an occasioun to the alteratioun of the Duke of Lennox, which succeeded shortlie. I am in opinioun, that albeit unquiet men have intended, and presumed to

impugne that estate, yitt if the bishops of Scotland had beene men of worthie qualiteis correspondent to their honorable offices, the first authors of that debate would have hardlie uttered their intentiouns; and if they had so done, their purpose sould have fallin by the gravitie and weightinesse of the persouns in that estate. But, seing among all our bishops there were few or none that merited that honorable place, therefore, the adversareis of that estate has found the more easie occasioun to impugne and overthrow the same. Wherefore, I will earnestlie crave of his Majestie, that suche as are presentlie learned and qualifeid men in that estate may be honoured, mainteaned, and conforted by his Majestie's favour, against all their adversareis; as also, I exhort them to stand in defense of their owne professioun and estate, for the which they have so evident warrant from the Word of God and exemple of antiquitie. I humblie crave also, that where the places of bishops are not provided with men of learning and care, that his Majestie will motioun these persouns to be satisfeid with some other recompense, and to dimitt the places to others better qualifeid. Which intentioun I pray God may enter in his Majestie's heart, in the performance wherof, all thir controverseis sall be pacifeid, and quietnesse sall be embraced in our kirk and kingdome.

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